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Illustrated

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THE CENTURY BIBLE

A MODERN COMMENTARY

EDITED BY

PRINCIPAL W. F. ADENEY, M.A., D.D.

KINGS

EDITED BY

REV. PROFESSOR SKINNER, D.D.

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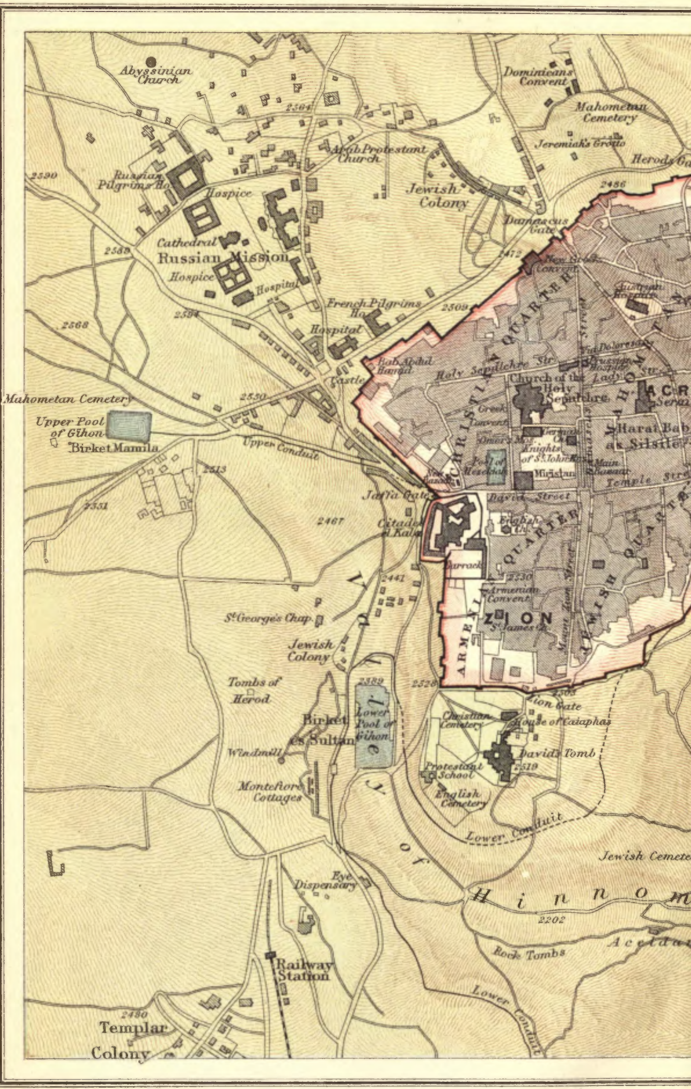
Abyssinian Church
Dominicans Convent
Mahometan Cemetery
Jeremiah's Grotto
Herods Ga
2564
Arab Protestant Church
2590
Russian Pilgrims Ho.
Hospice
Jewish Colony
2486
Damascus Gate
Cathedral
Russian Mission
2589
Hospice
Hospital
2472
New Greek Convent
Austrian Hospice
CHRISTIAN QUARTER
French Pilgrims Ho.
2509
2568
2594
Hospital
Via Dolorosa
Bab Abdul Hamid
Holy Sepulchre Str.
Russian Hospice
Castle
Church of the Holy Sepulchre
Lady
Str.
ACR
Serai
Mahometan Cemetery
2550
Greek Convent
Upper Pool of Gihon
Birket Mamila
German Ch.
Harat Bab as Silsile
Omar's Mos.
Knights of St. John
Upper Conduit
2513
Pool of Hezekiah
New Bazaar
Muristan
Main Bazaar
Temple Stre
2551
Jaffa Gate
David Street
2467
Citadel el Kala
English Ch.
ARMENIAN QUARTER
JEWISH QUARTER
Barrack
2230
2441
Armenian Convent
St. George's Chap.
ZION
St. James Ch.
Mount Zion Street
Jewish Colony
Tombs of Herod
2389
2528
Valley of Hinnom
2508
Zion Gate
Birket es Sultan
Lower Pool of Gihon
Christian Cemetery
House of Caiaphas
Windmill
David's Tomb
Protestant School
2519
Montefiore Cottages
English Cemetery
Lower Conduit
Jewish Cemete
Eye Dispensary
2202
Aceldam
Rock Tombs
Railway Station
Lower Conduit
2480
Templar Colony

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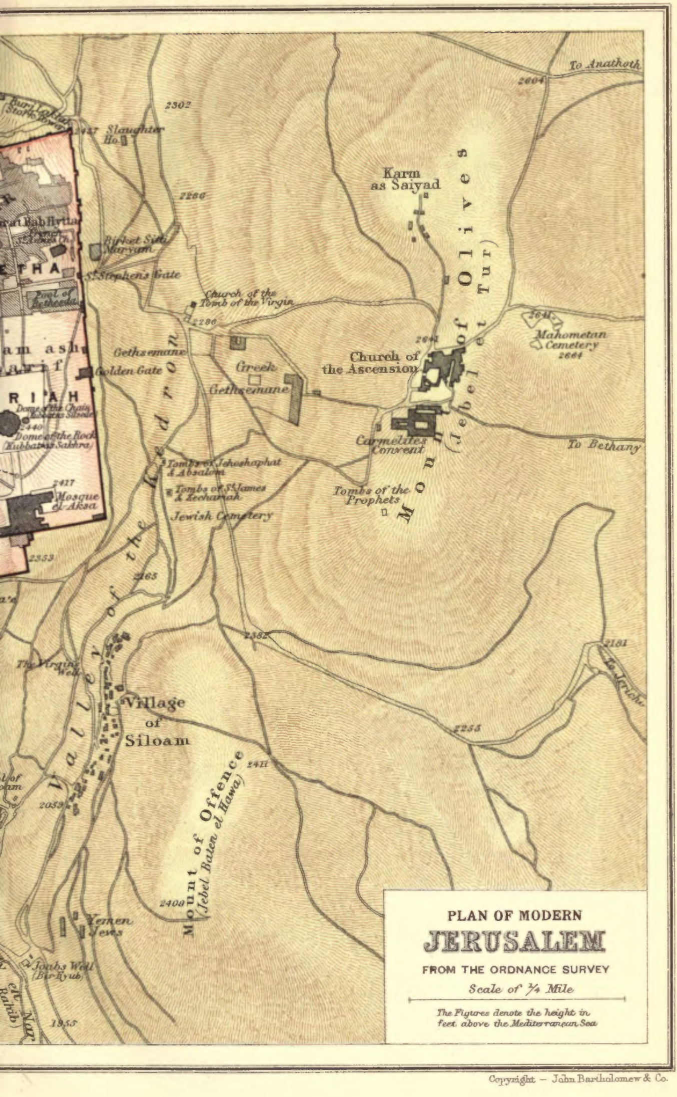

PLAN OF MODERN

JERUSALEM

FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY

Scale of ¼ Mile

The Figures denote the height in feet above the Mediterranean Sea

To Anathoth
2604
2302
Slaughter Ho.
2437
Karm as Saiyad
Mount of Olives (Jebel et Tur)
2266
Birket Sitti Maryam
St. Stephen's Gate
Pool of Bethesda
Church of the Tomb of the Virgin
2286
2641
Mahometan Cemetery
2664
2641
Church of the Ascension
Gethsemane
Golden Gate
Greek Gethsemane
Valley of the Kedron
Dome of the Chain (Kubbatus Silsole)
2440
Dome of the Rock (Kubbatus Sakhra)
Carmelites Convent
To Bethany
Tombs of Jehoshaphat & Absalom
Tombs of St. James & Zechariah
Tombs of the Prophets
2417
Mosque el-Aksa
Jewish Cemetery
2353
2365
2382
2181
To Jericho
The Virgin's Well
Village of Siloam
2255
2411
Mount of Offence (Jebel Baten el Hawa)
2059
2409
Yemen Jews
Joabs Well (Bir Eyub)
1955

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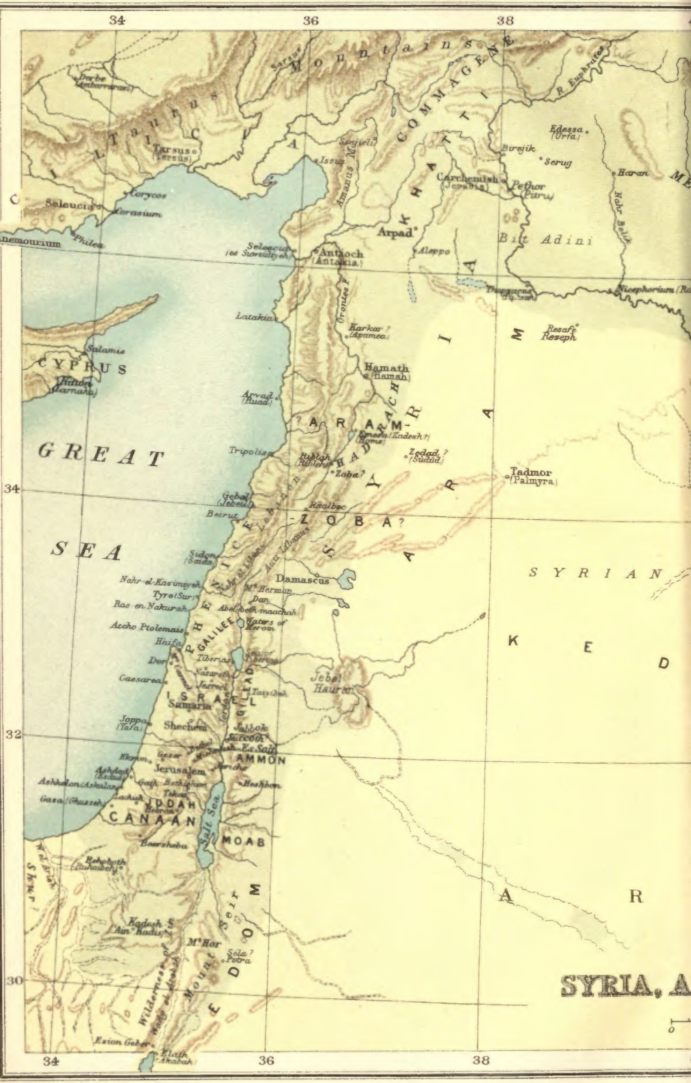
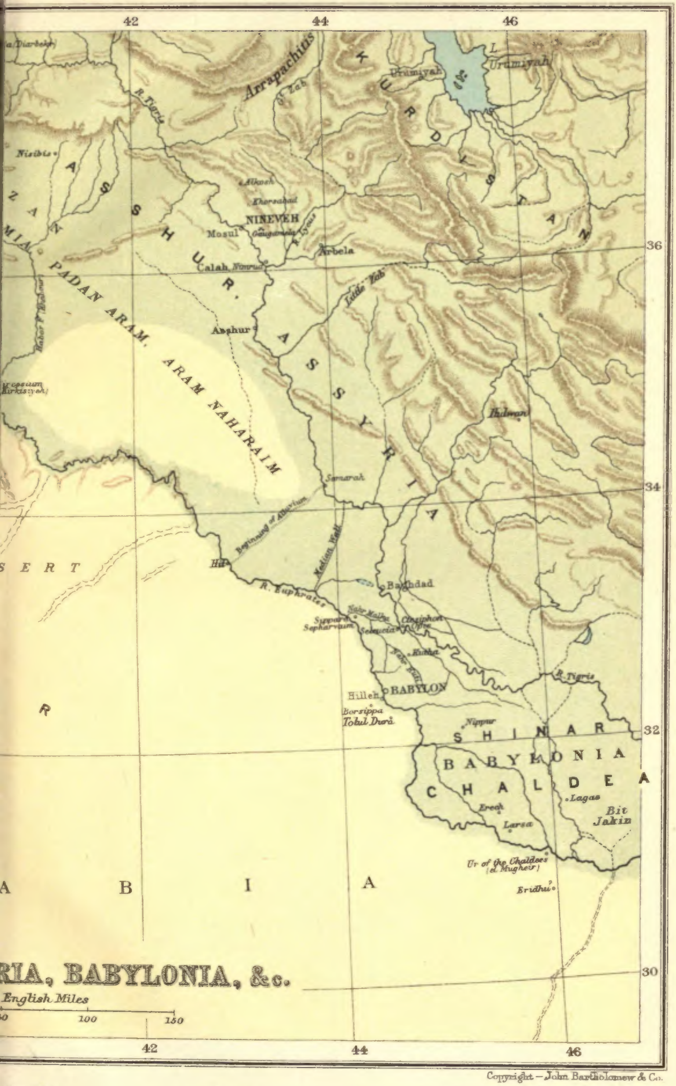

34
36
38
34
32
30
Mountains
Taurus
CILICIA
COMMAGENE
KHATTI
Derbe (Amburaran)
Tarsus (Tersus)
Corycos
Corasium
Seleucia
Anemourium
Philea
Sarsus
Sanjirli
Issus
Amanus M.
R. Euphrates
Edessa (Urfa)
Birejik
Serug
Haran
Nahr Belik
Carchemish (Jerabis)
Pethor (Piru)
Arpad
Aleppo
Bit Adini
Seleucia (es Suweidiyeh)
Antioch (Antakia)
Thapsacus
Nicephorium
Latakia
Orontes R.
Karkar? (Apamea)
Resafe Rezeph
Salamis
CYPRUS
Kition (Larnaka)
Hamath (Hamah)
Arvad (Ruad)
ARAM
ARAM-HADRACH
SYRIA
ARAM
Emesa (Kadesh?) (Homs)
Tripolis
Riblah (Ribleh)
Zoba?
Zedad? (Sudud)
Tadmor (Palmyra)
GREAT
SEA
Gebal (Jebeil)
Beirut
Lebanon
Baalbec
ARAM-ZOBA?
PHENICIA
Anti Libanus
Sidon (Saida)
Nahr-el-Kasimiyeh
Tyre (Sur)
Ras en Nakurah
Damascus
Mt. Hermon
Dan
Abel-beth-maachah
Waters of Merom
Accho Ptolemais
Haifa
Dor
GALILEE
Tiberias
Sea of Tiberias
Nazareth
Mt. Carmel
Caesarea
Jezreel
ISRAEL
GILEAD
Samaria
Jordan
Jebel Hauran
SYRIAN
KEDAR
Joppa (Yafa)
Shechem
Jabbok
Succoth
Es Salt
Ekron
Gezer
Bethel
Jerusalem
Jericho
AMMON
Ashdod (Esdud)
Ashkelon (Askalan)
Gath
Bethlehem
Tekoa
Heshbon
Gaza (Ghuzzeh)
Lachish
JUDAH
Hebron
CANAAN
Salt Sea
MOAB
Beersheba
Wadi Arish
Shur?
Rehoboth (Ruhaibeh)
EDOM
Mount Seir
Kadesh ('Ain Kadis)
Wilderness of Zin
Mt. Hor
Sela? Petra
Wady el Arabah
Ezion Geber
Elath (Akabah)
ARABIA
SYRIA, A

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute


42
44
46
(Diarbekr)
Arrapachitis
K U R D I S T A N
L. Urumiyah
Urumiyah
Gt. Zab
R. Tigris
Nisibis
A S S H U R
A S S Y R I A
MIA
PADAN ARAM.
ARAM NAHARAIM
Alkosh
Khorsabad
NINEVEH
Mosul
Gaugamela
Arbela
Calah Nimrud
Little Zab
Ashur
Circesium (Kirkisiyeh)
Holwan
Samarah
Beginning of Alluvium
Median Wall
Hit
S E R T
R. Euphrates
Baghdad
Nahr Malka
Sippara Sepharvaim
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Opis
Nahr Kutha
Kutha
R. Tigris
Hilleh
BABYLON
Borsippa
Tolul Dura
Nippur
S H I N A R
B A B Y L O N I A
C H A L D E A
Erech
Larsa
Lagas
Bit Jakin
Ur of the Chaldees (el Mugheir)
Eridhu
R
A B I A
36
34
32
30
English Miles
50
100
150

RIA, BABYLONIA, &c.

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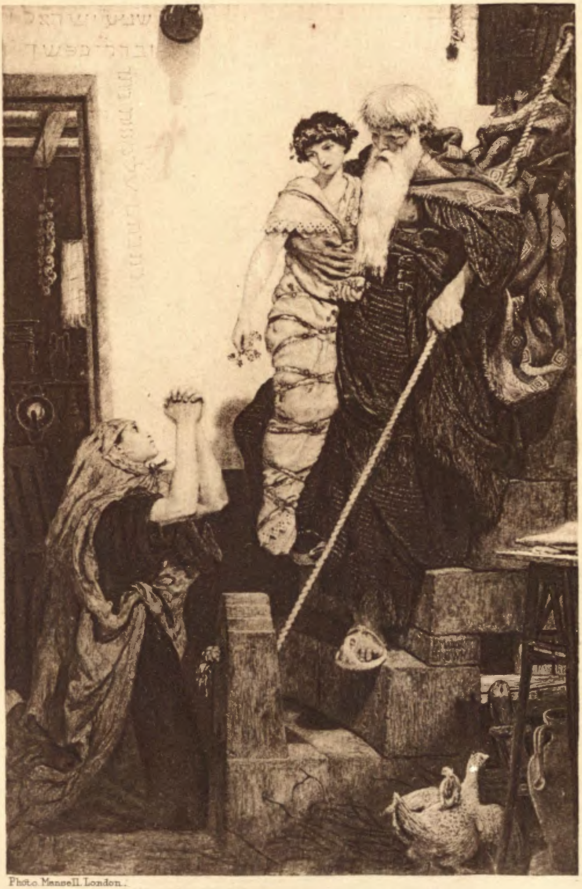

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ELIJAH RESTORING THE WIDOW'S SON.

FORD MADOX BROWN.

The Century Bible

A MODERN COMMENTARY

Kings

INTRODUCTION

REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES

ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY

REV. PROFESSOR SKINNER, D.D.

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THE BOOK OF THE KINGS

INTRODUCTION

I AND II KINGS

INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE BOOK.

THE historical writings of the O. T. (from which we exclude the five books of the Law) are in the Hebrew Canon sharply divided into two groups. The older group, consisting of the four books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, bore the title of 'The Earlier Prophets,' and forms the first half of the middle or Prophetic division of the Canon[1]. The later group was placed in the third part of the Canon (the so-called 'Writings' or Hagiographa), and was composed of the two books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, which in ordinary editions of the Hebrew Bible stand (in reversed order) at the close of the whole collection. To this difference of canonical position corresponds a marked diversity of character, which may best be expressed by saying that the two groups represent the labours of two distinct historical schools. The outstanding feature of the earlier group is what is termed the Deuteronomic redaction; that is to say, these books were thrown into shape and edited (in ways to be afterwards explained) by a school of writers who were influenced by the ideas of the Book of Deuteronomy. The other group (with which we are not further concerned) was produced at a much later date by an editor or editors whose standpoint, broadly speaking, was that of the Priestly Code[1].

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[1] That Samuel and Kings formed each but one book originally is clear from the unnatural interruption of the narrative at the points of section; and is besides amply attested by external evidence. The partition was first made in copies of the LXX, where our books of Samuel and Kings appear as the First, Second, Third and Fourth books of 'Kingdoms.' From the LXX the division found its way into later versions; it was not introduced into Hebrew Bibles until after the invention of printing (second Bomberg Bible, 1517 A. D.). A trace of the secondary character of the partition even in the LXX remains in the fact that the Vatican MS. repeats in both cases the first verse of the second book at the end of the first book. This difference between the Hebrew and Greek texts was known to Origen and Jerome, the foremost representatives of Hebrew scholarship amongst the Fathers. Thus in Origen's list of O. T. books quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25. 2) we read, 'First and Second Kingdoms, amongst them (the Jews) one—*Samuel*, "the called of God." Third and Fourth Kingdoms, in one—*Ouammelch David*, which means "the Kingdom (*sic*) of David."' Similarly Jerome, in his *Prologus galeatus*, speaks of 'Samuel, which we call First and Second Kingdoms,' and 'Kings, which is contained in the Third and Fourth volumes of Kingdoms.' We are therefore thoroughly justified in treating the Book of Kings as a single work.

The aim of a commentary on Kings is, of course, not to rewrite the history of the period by the help of the material which the book supplies, but to explain the history as written by entering as fully as possible into the point of view of the writers concerned in its production. And since the Book of Kings is on the whole the most complete and typical specimen of Hebrew historical writing which the O. T. contains, it is desirable to commence with some consideration of (1) the conception of history to which the book owed its inception, and (2) the literary method which determined its form.

---

[1] Since the Deuteronomic redaction extends over all the books Joshua to Kings, the question is naturally raised whether they may not originally have been a continuous work, which was afterwards split up into four volumes. That cannot be proved to have been the case: the differences which appear in the redaction are too considerable to be readily accounted for by the assumption that they were all edited by the same hand. At the same time, it is true that the original sources from which the history was compiled run on from one book into another, and the division of these sources is somewhat artificial and arbitrary. It is interesting also to note that in the Lucianic recension of the LXX edited by Lagarde, the partition of Second and Third 'Kingdoms' occurs after 1 Kings ii. 11 of the Hebrew text (see Introductory Note to 1 K. i, ii.).

1. Writers on the science of history commonly recognize three distinct types of historical literature. There are first *narrative* or *descriptive* histories, whose object is simply to communicate or commemorate facts, and where the writer has no extraneous interest in his subject, but seeks merely to convey to his readers an accurate and vivid impression of the events whose importance has excited his attention. Then there is the large and influential class of *didactic* or *pragmatic* historians, who look on history as a storehouse of political or patriotic or ethical or religious lessons, and write it for the instruction or edification of their contemporaries. Lastly, there is the *scientific* or *genetic* view of history, which aims neither at being picturesque nor instructive, but seeks to exhibit events in their true relations to the great social and spiritual movements to which they owe their ultimate significance[1]. This last point of view is an almost exclusively modern development, and can hardly be said to be represented in antiquity at all. But the other two are almost equally ancient, and go back to near the fountain-head of written history. Thus, amongst classical historians, Herodotus, the 'father of history,' is generally regarded as a representative of the narrative style, and Thucydides and Tacitus of the pragmatic[2]. And of ancient histories in general it may be said that they belong to one or other of these two types, or else combine the characteristics of both.

To which, now, of these two classes shall we assign the Book of Kings? At first sight it might appear impossible to give a decided answer. The book contains some purely descriptive passages, like the story of Solomon and Adonijah, or the account of Jehu's revolution, which produce the impression of having been written without any motive except an aesthetic interest in the thrilling series of events which they narrate. And alongside of these we might place the numerous annalistic statements of fact which, though destitute of literary charm, are nevertheless in themselves entirely free from personal predilection or didactic purpose. On the other hand there are many sections, such as the stories of Elijah and Elisha, or the narrative of the man of God at Beth-el (in 1 K. xiii), where the desire to enforce a religious lesson is unmistakably manifest. But the important point is that if we consider the book as a unity, and fix our attention on its persistent and characteristic features, we cannot fail to observe that it is dominated throughout by the aim of making the history a vehicle of moral and religious teaching. Interwoven with the narrative is a perpetually recurring strain of comment and application, the avowed purpose of which is to point out the great lessons which were seen to be exemplified in the past history of the people. And when we read the book in the light supplied by these comments, we find that nearly everything it contains is subservient to the main end of impressing these lessons on the minds of the readers. What the lessons are we shall consider more particularly when we come to deal with the standpoint of the author (p. 15 ff.). For the present it is enough to recognize that the Book of Kings is essentially a didactic history, in which, however, a certain element of purely narrative history has somehow been incorporated.

---

[1] See Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (1894), p. 14 ff.

[2] The term *pragmatikē historia* appears to have been first used by the Greek historian Polybius, in the second century B.C. (Bernheim, l. c.).

2. The last remark leads us to notice a no less important distinction in respect of *method* between the historiography of the O. T. and that with which we are familiar in modern times. The writing of history on a large scale necessarily involves the use of written authorities, which are the historian's sources of information for

events beyond his own personal knowledge; and nothing is more characteristic of the historical practice of the O. T. than the manner in which these authorities are dealt with. The modern history is a free and original composition, setting forth the view of the author and the conclusions he has reached after careful criticism and comparison of all the sources accessible to him. The Hebrew historian, on the other hand, was as a rule a compiler rather than an independent author; instead of writing a new account of the course of events as it shaped itself in his mind, he simply selected from the documents at his disposal passages which he deemed worthy of preservation, and then transferred these extracts bodily to his own pages. The method differs entirely from the mere quotation of authorities by modern writers; for it is only in the rarest instances that the source from which a passage is taken is indicated. The notions of literary property and plagiarism had not then been thought of; and writers who advanced no pretensions to originality for themselves were guilty of no imposture when they borrowed without acknowledgement from their predecessors. The evidence for these general statements is drawn from the historical literature of the O. T. as a whole. It is found that these writings without exception have originated in the manner just described; and a great part of the labour of scholars is directed to disentangling the various elements which enter into the composition, and to assigning each to its proper source. Hence we may reasonably anticipate that the same composite structure will be exhibited in the Book of Kings; and if the expectation should be confirmed, it will furnish a complete explanation of the alternation of descriptive with didactic sections which was spoken of above. For though it is certainly possible that such a combination might occur in the work of a single historian, it is much more natural to suppose that it arises from the collocation of different documents, some of them written with an interest different from the compiler's, and displaying a power of graphic and artistic narrative rarely found in union with a fixed homiletic bent of mind.

These observations will perhaps suffice to indicate the general character of the work with which we have to deal. At the same time they determine the lines on which the exposition of the book must proceed, and guide us in forming an estimate of its permanent historical and religious value.

First of all, bearing in mind the didactic and hortatory aim of the writing, we shall not expect it to give a complete view of the natural sequence of events. We shall not be surprised if prominence is given to occurrences of religious importance, to the neglect of matters which though interesting in themselves belonged more to the sphere of secular history. Still less need we look for an analysis of the subtle play of social and political forces which lay behind the phenomena, and which it would be the province of a modern historical investigator to explore. The Hebrew mind traced events directly to the agency of Providence, and attributed to each event an independent significance as an expression of the Divine will. Each, therefore, conveyed its own lesson; and nothing was lost by isolating it from its connexion with other events, provided it had a meaning unmistakable enough to be read by its own light. Although this conception of history may not satisfy all the demands of the intellect, it would be an utter mistake to suppose that it is vicious in principle, or destructive of the sense of historic truth. It is easy to understand the discredit into which the pragmatic method in history has fallen; but none the less it represents a point of view which cannot be rendered obsolete by any improvement in the conception of human development. That the past experience of a people as recorded in its national history is fitted to yield valuable guidance for the present and the future is a conviction too well established to be overthrown; and therefore, when the scientific historian has said his last word, there will always be room for a writer of a different cast of mind to point out the lessons which the present may learn from the past. Most of all is such a treatment justified when the point of view is religious. The investigation of secondary causes, whether in nature or in history, does not exclude the belief in a Divine purpose unfolding itself through the manifold processes of the finite universe; and in the great crises of universal history the mind instinctively recognizes the presence and action of the Almighty. Who will say that the significance of an event like the destruction of Jerusalem is not more truly apprehended by the religious writer of the Book of Kings than by one who should regard it merely as an incidental result of the advance of mankind to a higher material civilization?

In the second place, we must not overlook the immense advantages of the Hebrew practice of incorporating earlier sources in the text. In default of the modern devices of footnotes and references to extant documents, it is difficult to conceive any method which could better serve the ends of genuine historical study. The authorities thus imbedded in the narrative are necessarily nearer to the events than the author of the book; and in certain cases we can be sure that they reflect the impressions of first-hand contemporary observers. To disentangle these original sources is no doubt a laborious and delicate operation; but in so far as it is accomplished, it puts us in possession of independent points of view, which not unfrequently throw light on matters passed over in silence by the editors of the book. We are thus enabled in some degree to trace the growth of religious ideas from the various stages at which the several documents were written down to the age of the latest editor who has left distinguishable marks of his individuality in his work.

Such, then, are the conditions of study imposed on us by the nature and composition of this instructive portion of Scripture. The O. T. appeals to the religious mind in two ways: first as a direct word of God to the soul, and secondly as the record of a historic revelation, given to men in the past, of the Divine character and purpose. The two can never be wholly dissociated; but it is certainly the case that they appear with varying emphasis in different sections of the sacred literature. In the Psalms and the prophetic writings, for example, the note of inward religion is so direct and powerful that, without much acquaintance with the circumstances in which the words were written, the devout reader may hear the voice of the living God speaking plainly to his heart and conscience, and be lifted into true and saving fellowship with Him. Even there, it is true, half the profit of the message will be missed, unless the words be read in the light of the conditions which called them forth. But in those parts of the Scripture to which the Book of Kings belongs there is obviously less of this immediate and self-evidencing appeal to the heart. On the other hand, they are of inestimable value as a record of the process by which the revelation came to be, and of the facts in which inspired men recognized the presence of God in their national life. And here the historical method of study is almost indispensable to any profitable use of the writings. We need to realize, more fully than we have yet learned to do, that God was present in the history itself, not merely in the words in which the history is recorded, or in any theory of the history which may be current in a particular age. The nearer, therefore, we can come to the actual facts—the solid unimpeachable realities—of Israel's history, the better we shall understand the Divine training of that chosen race to be the bearers of revelation to mankind.

II. THE FRAMEWORK OF KINGS.

From what we have now learned of the general character and structure of Kings it is obvious that the first step in the analysis of the book must be to trace the process by which it was first thrown into something like its present shape. It so happens that this inquiry is facilitated by a very clear indication of editorial activity, viz. the recurrence of a regular series of notices by which the different reigns are introduced and concluded. This set of formulas constitutes a sort of framework, by which the narrative is at once held together and at the same time divided into definite compartments; and its structure is so uniform as to make it practically certain that the scheme was carried through by a single writer. It will appear afterwards that the author of the 'framework' was the first to arrange the material in its present order, and is therefore entitled to be regarded as the main compiler of the Book of Kings[1].

It is worth while to look somewhat closely at the structure of this framework. The complete Introductory Formula for the kings of Judah embraces the following items: (*a*) the date of accession according to the year of the contemporary king of Israel (which we shall call for brevity the *Synchronism*); (*b*) the age of the king at his accession; (*c*) the duration of the reign; (*d*) the name of the queen-mother; (*e*) a judgement on the religious character of the reign. The corresponding formula for the kings of Israel is similar in form as regards *a*, *c*, and *e*; but is simplified by the omission of *b* (the age of accession), and *d* (the name of the queen-mother). The Concluding Formulas contain (*a*) a reference to the proximate source (see p. 23) from which the author has drawn some of his materials; (*b*) a notice of the king's death and burial; and (*c*) the name of his successor. With the exception of the Synchronisms, which were possible only for the period of the divided monarchy, the framework is applied consistently and with few intermissions to the whole history, from the death of David (1 K. ii. 10) to the accession of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah (2 K. xxiv. 18 f.)[1]. The entire absence of either formula is extremely rare. And although fragments from the annals are frequently taken up into the framework, there is only one case (or at most two) where any considerable part of the narrative has been allowed, as it were, to slip out of the framework altogether; i.e. to appear between the conclusion of one reign and the introduction of the next: 2 K. ii (xiii. 14-25). How far these irregularities are designed, and how far they are due to alterations of the text, is a question that has to be considered for each case separately[2].

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[1] There are several facts, however, which suggest that the 'framework' in a somewhat simpler form was found in the proximate sources employed by the compiler.

Now, even in the bare and formal statements of the framework there are several indications that its author is the person mainly responsible for the selection and disposition of the historical material of which the book is composed. (1) The chronology of the framework furnishes the key to the somewhat peculiar arrangement of the parallel histories of Israel and Judah. The method adopted is to treat the affairs of each kingdom independently, and carry forward the narrative till it reaches the end of a reign in which a change of sovereign has occurred in the sister kingdom. Then the records of the other monarchy are taken up, and continued in like manner, till they have gone beyond the date at which the first series stopped. Such an arrangement is obviously impossible without the control of a systematic chronology; and since the order corresponds perfectly with the data of the framework there is a presumption that both proceed from the same author. (2) The manner in which the writer of the framework refers to written documents for information which is not to be found in the book strongly suggests that he has exercised his personal judgement as to the matters that ought to be embodied in the history. (3) But the most important point is that in the religious judgements of the introductory formulas the writer reveals a definite theory or point of view, which could hardly fail to exert an influence on the historical presentation as a whole.

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[1] A feeble imitation of the framework appears also in the books of Samuel (1 Sam. xiii. 1; 2 Sam. ii. 10, 11; v. 4, 5). These have all the appearance of an attempt to extend the chronological system of Kings backwards to the earlier history.

[2] For minor variations (which are numerous but unimportant), displacements, &c., the reader must be referred to the Text (where the framework is marked by the letter **D**) and the Notes. The Introduction is nowhere entirely omitted except for the reigns of Jeroboam I, Athaliah, and Jehu: the Conclusion only in the cases of Jehoram of Israel, Ahaziah of Judah, Athaliah, Hoshea, Jehoahaz of Judah, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. In all these instances it is possible to assign plausible reasons for the omission; but it still remains doubtful whether the cases of Jehu, Jehoram, and Ahaziah are not rather to be explained by subsequent disturbances of the text. (See the Notes *ad loc.*)

These judgements involve several religious principles: e.g. the duty of whole-hearted loyalty to Yahweh and the sinfulness of idolatry in all its varied forms and degrees. But their most distinctive feature is the idea of the exclusive sanctity of the Temple in Jerusalem and the illegitimacy of all sacrificial worship of Yahweh at other shrines. This is the meaning of the constant complaint that 'the high-places were not taken away' even by the most pious sovereigns of Judah (except Hezekiah and Josiah)[1]. The same principle underlies the uniformly unfavourable verdict on the kings of Ephraim; for it is expressly pointed out in 1 K. xii. 27 that the 'sin of Jeroboam'—the erection of the golden calves—was a deliberate defiance of the authority of the central sanctuary at Jerusalem. Now this idea was first introduced into the public religion of Israel by the promulgation of the law of Deuteronomy in the reign of Josiah (see on 2 K. xxii f.); and indeed the framework itself testifies that it had been ignored by every ruler down to that time, with the solitary exception of Hezekiah (see on 2 K. xviii. 4). We thus learn that the author of the framework must have written after the publication of the Deuteronomic Law, and that his mind was so imbued with its teaching that he applied its central idea retrospectively as a measure of the religious condition of the people from the time when the Temple was built. It might almost be anticipated that a writer holding such a view of the inner significance of Israel's history would leave other and clearer traces of his individuality on the book.

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[1] The connexion is seen especially from 1 K. iii. 2, where it is intimated that the sacrifices of the high-places were at any rate a venial offence so long as no central Temple existed.

III. THE COMPILER AND HIS STANDPOINT.

We are therefore led to examine whether, apart from the framework, the Book of Kings contains any expression of what may be called the Deuteronomic standpoint. And the answer to that question is not difficult. Throughout the book we find a number of passages, easily separable from their context, which are strongly coloured not only by the spirit and ideas, but also by the language of the Book of Deuteronomy. Associated and often intermingled with the Deuteronomic phrases we find also a set of stereotyped expressions, figures of speech, &c., which, though not found in Deuteronomy itself, are characteristic of the style and vocabulary of the particular writer who inserted the Deuteronomic passages in Kings[1]; so that in most cases it is an easy task to distinguish his work from all other elements of the composition. The sections thus isolated are marked in the text by the letter **D**, and will be seen to be nearly all of the nature of comments designed to elucidate and enforce the religious lessons of the history. It cannot of course be absolutely proved that they are from the same hand as the framework; but since both represent an identical standpoint, and the character of each is essentially editorial, it is at least a reasonable assumption that they are the work of the same writer. If this be the case, the proof that the author of the framework was also the compiler of the book becomes almost irresistible. For, as the framework constitutes the formal unity of the history, so the Deuteronomic passages impart to it a unity of spirit and purpose; and if both are contributed by the same writer we need not hesitate to speak of him as the real author of the Book of Kings.

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[1] Lists of both sets of phrases are given by Driver, *Introduction*^{6}, p. 200 ff., and Burney, in *DB*, ii. p. 859 ff.

It was remarked above (p. 6) that the author of Kings, whoever he might prove to be, belonged to the class of didactic historians. This estimate is now fully confirmed both by a survey of the contents of the book and by an examination of the Deuteronomic passages which we assign to the compiler. From the former we learn that he had little interest in political affairs as such —important reigns like those of Omri and Jeroboam II being dismissed with a few meagre notices, while events of an ecclesiastical character, such as the building or repair of the Temple, or the finding of the Law, are described at great length. Thus the mere selection of material, apart from his own comment and reflection, shows that the writer's dominant interest was religious. When we turn to the passages which form his individual contribution to the work we are enabled to define his position and purpose more exactly. The general principle which he desires to enforce is clearly expressed in such places as 1 K. ii. 2–4 (David's charge to Solomon), ix. 1–9 (God's second appearance to Solomon), 2 K. xvii. 7–23 (review of the history of the northern kingdom), &c. It is, in one word, the principle of retribution—the truth that fidelity to Yahweh is rewarded by national prosperity, and unfaithfulness punished by national misfortune. The standard of fidelity is, as we have seen, the Book of Deuteronomy; and the writer's purpose is to show how the ideas inculcated in that book have been those which moulded the destinies of the nation throughout its past history. The Deuteronomic ideas most insisted on (besides the doctrine of retribution) are: (*a*) the exclusive right of Yahweh, based on His choice of Israel as His special possession, to the whole-hearted allegiance and worship of His people; (*b*) the necessity of maintaining that worship in its purity, uncontaminated by heathen elements, whether in the shape of material representations of Yahweh or the association of false gods with His service; (*c*) the restriction of sacrificial worship to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem. The Divine element in the history is symbolized by the three great theocratic institutions of the Temple, the Davidic dynasty, and Prophecy, each of which represents an aspect of Yahweh's gracious presence with Israel, and affords an external test of the people's attitude towards Him. In the neglect or abuse of these institutions the writer finds a measure of the nation's declension from the religious ideal by which alone its true welfare was secured.

From all this we see that the compiler is no mere religious antiquary, dwelling by preference on those matters in which he was specially interested, but writes with the serious moral purpose of impressing on his own generation, and those which might follow, the lessons which the national history was fitted to teach. It is not necessary to show in detail how the whole historical treatment is made subservient to the illustration of the principles that have just been stated; a few salient examples may suffice. The glories of Solomon's earlier reign are explained by the fact that he 'loved Yahweh, walking in the statutes of David' (1 K. iii. 3), who is always held up as the ideal of kingly virtue and piety. The misfortunes of his later years are attributed to his introduction of foreign cults in his old age (xi. 9 ff.); and here the compiler's didactic aim has led him to modify somewhat the representation of the older sources on which his narrative is based (see p. 174).

The secession of the northern tribes is the judgement on Solomon's apostasy (xi. 29 ff.); but at the same time it leads to a permanent contravention of the Deuteronomic standard in the establishment of the calf-worship, which is always emphasized as the principal cause of the ruin of the northern kingdom (2 K. xvii. 21–23). Of the later Israelite kings, some—like Ahab—sinned more heinously than Jeroboam, and are singled out for special reprobation (1 K. xvi. 31, xxi. 25 f.); and any striking exemplifications of the law of retribution in their case are carefully recorded (2 K. ix. 7 ff., 25 f., 36). In the quieter history of Judah the chief illustrations of the writer's religious principle are the sin of Manasseh, and the Deuteronomic reformation in the reign of Josiah. The former sealed the doom of Judah and rendered the destruction ot the state inevitable (2 K. xxi. 10 ff., xxiii. 26 ff.); while the latter availed to delay the final catastrophe (xxii. 19 f.), and possibly in the view of the original editor (see below) had been the means of averting the judgement entirely and saving the existence of the nation.

We are not to suppose, however, that the compiler has yielded to the besetting temptation of the pragmatic historian, and sacrificed historical truth to the exigencies of a religious theory. There may be a few cases similar to that of Solomon mentioned above, where the material has been slightly readjusted in order more effectively to point the moral; but over against these we find many instances where facts are faithfully recorded, although they are at variance with a rigid application of the doctrine of retribution. The verdict of approval stands against the names of several kings whom either the disasters of their reign (Amaziah) or the circumstances of their death (Asa, Jehoash, Azariah, Josiah) must have seemed to mark out as objects of Divine displeasure; and conversely, the severe condemnation pronounced on Ahab has not led the compiler to suppress the testimony of older authorities to his great achievements or many noble traits in his character. The truth is that the lessons which the writer seeks to inculcate are those naturally suggested by contemplation of the history as a whole, and could therefore be conveyed by a straightforward narration of the facts from which they are drawn. It is undoubtedly true that the compiler has rejected a great deal of valuable material because it was irrelevant to the didactic purpose of his work; but with regard to what he has retained, his procedure seems to be that of an honest, fairminded, and reliable historian.

IV. THE SECOND REDACTION AND DATE OF THE BOOK.

Thus far it has been convenient to speak of the compilation of Kings as a single operation, and of the editorial comments as if they had all been contributed by the same writer. As a matter of fact, the Deuteronomic sections are so far homogeneous that the general conclusions we have reached regarding the scope and character of the book will not be affected by any subsequent discovery of minor differences of standpoint which may be revealed by a closer inspection. The only question, indeed, which gives practical importance to these differences is the question whether the passages were written before or after the fall of the state. That the book was not finished till the latter part of the Exile is clear from the fact that the narrative is brought down to the release of Jehoiachin in the year 561; and the easiest supposition might seem to be that the compiler did not set to work till after that event. But against this we have to take note of certain indications that the main work of compilation was executed by a writer living before the Exile. Thus the hypothesis of a single redaction may prove to be insufficient; the pre-Exilic book will have been continued by an Exilic or post-Exilic editor; and the question will have to be considered whether this second editor merely added a supplement at the end, or whether he undertook a more or less comprehensive revision of the work as a whole.

The most obvious trace of a pre-Exilic redaction lies perhaps in the use of the phrase 'unto this day,' with reference to conditions which no longer obtained after the downfall of the kingdom. The chief instances are 1 K. viii. 8, ix. 21, xii. 19; 2 K. viii. 22, xvi. 6; in all of which it will be seen that the phrase is either quite impossible or at least extremely unnatural in the mouth of a post-Exilic writer. It is true that in many cases the expression may reasonably be assigned to the older documents from which the compiler drew his information; and it has been suggested that he may have copied the words mechanically, heedless of the fact that they were no longer applicable to his own time. But since the phrase in any case presupposes a considerable interval between the events and the time of writing, since it is a characteristic phrase of the compiler (cf. 1 K. ix. 21, x. 12; 2 K. xvii. 23, 41), and since it often appears not (as in 2 K. x. 27) in long extracts from earlier authorities, but in brief extracts culled from official annals, the theory of editorial inadvertence is not very probable; and we are fairly entitled to assume that whether the compiler found the formula in his sources or not, he at least employed it intelligently and with deliberate reference to his own point of view.

But this evidence does not stand alone. When we turn to the Deuteronomic additions, which were certainly composed by the editor, we find further signs that some of them presuppose the continued existence of the Judaean state and monarchy. (1) In several passages the language seems to imply that the Davidic succession in Jerusalem had never been interrupted down to the time of writing (especially 1 K. xi. 36, xv. 4; 2 K. viii. 19). It is quite evident that in none of these places is the Exile contemplated, for the full promise is that the lamp of David's house is to burn continuously and continually in Jerusalem; and such language would be altogether unsuitable if the writer had only in view the resuscitation of the monarchy after a long captivity. (2) Of a precisely similar character are some of the references to the Temple: it is spoken of as if it were still standing in the time of the Deuteronomic writer. Thus in 1 K. ix. 3 it is said that Yahweh has put His name there for ever, and that His eyes and His heart shall be there continually. Again, in Solomon's great intercessory prayer (1 K. viii. 14–53—a Deuteronomic composition) the leading idea is that the Temple will endure through all future generations as the pledge of Yahweh's presence; and while all sorts of calamities are anticipated as possible consequences of Israel's apostasy, the destruction of the Temple itself is nowhere hinted at. These two arguments have considerable force; but it must be admitted that there is one consideration which to some extent weakens them, and leaves the conclusion more or less doubtful. It might be urged that the passages in question, while undoubtedly written by the compiler, express a Divine purpose which was conditional on the fidelity of the kings and people, and that the purpose had been frustrated by persistent rebellion on the part of both. This point of view is unambiguously expressed in 1 K. ix. 1–9, where, alongside of a promise of the perpetuity of the Temple and the dynasty, there is a direct threat of exile and the overthrow of the sanctuary in the event of disobedience. For this reason it is difficult to say for certain whether the writer was living under the shadow of institutions whose ruin might yet be averted, or whether he was looking back on great hopes irretrievably shattered through long-continued violation of the conditions of Yahweh's favour. But even after allowance is made for that source of uncertainty there remains an impression that, if the Temple and the monarchy had actually ceased to be, the fact would have influenced the representation more decidedly than is the case in the passages considered. And that impression is strengthened by contrast with the terms in which the respite of the northern kingdom is spoken of in 2 K. xiii.

23: 'Yahweh was gracious unto them . . . because of His covenant . . . neither cast He them from His presence *as yet*.' (But see the note on the verse.)

On the other hand, there are Deuteronomic sections where the Exilic or post-Exilic point of view is revealed without ambiguity. The clearest examples are perhaps 2 K. xvii. 19f. (where the Exile is referred to as an accomplished fact), and xxi. 10–15, xxiii. 26f., xxiv. 2–4, 20 (where it is irrevocably decreed by Yahweh). Less decisive are 1 K. ix. 7–9; 2 K. xxii. 15–20. Now these are short passages; and it is not immediately apparent whether they point to a systematic revision of the book or are of the nature of isolated post-redactional insertions. But when the Deuteronomic sections are re-examined in the light supplied by the existence of undoubtedly post-Exilic elements, it is found that a number of passages can be more naturally assigned to this post-Exilic writer than to the pre-Exilic compiler of Kings [1]. It follows that the first of the two alternatives best expresses the true state of the case; the post-Exilic Deuteronomic additions are due to a *second editor*, who not only provided the conclusion of the narrative as it stands, but also contributed a good deal of the hortatory matter in which the book abounds [2].

The conclusions to which we are brought are therefore as follows. The hypothesis of a single (post-Exilic) compilation, though not absolutely inadmissible, is difficult to reconcile with the indications noted of a pre-Exilic point of view. It possesses undoubtedly this great attraction, that the fall of the state furnished a more natural opportunity and motive for a comprehensive treatment of the national history than any that can be suggested in the period immediately preceding that catastrophe (König, *Einleitung*, p. 267 f.). But the literary evidence seems too strong to be overruled by that consideration; and the balance of probability is in favour of the view that the history was originally compiled before the Exile, but was afterwards supplemented and to some extent revised by a younger editor who lived during or after the Exile. The two redactors belonged to the same Deuteronomic school of historians, and are so much alike in their principles and their cast of thought that it is not always possible to assign an editorial insertion with confidence to the one rather than to the other.

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[1] The discussion of the literary questions involved in this distinction is reserved for the Notes. In the Text the passages assigned to the younger editor, where it has been thought advisable to distinguish them, are marked by the letter **D**^{2}.

[2] It is commonly held that he likewise supplied the Synchronisms of the framework; but see below, p. 39.

To what point of the narrative the first compiler brought down his work cannot be definitely determined. A natural period for such a history to be written would be the latter part of the reign of Josiah, when the great reformation of religion might seem to have secured a return of temporal prosperity to the state; and an appropriate conclusion might be found in 2 K. xxiii. 25. But the last reference to the Chronicles of the kings of Judah (see p. 25) does not occur till xxiv. 5; and if that work, which has been the compiler's principal authority for the southern history (see p. 23), was not finished till after the death of Jehoiakim, the compiler's own date must be still later. This brings us into the reign of Zedekiah; so that unless xxiv. 5 be the mistaken repetition of a stereotyped formula by a copyist, the book must have been written on the very eve of the final captivity, when all hope of a favourable turn in the fortunes of the nation must have passed away. The continuation of the framework in the appendix would not of itself present any difficulty, since the younger editor would naturally adopt the plan laid down by his predecessor.

The precise date of the second redactor is also uncertain; but it can be pretty securely fixed within narrow limits. The superior limit is, of course, the liberation of Jehoiachin from his Babylonian prison in 561 (2 K. xxv. 27 ff.): the language suggests further that his death had already taken place ('until the day of his death,' Jer. lii. 34). On the other hand, the prominence given to this incident seems to show that it was comparatively recent at the time of writing; and we may place the second redaction in the quarter of a century between 561 and the return from captivity (536).

V. THE SOURCES.

1. *Proximate Sources.* That the Book of Kings is a compilation from written documents is virtually acknowledged in the habitual reference to certain authorities which we have seen to be an all but constant feature of the framework. It is true that these works are only referred to for information which the compiler has *not* included in his own history; but it will not be deemed an extravagant speculation if we assume that he was also indebted to them for some of the material which he did think worth preserving. It is therefore of some consequence to ascertain what the nature of these compositions may have been. They are only three in number: (1) The Book of the Acts of Solomon (1 K. xi. 41); (2) The Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel (cited for all the reigns except Jehoram and Hoshea); and (3) The Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah (for all except Ahaziah, Athaliah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah).

The Hebrew expression rendered 'Book of the Chronicles' (*ṣēpher dibrê hayyāmîm*, lit. 'book of the affairs of the days') is the technical term for official records which were kept in the state archives for the purpose of commemorating important political events (Esther ii. 23, vi. 1, x. 2; Neh. xii. 23; 1 Chron. xxvii. 24). Hence we may surmise that the Books of the Chronicles of Israel and Judah have something to do with the official annals of these two kingdoms[1]. That such annals were kept, there is every reason to believe: we read frequently (2 Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24; 1 K. iv. 3; 2 K. xviii. 18, 37; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8) of a minister called the *mazkîr* (lit. 'remembrancer'), whose duty it would naturally be to record public events affecting the policy of the state. And this view of the nature of the two documents is so far borne out by the few hints we get as to their contents. We see that they were mainly if not exclusively of a *political* character, containing much valuable information regarding the doings of the several kings[1]. This, indeed, appears to have been the chief difference between these older histories and our present Book of Kings, and at once suggests a reason why the compiler did not avail himself more freely of their material. The only question now is whether the compiler's references are to the royal annals themselves, or to histories of a more popular character based on the annals and incorporating much of their contents. To the former view there are two

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[1] The distinction drawn by Wellhausen and Kuenen between

'chronicles' and '*book of* chronicles'—as if the latter were a literary composition based on the official documents—appears to be fallacious. The word *ṣēpher* (book) is a regular component of the title of the annals themselves, as may be seen from the passages cited above. In 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, the text requires amendment.

[1] For example: 'all that he did,' 'all his might,' 'how he warred,' &c.; the conspiracies of Zimri and Shallum; the fortifications of Asa and Ahab; Ahab's ivory palace; Hezekiah's water-supply; &c., &c. The single exception to the political character of the references is the 'sin' of Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 17), and even that exception is more apparent than real. For although in a state document an act of the king would not be branded as a 'sin,' it might very well have been recorded there as an achievement to the king's credit; while the compiler's repugnance led him to stigmatize it briefly as a 'sin.' To the view here taken of the nature of these notices it has been objected that no king would be likely to describe himself as a conspirator in his official annals. But, as Cornill points out, the only conspiracies for which the Chronicles are cited as authorities are those of Zimri and Shallum, both of whom reigned a very short time, and would quite probably be referred to as conspirators in the annals of their successors.

objections. In the first place, the official annals were not public property, and therefore could not have been consulted by any reader desirous of further information. In the second place, while the compiler might conceivably have had access to the annals of Judah, he could not possibly have seen those of Israel, which must have perished long before his time. The books of Chronicles must, therefore, have been in circulation as independent works; and it is reasonable to suppose that they were not mere transcripts of the official records, but literary productions of a more general kind, though based on the information supplied by the annals[1].

The northern Chronicle must have covered the whole history of the kingdom of Ephraim, and probably contained in addition the account of its fall, and the repeopling of the land by Assyrian colonists (2 K. xvii. 24 ff.). The Judaean Chronicle came down to the death of Jehoiakim (p. 22); and, as we have seen, must have been composed before the Exile.

The Book of the Acts of Solomon differs somewhat in its title from the other two, and may have been a work of a different character. It is probable that like them it was based on the annals of the reign; but whether its subsequent expansion followed on similar lines it is impossible to say: it depends on how much of the present account of Solomon's reign was taken from this particular document. The criticism of that section of the history is so peculiar that further consideration of this point may be deferred to the Introductory Notes to 1 K. iii–xi (p. 81 f.).

It only remains to be said that these three documents are always referred to *as separate works*; and there are no good grounds for the opinion held by some that before the time of the compiler they had been united in a single pre-Deuteronomic Book of Kings.

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[1] On this view of the two books there seems no reason why they should not be regarded as the source of some narratives which, while too diffuse to have been taken straight from the annals, yet have the appearance of being based on official documents (2 K. xi, xii; xvi. 10 ff.; xxii, xxiii). It should be added that there is some evidence that the Chronicles themselves were composite works, in which different sources were amalgamated (see on 1 K. xi. 14 ff.; 2 K. xi).

2. *Primary Sources.* The historical matter of the Book of Kings (as distinguished from the editorial framework and commentary) is of two kinds: (1) brief and often fragmentary extracts from official annals; and (2) lengthy continuous narratives, sometimes full of picturesque detail, and displaying literary power of a high order. Of the first, nothing now remains to be said: we regard them as taken ultimately from the state records of the two monarchies, but immediately from one or other of the three historical works described in the last paragraph[1].

With respect to the longer narratives, there are one or two points to be noted. In the first place, their style and general character are such that in most cases they would have been out of place in a political chronicle, and therefore they cannot be reasonably assigned to any of the sources named by the compiler. In most, though not quite all, the religious interest predominates, and is exhibited chiefly in the prominence given to the activity of the *prophets*. In the second place, their literary features show that they were not written by the compiler himself, while the differences of style and standpoint prove them to have been produced by many different authors and under varied circumstances. In the third place, they are not unfrequently annotated by the compiler; hence they must have passed through his hands and been incorporated by him in the book. It is important also to observe the links of connexion between them and the annalistic passages—each tacitly presupposing the other in a way which makes it practically certain that it is the compiler himself who has blended the two disparate elements into one whole[1]. The conclusion to which all this leads is manifest. Just as the compiler has omitted much that he read in his proximate sources, because it did not further his religious aim, so he has enriched the history from a variety of independent documents; and he has been able to draw on these sources all the more freely that for the most part they represent a religious standpoint essentially akin to his own.

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[1] Those belonging to the reign of Solomon are denoted by the letter **A** (see p. 82); in the subsequent history they are marked **KI** and **KJ** respectively, without any attempt to discriminate between notices that may have stood in the original official sources and others which received their present form from the editors of the books of the Chronicles.

We now proceed to enumerate the most important and the most easily distinguishable of these independent sources.

C. The account of Solomon's accession in 1 K. i, ii, is taken from what may be described as a Court-memoir of the reign of David. It belongs to the same document as 2 Sam. ix–xx; and apparently forms the immediate continuation and conclusion of that graphic and well-informed narrative; see further, p. 57. There are some resemblances between its style and that of the story of the revolt in 1 K. xii, which seem to show that it was known to the writer of the latter passage; but in what precise relation the two stand to one another it is difficult to judge.

S. In the history of Solomon we find a few anecdotes illustrative of his wisdom and greatness which are certainly not annalistic, and whose origin cannot be definitely traced to any known source: viz. Solomon's dream at Gibeon (1 K. iii. 4–15); his famous Judgement (iii. 16–28); the visit of the Queen of Sheba (x. 1–10). There is, however, no serious difficulty in supposing that they were in the secondary source, the Book of the Acts of Solomon; and they have been marked accordingly. See p. 82.

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[1] E.g. 1 K. xiv. 1 ff. is unintelligible apart from xii. 25 ff.; xvii. 1 presupposes xvi. 29 ff.; 2 K. ix rests on viii. 28; &c., &c. (Wellhausen, against Thenius).

T. The account of the building of the Temple and palace in 1 K. vi, vii, which is wedged into a mass of annalistic fragments, is commonly supposed to be drawn from a document preserved in the Temple archives (see p. 103). To the same source some would assign the later sections which we have marked J (see below).

N. For the history of the kingdom of Israel the compiler has used first of all a group of northern narratives, mainly of a political character: 1 K. xx, xxii. 1–38; 2 K. iii, vi. 24–vii. 20, ix, x; and next,

A series of biographies of the great northern prophets—

Ej. Elijah: 1 K. xvii–xix, xxi; 2 K. i. 2–17; and

Es. Elisha: 2 K. ii, iv. 1–vi. 23, viii. 1–15, xiii. 14–21.

It will be found that these groups overlap one another at several points; and their mutual affinities have perhaps not been quite satisfactorily made out as yet. The political series (**N**) is united by some striking literary resemblances; and hence Wellhausen and others suppose that the passages are all taken from a single historical work dealing with the important period from Ahab to Jehu. The prominence given to the prophets Micaiah and Elisha is, of course, not in itself an objection to this view; because their activity was in reality an influential factor in the political life of the time. The two latest commentators (Benzinger and Kittel), however, take a different view. While recognizing the essentially political and secular character of 1 K. xx, xxii, they regard the later passages (especially 2 K. iii and vi. 24 ff.) as really belonging to a life of Elisha. The occasional similarities in language to 1 K. xx, xxii they explain by conscious or unconscious imitation of the one author by the other; and it is pointed out that there are affinities hardly less striking with the undoubtedly prophetic narratives, **Ej.** and **Es**[1]. These latter groups are both of composite origin; and it is thought that 2 K. iii, vi. 24 ff. represent a particular stratum in the collection of Elisha-narratives—more political than the rest, but still belonging decidedly to the department of prophetic biography. It seems doubtful if either of these theories does justice by itself to all the facts of the case; and some more complicated hypothesis may have to be resorted to in order to harmonize the conflicting indications. It is certainly remarkable that the whole of both groups (1 K. xx, xxii not excepted) illustrate more or less distinctly the influence of the prophets in North Israel. In 1 K. xx, it is true, the prophets are anonymous; and the passages relating to them are generally regarded as patches on the original political narrative, added by the compiler. But it is quite as likely that they express the purpose of the independent document *before* it was incorporated in the Book of Kings; and in that case we should have to suppose that an originally political narrative had been utilized as the basis of a great work on northern prophecy. This would explain the dual character of 2 K. iii, vi. 24 ff., which may have been partly rewritten to form the political background of the ministry of Elisha, while at the same time their original affinities with 1 K. xx, xxii have been preserved. It is, further, not improbable that the strictly prophetic Elijah- and Elisha-narratives (**Ej.** and **Es.**) had been amalgamated with **N** into a comprehensive history of prophecy in the kingdom of Ephraim.

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[1] For details, see the Notes, pp. 244, 282 f., 305 f.

J. Coming now to the southern kingdom, we find four lengthy passages (2 K. xi, xii. 4 ff., xvi. 10–18, and xxii. 3–xxiii. 24) which seem to have a common origin; and which, as has been mentioned above, some critics assign to the Temple archives. We are disposed to think they are taken straight from the Book of the Chronicles of Judah (**KJ**); and have marked 2 K. xi accordingly. For the other three passages, whose origin may be more doubtful, the symbol **J** has been used.

I and **I²**. Finally, the account of Hezekiah's reign is amplified in 2 K. xviii. 17–xx. 19 by extracts from the biography of the prophet Isaiah, in which perhaps two separate narratives had previously been combined (see p. 386 ff.).

These are the principal documents which the compiler had at his disposal in writing the history of the monarchy. We see how his use of them has been guided by his dominant religious purpose, which has led him to devote so much space to narratives of which the prophets or the Temple formed the central interest. We have next to consider what assurance we have that all these passages were actually inserted by the compiler, and not by some later editor or scribe. That subject has to be discussed in connexion with some facts which show that post-redactional additions do occur in our present Book of Kings; and to this question we now turn.

VI. LATER ADDITIONS AND REDACTIONS.

The evidence thus far adduced goes to show that the Book of Kings existed substantially in its present form before the close of the Exile, and that the strictly historical material had been sifted and arranged by a pre-Exilic compiler. We have found no proof that the younger Deuteronomic editor had any fresh documents at his command, or that he has added new facts to the history covered by the work of his predecessor. For the interval between the two redactions he does appear to have availed himself to some extent of written sources (see p. 436); but for the rest his additions are confined to the didactic element of the book, and have all been freely composed by himself. But have we any certainty that the process of compilation and expansion was completely arrested about the end of the Exile, and that no important additions were made after the book left the hands of the second redactor? Is it not possible that not only interpolations, but even complete narratives of late date, may have been inserted by successive editors in the long period between the original redactors and the time when the text received its final form?

The activity of late editors is often most easily recognized in short glosses or interpolations which they have introduced (frequently in the margin at first) for the purpose of explaining or modifying some statements which had become either unintelligible or incredible to the age in which they lived. The discussion of such matters belongs to the province of textual rather than of literary criticism; and it is unnecessary in this place to say more than that the presence of such interpolations is to be expected, and is abundantly proved. There is just one series of slight insertions of sufficient importance to be mentioned here, because it reveals a point of view different from that of the Deuteronomic compilers. The letter **P** is used in the text to denote what may be called Priestly glosses; i.e. glosses which show a familiarity with the Priestly Code of the Pentateuch, and represent a tendency to superimpose its characteristic phraseology on the more ancient narratives of the Book of Kings. That they are really later additions is further shown by the fact that a considerable proportion of them was wanting in the MSS. from which the Greek translation was made. It will be seen that glosses of this kind are few in number, and are practically confined to one section of the history. They occur most frequently in the account of the dedication of the Temple (1 K. viii. 1–11); there are one or two in the description of the Temple buildings (vi, vii); and perhaps a couple of isolated instances in the rest of the book (e.g. 1 K. xviii. 31 b). Now the extreme rarity of these priestly annotations is a very interesting fact, and a proof of the fidelity with which the characteristic features of the book have been preserved. What a systematic revision of the Book of Kings from the priestly standpoint would have meant we can partly judge from the parallel sections of the books of Chronicles, where the ancient history is largely recast in order to bring it into conformity with the ideals which had long become traditional under the influence of the Priestly Code. The almost complete immunity of the Book of Kings from this method of treatment is a valuable testimony to the soundness of the historical tradition which it represents.

The question regarding the insertion of longer narrative passages is at once more difficult and more important. Strictly speaking, we can have no absolute assurance that any particular section stood in the original book, unless it bears traces of the compiler's pen, or else is presupposed by some other section which demonstrably passed through his hands. It must be admitted that the number of important passages which fail to satisfy this abstract test is not small. But on the other hand, the mere absence of editorial comment is plainly no proof that a passage was *not* placed by the compiler; and no sober critic would think of disputing its genuineness, except where it interrupts the connexion, or where its standpoint and language suggest a considerably later date. Thus, the incident of Naboth's vineyard in 1 K. xxi contains clear evidence of the compiler's activity, and must be unhesitatingly set down as belonging to one of his sources. The same cannot be said of Elijah's conflict with Jezebel and Ahab in 1 K. xvii–xix. But then the two narratives so closely resemble each other that no reason can be given for assigning their authorship to different periods; since one is certainly older than the compiler, the other must be presumed to be older likewise, and to have been incorporated by him in his work. By the application of that obvious principle of criticism, the great bulk of the documentary material is guaranteed beyond all reasonable doubt.

There remain, however, a few cases where at least the possibility of post-redactional insertion must be left an open question. A typical instance is the story of Jeroboam and the man of God from Judah in 1 K. xiii. We note in the first place that this narrative seems to have been intruded into its position, and not without disturbing the continuity of the verses immediately preceding. It contains, moreover, features which in the judgement of some critics indicate a stage of theological reflection more advanced than the period preceding the Exile. Hence, in the entire absence of any sign, direct or indirect, that it passed under the eye of the compiler, the suggestion that it was inserted in a later age cannot be absolutely excluded. Some scholars, indeed, think the facts can be sufficiently explained by assigning the section to the younger (Exilic) redactor; but that view has little to recommend it. For, apart from the question whether the younger redactor used any additional documents at all, if the difference of standpoint be as great as is alleged, the interval of time between the two redactions seems too short to account for it. The same kind of considerations applies to some other passages, whose early date is open to question: they are those marked in the text by the letter **Z**.

VII. THE GREEK VERSION OF KINGS.

The translation of the O. T. from Hebrew into Greek was gradually accomplished at various times during the two and a half centuries preceding the Christian era. The middle portion of the Canon, to which the Book of Kings belongs, was probably in existence in its Greek garb about the middle of the second century B.C.[1]; so that from that time downwards we are sure that the transmission of the text ran in two parallel channels, although actual MS. evidence of the existence of either is not met with till a much later date.

The lay reader is apt to be surprised at the deference paid by modern commentators to this version, seeing it only purports to be a translation in another tongue of an original which we still have in our own hands. It may therefore be desirable to say a few words here in explanation of the importance for O. T. study of this translation, which is commonly known as the Septuagint (LXX), and which, it should be remembered, was the Bible chiefly used by the N. T. writers.

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[1] See the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, written by the Greek translator, *c.* 130 B. C.

Every one understands the value for N. T. criticism of a comparison of various readings in different MSS. In the study of the O. T. this resource fails us, all existing Hebrew MSS. being practically identical, and none of them older than the ninth century A. D. This, of course, shows that extraordinary care was exercised in copying the text from that time onwards, and there is reason to believe that the same scrupulous fidelity was observed since the second or third century A. D., when it is supposed that a standard Hebrew text was adopted, to which all MSS. were conformed. We have no right to assume, however, that a similar uniformity prevailed before that date, or that the standard text ultimately agreed upon represents accurately the original autographs, or even the closest approximation to them that might have been obtained. Now, the chief value of the LXX is this, that very frequently it is a translation, not of the text which we read in our Hebrew Bibles, but of an independent and divergent text, which of course must have been that of some Hebrew MSS. at the time the translation was made. Though these MSS. have perished and have left no successors in Hebrew, the LXX affords positive proof of their existence; and they have to be reckoned with as independent witnesses to the condition of the text, say in the second century B. C., just as if they lay before us now. And whether they represented a superior or inferior form of the text is a question not to be settled off-hand by any *a priori* considerations, but to be decided on the merits of each particular case. If, for example, the LXX should suggest an emendation of the Hebrew, which renders intelligible what is otherwise obscure, there is a presumption that it follows the reading of a better MS. than that followed in preparing the standard Hebrew text. Or if the LXX lacks a passage which looks like an interpolation in the Hebrew, it strengthens the probability that an insertion had really been made in the family of MSS. represented by the standard text, but not in those followed by the LXX. Or, once more, if the LXX should mention some incident not recorded in the Hebrew, which throws light on the general sequence of events, we may suppose that the LXX has preserved a genuine element of the historical tradition which the Hebrew has lost. Of course, all these hypothetical cases may be reversed, with the result of establishing the superiority of the Hebrew; but each instance has to be examined separately, without prejudice in favour of one version or the other.

Here another fact has to be noticed. From the time of Origen the text of the LXX has been subjected to repeated revisions; and the constant tendency of these revisions was to assimilate its text more and more closely to the Hebrew standard. New Greek translations, based on our present Hebrew, had come into existence; and when a reviser thought that his exemplar of the LXX deviated too far from the Hebrew, he was very apt to substitute the corresponding section of the more recent versions as being more faithful to the Hebrew verity. Hence, if of two Greek MSS. one gives a literal reproduction of the Hebrew as we have it, while the other markedly diverges from it, there is a very strong probability indeed that the latter will represent the original LXX and the former a later accommodation to the Hebrew. Or if, as frequently happens, a passage of the Hebrew is duplicated in the Greek, once in a literal rendering and again in a divergent form, we may again assume that the latter is the real text of the LXX, and therefore of the group of ancient MSS. on which that translation was based.

These are perhaps the elementary facts on which the critical use of the LXX proceeds; but the questions which arise in practice are amongst the most difficult with which textual criticism has to deal. Unfortunately the study of the LXX text is not yet sufficiently advanced to permit of its being fully utilized as an instrument of critical investigation. Much remains to be done before the original translations are disentangled from the later accretions that have gathered round them ; and the idiosyncrasies of the various Greek translators will have to be carefully marked before a confident judgement can be formed on the character of the Hebrew text which underlies their work. Still, even the helps already available, if used cautiously, are of priceless value to the expositor. For while no existing edition professes to give the LXX text in its original condition, there are some texts which can be pretty safely relied on as representing it very closely in particular instances. The edition of Swete reproduces the text of the famous Vatican MS. (referred to as LXX (B)), which, so far as the Book of Kings is concerned, is *relatively* free from the harmonizing alterations of the revised recensions; and that of Lagarde, giving the text of a family of MSS. supposed to represent the recension of Lucian of Antioch (LXX (L)), about the beginning of the fourth century A. D., also contains many independent readings which appear to be primitive. These, together with the so-called Hexaplar Syriac and the monumental work of Field[1], are perhaps the most useful aids in this branch of investigation ; and by a judicious use of the material provided by them we undoubtedly obtain a great deal of light on points of exegesis and criticism which would otherwise be hopelessly obscure.

In order to convey some idea of the mutual relations of the Hebrew and Greek versions we here enumerate the more striking cases of variation :—In the second chapter of I Kings two long insertions occur in the LXX, one after verse 35 and the other at the end of the chapter. These have a certain critical interest, though it is difficult to believe that they are essentially anything better than a *réchauffé* of material which the Hebrew contains in other and more natural connexions (see p. 80 f.). In ch. iv, on the other hand, the arrangement of the LXX is distinctly superior to the Hebrew (see p. 94). The most perplexing of all the differences is the widely divergent account of the career of Jeroboam which the LXX inserts between verses 24 and 25 of ch. xii: along with this we have to take the account of the revolt, which corresponds in the main to the Hebrew (though the name of Jeroboam does not appear till verse 20), and also the omission of xiv. 1-20. It is very difficult to understand how such a narrative could have arisen out of the Hebrew account; but the discussion of the question must be reserved for an Appendix (Note II). A simpler case is the transposition of xx and xxi, so as to bring together the Elijah narratives on the one hand and the political narratives on the other in what many scholars regard as the true and original order (p. 254). Another kind of variation is seen in the fact that the reign of Jehoshaphat is inserted (in I K. xvi. 28^{a-h}) *before* instead of after that of Ahab. This is the result of a difference in chronology which makes Jehoshaphat accede to the throne in the eleventh year of Omri instead of the fourth of Ahab; and it illustrates at once the resolute consistency with which the editors carried out their principles, and the freedom with which they rearranged the material in accordance with them. And finally we may call attention to a series of discrepancies in the chronology, which cannot be explained by accidental errors in copying, but seem to imply two radically distinct chronological systems between which the allegiance of different editors had been divided. To this subject we shall return in the next section.

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[1] *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, &c., vol. i, 1875. For information on all these matters the reader is referred to Swete's admirable *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 1900.

It does not appear that any single theory will apply to all these variations; which, be it remembered, are not one tenth part of those that have to be dealt with in a minute study of the book. Some, no doubt, might be set down to the caprice or ignorance of the translators; but there are others which still await a satisfactory explanation. One is almost driven to regard them in the light of residual phenomena, which refuse to accommodate themselves to any hard and fast theory of the composition of the book. The one general conclusion to which they unambiguously point is that the text of Kings remained in a very fluid condition down to the second century B. C.: 'Neither the one version nor the other is the original; each represents a stage, and not always the same stage, in the long-protracted labours of the redactors[1].'

VIII. THE CHRONOLOGY.

The compiler of Kings would appear to have been one of the first O. T. writers to recognize the importance for the historian of a definite and systematic chronology. He has met this requirement by the elaborate series of notices contained in the Introductory Formulas of the framework; and if the figures should be found reliable, he has thus provided the materials for a perfect chronology of the period covered by his history. The tests to which every such system must be subjected are *first*, its self-consistency, and *second*, its agreement with independent trustworthy records, such, for example, as those supplied by the Assyrian monuments. Now, a very slight inspection of the system suffices to show that its data frequently contradict each other, so that it is quite impossible to accept its statements without criticism. On further examination, it appears that the results do not correspond with those derived from the Assyrian inscriptions; although it may be said at once that the errors of the Hebrew text appear to be much less extensive than is often supposed. We are here confronted with problems of extreme intricacy, an exhaustive discussion of which is far beyond the scope of the present volume. It is necessary, nevertheless, that something should be said on the subject, partly for the sake of exhibiting the principles on which the chronological scheme of the book has been constructed, and partly with the aim of reducing the probabilities of error to their proper dimensions.

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[1] Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, p. 428.

1. *The Chronological Scheme.* First of all, it is necessary to distinguish between the two elements which enter into the chronological statements of the framework: viz. first, the lengths of the reigns; and second (for the period of the divided monarchy), the synchronisms between the histories of Israel and Judah. The numerous discrepancies between these two sets of figures prove conclusively that they do not proceed from the same author, and that the synchronisms have been calculated from the durations of the reigns (not, of course, vice versa). The facts cannot be explained by the assumption of textual corruption, for it is usually found that a mistake once introduced is perpetuated, until it is neutralized by another. It is reasonable to suppose that the lengths of reign were taken from the Chronicles of Israel and Judah by the compiler, and therefore rested originally on good authority: whether they have been accurately transmitted is of course another question. The synchronisms are usually attributed to the younger redactor; but in view of the remarkable deviations found in the LXX (especially in LXX (L), see below) it seems more probable that they were inserted at a much later stage in the history of the text. For our immediate practical purposes, therefore, it might be safe to confine our attention to the durations of the reigns, neglecting the synchronisms except in so far as they help to locate an error in the other series, or throw light on the mode of reckoning there employed.

The next question, accordingly, is as to the manner in which the length of a reign was computed. Two methods are possible: (*a*) The first (which is the one that commends itself to us as most natural and convenient) is to reckon by complete calendar years, so that if a king comes to the throne in the middle of a year that year will be given to his predecessor, while the ensuing year is counted as the first year of the new reign. On this principle the time occupied by a series of reigns will be obtained by simple addition of the separate durations. (*b*) But another method is conceivable. The year in which a change of reign occurs might be reckoned twice, once as the last year of the deceased king, and again as the first of his successor; so that to find the true period covered by a number of reigns we must deduct from the sum of the lengths one year for each reign. Benzinger has tried to prove that both methods were in use among Hebrew chronologers; and that while the latter (*b*) governs the chronology of the Hebrew text, the former (*a*) lay at the basis of the original LXX, and is represented by a striking but fragmentary series of notices preserved chiefly in LXX (L). The facts are perhaps not sufficiently numerous to allow a confident judgement on the latter point; although it will appear presently that Benzinger's theory gives significance to many interesting phenomena of the text of LXX (L). At all events, it is quite clear that (*b*) is the prevalent method of the Hebrew synchronisms. This is seen most evidently from such cases as Nadab, Elah, and Ahaziah (of Israel), each of whom reigned two years, while each reign terminated (according to the synchronisms) in the year immediately following that in which it began. At the same time, there are a good many exceptions—e.g. Abijam, Jehoash (of Judah), Pekah, &c.—in which (barring errors of text) the method (*a*) appears to be followed.

We may now proceed to illustrate these results from the chronological data of the book. For this purpose we divide the history into three periods, marked by the two absolutely fixed synchronisms between the histories of

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Israel and Judah: viz. the deaths of Ahaziah of Judah and Jehoram of Israel on one day, and second, the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah of Judah.

In the first period—from the revolt of the ten tribes to the murder of Ahaziah and Jehoram by Jehu—there are six reigns in Judah and nine in Israel. Taking the lengths of the reigns as they stand in the Hebrew, the sum is, for Judah ninety-five years, and for Israel ninety-eight years. If, now, in accordance with the method (*b*), we subtract a year for each reign, we find that each series runs to eighty-nine years. So close a correspondence cannot be accidental; and the result confirms the hypothesis that (*b*) is actually the system on which the Hebrew computation is based. The method (*a*) yields an inequality of three years; and possibly this is the explanation of the fact that Abijam receives six years in the LXX as against the three years of the Hebrew; though it might still be made a question whether the reign was lengthened in the LXX or shortened in the Hebrew. At any rate, the six years of the LXX brings the Judaean series up to ninety-eight years, in harmony with the Israelitish series. The synchronisms of the period present many anomalies in both versions; but in the Hebrew the method (*b*) obtains on the whole, while the LXX has some striking examples of (*a*). One of the most singular is the case of Asa, who is said to have ascended the throne in the twenty-fourth year of Jeroboam (1 K. xv. 9, LXX); although the Hebrew allows only a twenty-two years' reign to the latter monarch (xiv. 20). This is a passage which was not found in the original LXX; so it is just possible that some MSS. assigned him a twenty-five years' reign; and in this way the advantage of giving six years to Abijam would be neutralized. But these perplexing inquiries cannot be further pursued here[1].

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[1] It may also be noted that in a passage peculiar to the LXX (xii. 24^a) the Vatican MS. gives only twelve years to the reign of Rehoboam.

It is in the middle period—from the revolution of Jehu to the fall of Samaria—that errors are most serious and most embarrassing. The sum of the Israelitish reigns is here 144, that of the Judaean 165 years; if we follow the method (*b*) the numbers are 135 and 158 respectively. With such a discrepancy correct synchronisms are impossible; and there are two which at once arrest attention by their glaring inconsistency: those, namely, of Azariah of Judah (2 K. xv. 1) and Zechariah of Israel (xv. 8). The former is eleven years, and the latter twelve years, too late; but as they occur in opposite series the effect is cumulative; and they reveal a total disparity of twenty-three years, which is just the amount of error we are looking for. But it is very difficult to conceive how the mistake could have originated. The latter synchronism obviously requires either that the reign of Amaziah (of Judah) be shortened, or that of Jeroboam II lengthened, by eleven years[1]. Let us try the first alternative, which is the less objectionable of the two. In this case Azariah came to the throne in the fourth of Jeroboam II; and the sum of the Judaean reigns is reduced to 147 years (on the method (*b*)). This still leaves twelve years to be accounted for; but the synchronisms yield us no further guidance. A suggestion of Benzinger's may be helpful. He thinks that in the original scheme of the Hebrew the fall of Samaria was made to synchronize, not with the sixth of Hezekiah, but with the latter part of the reign of Ahaz (see below). If this view be accepted we possibly do not need to go any further: we seem to have come on a stage of the redaction in which the event coincided with the ninth year of Ahaz[2]. The editors of the Greek text of

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[1] Compare 2 K. xiv. 23, xiv. 2, xv. 1, 8. For if 15th Amaziah = 1st Jeroboam, then 1st Azariah (= 29th Amaziah) = 15th Jeroboam; and 38th Azariah = 52nd Jeroboam. To reconcile xv. 8 with the forty-one years' reign of Jeroboam we should have to antedate the reign of Azariah by eleven years, i. e. to curtail the reign of his father by that amount.

[2] On the possibility of an overlapping of the reigns of

LXX (L) appear to have dealt with the problem on lines peculiar to themselves. Jehu is there said to have begun to reign in the second year of Athaliah, thus making an interregnum of one or two years in the history of Israel; and the reign of Pekahiah is extended from two years to ten. This brings the Israelitish series (on the method (*a*)) up to 153 or 154 years. If now we assume as before that the reign of Amaziah has to be shortened by eleven years, the difference entirely vanishes; and the last year of Hoshea coincides with the sixth of Hezekiah. Unfortunately, the synchronisms proper to this system have been displaced in favour of those in our Hebrew text; so that we have no means of checking the results.

In the third period—from the fall of the northern to that of the southern kingdom—there are no synchronisms to assist or perplex the calculations; and all that has to be done for the chronology is to compare it with the data derived from the Assyrian and Babylonian records.

2. *Absolute Chronology*. Thus far we have been considering only the internal self-consistency of the scheme as it must be supposed to have passed through the hands of the synchronists at a certain stage of the redaction. We must now go on to compare the figures with the chronological data supplied by the Assyrian monuments. Here we naturally begin with the *third* period, which is bounded by two well-ascertained dates—the fall of Samaria in 722 and the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. Now, the sum of the reigns from the accession of Hezekiah to the end of Zedekiah is, on the reckoning (*a*), 140 years; on the reckoning (*b*), 133 years. Hence the accession of Hezekiah would be on the one reckoning 727 B.C., and on the other 720 B.C. The first result agrees with the statement of 2 K. xviii. 10 that Samaria fell in

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Azariah and Jotham, see below, p. 45. We cannot take account of it here, because it is not contemplated in the synchronistic scheme. On an ingenious attempt by Rühl to solve the difficulty, see Appendix, Note III.

the sixth year of Hezekiah; and it is quite likely that that synchronism is based on this very calculation. But singularly enough, the other result agrees with a view maintained on independent grounds by Winckler, and adopted by several recent scholars, viz. that the destruction of Samaria took place towards the end of the reign of Ahaz, and that Hezekiah's reign actually commenced in 720. Which view is correct it might be difficult to say; but there is no doubt that the second involves least disturbance of the traditional data of the Hebrew text. We shall see immediately that the shorter computation, on which it rests, gives the most satisfactory results for the earlier periods of the history, and is therefore to be preferred. Moreover, the date 720 for the accession of Hezekiah is alone consistent with the traditional ascription of a sixteen years' reign to Ahaz: if we were to accept the date 727 it would be necessary to shorten the reign of Ahaz to about eight years. Accordingly, we shall adopt henceforth the shorter Hebrew method of reckoning (*b*); and fix the accession of Hezekiah in 720 B. C.

Proceeding backwards, we pause first at the year 733, the date of Tiglath-pileser's expedition against Pekah (see Notes, p. 364); which must have taken place near the beginning of the reign of Ahaz and near the end of that of Pekah. Let us put it tentatively in the third of Ahaz and the last but one of Pekah. This puts the accession of Ahaz in 735, which harmonizes with 2 K. xvi. 2, where Ahaz is said to have reigned sixteen years. But it puts back the death of Pekah to 732; and so makes it necessary to assign to Hoshea a reign of eleven years instead of nine (2 K. xvii. 1: see further, p. 374). We have now obtained a new point of departure, which to some extent neutralizes the uncertainty as to the accession of Hezekiah; but the next step backwards reveals a more serious error in the Israelitish reigns. In 738 Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser (see p. 362); so that in the six years from 738–732 we have to find room for part of the reign of Menahem and the whole of those of Pekahiah (two years) and Pekah (twenty years). There is therefore an excess of more than fourteen years, which will be most simply adjusted by reducing the reign of Pekah to four years (Hebrew computation). An interval of 104 years lies between this and the next earlier Assyrian synchronism, which is Jehu's tribute to Shalmaneser in 842 (see p. 335). For reasons which will presently appear, it is necessary to put the incident very near the beginning of Jehu's reign: let us assume for convenience of calculation that he came to the throne in 843. The reigns from Jehu to Shallum cover ninety-eight years. This allows seven years for the part of Menahem's reign preceding 738—a perfectly satisfactory result. It follows, therefore, that the traditional durations of the reigns from Jehu to Menahem are at least approximately correct.

Passing to the Judaean series, we have no Assyrian synchronism between 733 and 842[1]. Putting, as before, the accession of Athaliah in 843, we should have between this and the accession of Ahaz a period of 108 years, for which we have lengths of reign amounting to 139 years[2], a discrepancy of thirty-one years. We have no means of tracking this error to its source; but the system which requires least alteration of the numbers in the Massoretic text is perhaps that of P. Rost, in *KAT*^{3}, p. 319 ff. Rost divides the error into two parts, thus: (1) He reduces the reign of Amaziah from twenty-nine years (2 K. xiv. 2) to nine. (2) He supposes that the greater part of the reign of Jotham was a regency during his father's lifetime (2 K. xv. 5), and that he ruled independently for only five years (Hebrew reckoning)[3]. With these assumptions we obtain a perfect correspondence between the biblical data and those of the Assyrian inscriptions. And it will be found that the scheme fully satisfies the condition that the reigns of Amaziah of Judah and Jehoash of Israel must have been contemporaneous (xiv. 8 f.).

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[1] The supposed mention of Azariah by Tiglath-pileser in 738 is now generally allowed to be a mistaken identification; see p. 359.

[2] On the assumption (justified by 2 K. xi. 4) that Athaliah reigned six *full* years.

[3] To be strictly accurate, Rost's theory is that the sixteen

In the first period—from the rebellion of the ten tribes to the revolution of Jehu—there is but one date fixed by Assyriology, the battle of Ḳarḳar, in which Ahab fought, in 854. This must have been near the end of Ahab's reign; but it requires very close calculation indeed to find time for the subsequent reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, without reducing the numbers of the Hebrew text. Rost accomplishes it, however, in the following manner: he supposes the battle of Ḳarḳar to have been fought in the spring of 854, and the battle of Ramoth-gilead before the autumn of the same year. It is thus just possible to fit in the twelve years of Ahaziah and Jehoram before 843[1]. For the remainder of the period we have no means of strictly controlling the dates. The invasion of Shishak would yield a synchronism with Egyptian history; and the relations of Solomon and Omri to the contemporary kings of Tyre furnish points of contact with the Tyrian annals; but the chronology of these countries is too uncertain to be of much service in

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years assigned to Jotham (2 K. xv. 33) were wholly contemporaneous with Azariah, but that his total reign was twenty years (see xv. 30). The argument here is rather precarious; but the important point is that the reigns of Jotham and Azariah may be quite naturally supposed to have overlapped for an indeterminate period.

[1] See Table III. Here (following Rost) the year of Ahab's death and Ahaziah's accession is given as 855 B.C. The explanation of this apparent contradiction is that the Hebrew year was reckoned from the autumn, while the Babylonian was reckoned from the spring. The year of Ahab's death ran from the autumn of 855 to the autumn of 854: whether we call it 855 or 854 is merely a question of names. The essential point in the calculation is that the death of Ahab and the battle of Ḳarḳar must fall within the same *Hebrew* year.

checking the figures of the framework of Kings. With regard to the latter, however, it may be mentioned that Winckler's investigation (based on extracts from the official annals preserved by Menander of Ephesus) yields results in perfect agreement with the Hebrew chronology. He puts the reign of Hiram I about 968–935 B. C., and Ittobaal I (Ethbaal) is exactly contemporary with Omri of Israel (887–876)[1].

On the whole, then, it may be said that the examination is surprisingly favourable, so far as the durations of the reigns are concerned, to the soundness of the Hebrew tradition. The details are given in the accompanying Chronological Table (III), which is drawn almost entirely from the work of Rost referred to above.

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[1] See *KAT*^{3}, p. 129.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

N.B.—Tables I and II give the lengths of reign and synchronisms according to the Hebrew Text and the LXX respectively. The figures in heavy type are those common to the two versions; those peculiar to the Hebrew are in plain type; those peculiar to the LXX in italics.

Table III ignores the synchronisms, and gives (1) the years B.C. of the various reigns according to the amended Hebrew text (after Rost), and (2) the dates fixed by Assyrian inscriptions.

TABLE I.

SYNCHRONISMS, ETC., OF THE HEBREW TEXT.

Length of Reign.			Year of Accession in contemp. Reign—	
Judah.	Israel.		Of Israel.	Of Judah.
17		Rehoboam		
	22	Jeroboam		
3		Abijam	18th	
41		Asa	20th	
	2	Nadab		2nd
	24	Baasha		3rd
	2	Elah		26th
	7 days	Zimri		27th
	12	Omri		31st
	22	Ahab		38th
25		Jehoshaphat	4th	
	2	Ahaziah		17th
	12	Jehoram		18th
8		Jehoram	5th	
1		Ahaziah	12th	
95	98			
6		Athaliah		
	28	Jehu		
40		Jehoash	7th	
	17	Jehoahaz		23rd
	16	Jehoash		37th
29		Amaziah	2nd	
	41	Jeroboam II		15th
52		Azariah	27th	
	6 mo.	Zechariah		38th
	1 mo.	Shallum		39th
	10	Menahem		39th
	2	Pekahiah		50th
	20	Pekah		52nd
16		Jotham	2nd	
16		Ahaz	17th	
	9	Hoshea		12th
6		Hezekiah	3rd	
165	144	**Fall of Samaria.**		

TABLE II.

SYNCHRONISMS, ETC., ACCORDING TO LXX.

Length of Reign.			Year of Accession in contemp. Reign—	
Judah.	Israel.		Of Israel.	Of Judah.
17[1]		Rehoboam		
	22?[2]	Jeroboam		
6		Abijam	**18th**	
41		Asa	*24th*	
	2	Nadab		**2nd**
	24	Baasha		**3rd**
	2	Elah		*20th*
	7 days[3]	Zimri		*22nd*[4]
	12	Omri.		**31st**
25		Jehoshaphat . . .	*11th*	
	22	Ahab.		*2nd*
	2	Ahaziah. . . .		*24th*[5]
8[6]		Jehoram.	**5th**	
	12	Jehoram . . .		*2nd*[7]
1		Ahaziah	*11th*[5]	
98	98			
6		Athaliah		
	2	*Interregnum*[8]		
	28	Jehu		*2nd*[8]
40		Jehoash	**7th**	
	17	Jehoahaz . . .		**23rd**
	16	Jehoash. . . .		**37th**
29		Amaziah. . . .	**2nd**	
	41	Jeroboam II . .		**15th**
52		Azariah	**27th**	
	6 mo.	Zechariah . . .		**38th**
	1 mo.[9]	Shallum. . . .		**39th**
	10	Menahem . . .		**39th**
	10[5]	Pekahiah . . .		**50th**
	20	Pekah		**52nd**
16		Jotham	**2nd**	
16		Ahaz	**17th**	
	9	Hoshea		**12th**
6		Hezekiah	**3rd**	
165	154	**Fall of Samaria.**		

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[1] B (in xii. 24*a*) gives 12 years. [2] Not in original LXX. [3] B has *7 years*. [4] Luc. only: B omits. [5] Luc. only: B agrees with Heb. [6] So Luc.: B has 40! [7] Luc. (cf. 2 K. i. 17, Heb.): B has 18th. [8] Luc. only. [9] B omits.

TABLE III.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, WITH ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN SYNCHRONISMS.

Year of Accession, B.C.		Length of Reign.	Monuments.	B.C.
971	SOLOMON	40		
932	Rehoboam	17		
932	Jeroboam I	*21*		
916	Abijam	3		
914	Asa	41		
912	Nadab	2		
911	Baasha	24		
888	Elah	2		
887	Zimri, Omri	12		
876	Ahab	22		
874	Jehoshaphat	25		
855	Ahaziah	2	Battle of Karkar[1]	854
854	Jehoram	12		
850	Jehoram	8		
843	Ahaziah	1		
843	Jehu	28	Jehu's tribute to Assyria	842
843	Athaliah	7[3]		
837	Jehoash	40		
816	Jehoahaz	17		
800	Jehoash	16		
798	Amaziah	*9*[4]		
790	Azariah	52		
785	Jeroboam II	41		
749	Jotham (with Azariah)	*11*[5]		
745	Zechariah, Shallum	7 mo.		
745	Menahem	10		
739	Jotham (alone)	*5*[5]	Menahem pays tribute[6]	738
736	Pekahiah	2		
735	Ahaz	16		
735	Pekah	*4*[7]	Galilee depopulated by Tiglath-pileser[8]	733
732	Hoshea	*11*[9]	Assyrians capture Damascus[10]	732
			Fall of Samaria[11]	722
720	Hezekiah	29	Sennacherib's Invasion[12]	701
692	Manasseh	55		
638	Amon	2		
637	Josiah	31		
607	Jehoahaz	3 mo.		
607	Jehoiakim	11	Battle of Carchemish[13]	605
597	Jehoiachin	3 mo.		
597	Zedekiah	11		
			Fall of Jerusalem[14]	587

NB. Italic figures are used to mark lengths of reign which have been altered from the Hebrew.

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[1] See p. 243 f.
[2] p. 45.
[3] pp. 45, 347; cf. 2 K. xi. 3, 4.
[4] p. 45.
[5] pp. 45, 360.
[6] pp. 44, 362.
[7] pp. 45, 365.
[8] p. 364.
[9] pp. 44, 373 f.
[10] p. 369.
[11] pp. 43, 372.
[12] p. 385 f.
[13] p. 427.
[14] pp. 430, 433.

NOTATION OF SOURCES

A. Extracts from the Annals of the reign of Solomon (in 1 K. iii–x). See page 81 f.

C. Court history of David—the main source of 1 K. i, ii. Page 57.

D. Passages assigned to the Deuteronomic Compiler of Kings (including the 'Framework'). Pages 12, 14.

D². Passages assigned to the second Deuteronomic Editor. Page 21.

Ej. Passages from the Biography of Elijah (in 1 K. xvii ff.). Page 28.

Es. Passages from the Biography of Elisha (in 2 K. ii ff.). Page 28.

I. & I². Passages from the Biography of Isaiah (in 2 K. xviii–xx). Page 29.

J. Judaean Narratives (in 2 K. xii, xvi, xxii f.). Page 29.

KI. Excerpts from the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.' Pages 23, 26.

KJ. Excerpts from the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.' Pages 23, 26.

N. Northern Narratives, for the period from Ahab to Jehu (1 K. xx, &c.). Page 28.

P. Glosses of an Editor occupying the standpoint of the Priestly Code. Page 31.

S. Extracts from the 'Book of the Acts of Solomon' (in 1 K. iii–xi). Page 82.

T. Account of the Temple and Palace Buildings (1 K. vi, vii). Pages 82, 103.

Z. Post-Redactional Additions and Interpolations. Page 30 ff.

? Passages of uncertain Character or Origin.

LIST OF WORKS MOST FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO, WITH ABBREVIATIONS.

LXX. The Greek translation of the Old Testament (Septuagint). See p. 33 ff.

LXX (B). Swete's edition of the same (1887), reproducing the Text of the Vatican MS. (B).

LXX (L). Lagarde's edition—*Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum Pars Prior Graece* (1883)—giving the supposed text of the Recension of Lucian. See p. 36.

JOSEPHUS[1], *Ant.* : Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities.*
Bell. Jud. : ,, *On the Jewish War.*
cont. Ap. : ,, *Against Apion.*

THENIUS, O., *Die Bücher der Könige erklärt*, 2nd ed. (1873).

KLOSTERMANN, A., *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (1887).

BENZINGER, I., *Die Bücher der Könige erklärt* (1899).

KITTEL, R., *Die Bücher der Könige übersetzt und erklärt* (1900).

FARRAR, F. W., *The First (Second) Book of Kings* (Expositor's Bible) (1883-94).

BURNEY, C. F., *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (1903).

DRIVER, S. R., *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed. (1897).

KUENEN, A., *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, Part I (1887).

WELLHAUSEN, J., *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher*, 2nd ed. (1889).

WELLHAUSEN, J., *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 3rd ed. (1897).

EWALD, H., *The History of Israel*—Engl. Trans., 2nd ed. Chiefly vol. iv. (1878).

WINCKLER, H., *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1892).

STADE, B., *Akademische Reden und Abhandlungen* (1899), pp. 143 ff. (Der Text des Berichtes über Salomos Bauten. 1 Kön. 5–7; Anmerkungen zu 2 Kön. 10–14; Anmerkungen zu 2 Kön. 15–21).

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[1] References are to Niese's edition (1887-95).

Benzinger, I., *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894).

Smith, G. A., *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894).

Buhl, F., *Geographie des alten Palästina* (1896).

Hilprecht, H. V., *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century* (1903).

OTJC^2.	**Smith**, W. R., *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd ed. (1892).
	" *The Prophets of Israel*, 2nd ed. (1895).
	" *The Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed. (1894).
KIB.	**Schrader**, E., *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (1889–).
COT.	*The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* Translation by O. C. Whitehouse of the 2nd ed. of E. **Schrader's** *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1883). The references are to the pages of the German edition, which are numbered on the margin of the English.
KAT^3.	3rd German edition of the same work, by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler (1902–3).
CIS.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.*
ZA.	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZATW.	*Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
DB.	*Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. **Hastings**, D.D.
EB.	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by T. K. **Cheyne**, D.D., and J. S. **Black**, LL.D.

THE BOOK OF THE KINGS

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE
FIRST BOOK OF THE KINGS

[C] Now king David was old and stricken in years; 1

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i, ii. The Accession of Solomon.

According to the present arrangement of the text these two chapters form an appropriate introduction to the account of Solomon's reign in chs. iii–xi; and this was certainly the intention of the editor who separated the books of Samuel and Kings[1]. In its original context, however, the narrative belonged to the history of David rather than to that of Solomon. It continues the long account of David's court affairs which we find in 2 Sam. ix–xx; and in the primary document from which it was taken it must have been the immediate sequel of these chapters. That document is amongst the best specimens of Hebrew historical writing which we possess. It is evidently written from first-hand information about the course of events, and with intimate knowledge of the manners and inner life of the court. The narrative is full of life and colour, the style is graphic and lucid, the obscurity in which some important points are involved being due to the author's familiarity with scenes and conditions which are imperfectly understood by us. The writer's treatment of his subject is marked by singular impartiality and independence; he allows facts to speak for themselves; and it is only by reading between the lines, and imputing to him a subtlety of which he was probably innocent, that modern commentators fancy they can discover indications of his own personal bias. The passage falls naturally into three main divisions: (1) ch. i; (2) ch. ii. 1–12; and (3) ch. ii. 13–46.

(1) i. *The Contest for the Succession.*

In order to understand the situation we must bear in mind that the succession to the crown was as yet unregulated either by principle or precedent. There were perhaps three views current. (1) The idea that the monarchy was *elective*. Saul and David had both been elected by representatives of the people, and although this idea nowhere appears in the narrative before us it had not fallen altogether into desuetude; for on the death of Solomon an

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[1] See Introd. p. 4. In Lagarde's edition of the Lucianic recension of the LXX the third book of 'Kingdoms' commences at ii. 12 of the Hebrew (and English) text.

and they covered him with clothes, but he gat no heat.
2 Wherefore his servants said unto him, Let there be sought for my lord the king a young virgin: and let her stand before the king, and cherish him; and let her lie

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attempt was again made by the northern tribes to assert the principle of an elective monarchy. (2) The law of *primogeniture*, firmly established in Hebrew jurisprudence, created a strong presumption in favour of the oldest son of the previous king (as we see from the case of Jonathan). (3) At the same time the king's right to *nominate* his successor was generally recognized (i. 20, 27). The confusions here described arose from the conflict of the second and third of these principles. As the oldest surviving son of David, Adonijah naturally looked on himself as the heir to the throne, and was accepted as such by the people (ii. 15). On the other hand, David had determined that Solomon should succeed him; although a promise to that effect is nowhere recorded, and apparently no steps had been taken to make it public.—That is the *prima facie* sense of the narrative; and it may fairly claim to be the view which the historian intended to present, and which he himself honestly held. It is maintained, indeed, by some eminent critics that the author favoured the cause of Adonijah, believing Solomon's pretensions to be absolutely unfounded; and that he reveals the true state of the case by letting it appear that the alleged promise to Bath-sheba was an invention of Solomon's partisans imposed on the enfeebled memory of the king. For reasons stated below, that theory is here rejected as inherently improbable and inconsistent with the straightforward simplicity of the narration.

i. 1–4. *David's decrepit old age.* The narrative of 2 Sam. xx is here resumed after an interval of perhaps a few years. The verses contain a short description, necessary to the understanding of what follows, of the state of matters at David's court during the last months of his life. The sudden collapse of the king's strength is represented as due to senile decay. His actual age appears from ch. ii. 11, 2 Sam. v. 4 f. to have been only a little over seventy years. There is nothing very extraordinary in a failure of bodily vigour at that time of life; and certainly no need for the odious explanations sometimes put forward to account for it. The subsequent narrative nowhere implies that the king's *mental* powers were enfeebled.

1. old and stricken in years: 'an old man advanced in years' (*lit.* 'days'). For the expression cf. Gen. xviii. 11, xxiv. 1; Joshua xiii. 1, xxiii. 1, 2.

2. On the 'primitive and not ineffectual remedy' here proposed

in thy bosom, that my lord the king may get heat. So 3
they sought for a fair damsel throughout all the coasts of
Israel, and found Abishag the Shunammite, and brought
her to the king. And the damsel was very fair; and she 4
cherished the king, and ministered to him; but the king
knew her not. Then Adonijah the son of Haggith 5
exalted himself, saying, I will be king: and he prepared

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the reader may consult the references in Farrar, *Books of Kings*, i. p. 62.

3. Abishag the Shunammite: a native of Shunem, the modern village of *Solam*, about five miles north of Jezreel, situated on a hill-slope looking south-west over the valley of Esdraelon. It has been imagined that Abishag's beauty became traditional, and suggested long afterwards the title 'Shulammite' for the heroine of the Song of Solomon (Cant. vi. 13).

4. the king knew her not. The clause is commonly supposed to refer to Adonijah's later desire to possess Abishag, and to have been written to clear him in advance of the suspicion of thereby aiming at the throne (see on ii. 17). It is doubtful if the words could cover any such motive.

i. 5-8. *Adonijah's pretensions to the crown.* Adonijah was the fourth of David's sons, born in Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 Chron. iii. 2), and therefore at this time about thirty-five years of age. After the deaths of Amnon and Absalom, he was the oldest survivor of the royal family, the second son, Chileab (2 Sam. iii. 3, or Daniel, 1 Chron. iii. 1), having apparently died young. Of his mother Haggith nothing is known. Resolved to keep his claims well in the eye of the public, the prince follows the example of Absalom in the assumption of semi-royal state. He forms a party in the court, his chief supporters being Joab, the commander-in-chief, and Abiathar the priest—two of David's most loyal followers. On what grounds these men supported Adonijah we cannot conjecture; they may have honestly believed that he was the fittest candidate, and that they were acting in the true interests of the dynasty. They knew at all events that there was a party opposed to Adonijah, from whose leaders they carefully concealed their plans.

5. exalted himself . . . king: or, perhaps, 'was puffing himself up with the notion that he was to be king.' The form of expression in the original does not suggest a sudden resolve on Adonijah's part to seize the throne prematurely, but rather a fixed idea in his mind that the succession was legitimately his (ii. 15). Nothing more than this is involved in the procuring of **chariots**

him chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before
6 him. And his father had not displeased him at any
time in saying, Why hast thou done so? and he was also
a very goodly man; and he was born after Absalom.
7 And he conferred with Joab the son of Zeruiah, and
with Abiathar the priest: and they following Adonijah
8 helped him. But Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the
son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei,
and Rei, and the mighty men which belonged to David,
9 were not with Adonijah. And Adonijah slew sheep and

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and horsemen, &c.; it is of a piece with the conduct which David had tolerated for four years in the case of Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 1, 7).

to run before him: 'runners,' i. e. footguards.

6. had not displeased (or *pained*) **him** (**all his life,** marg.): had allowed him to do as he pleased. LXX inserts a similar remark about the training of Amnon in 2 Sam. xiii. 21.

and he was also: better, 'and he also was'—like Absalom (2 Sam. xiv. 25). The verse thus gives three explanations of the presumptuous behaviour of Adonijah—the foolish indulgence of his father, his handsome figure, and his seniority.

8. Zadok, colleague and rival of Abiathar in the priesthood, is first mentioned in 2 Sam. viii. 17, then in xv. 24 ff., as custodian of the ark; **Benaiah** was commander of the household troops (2 Sam. viii. 18); while **Nathan** is the well-known prophet. Of **Shimei, and Rei,** nothing is known; the text is very uncertain.

the mighty men: Heb. *Gibbôrîm* (heroes). These were probably David's old comrades in arms (see 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff.), who formed a sort of bodyguard, and naturally had a position of influence in the court. That they were identical with the Krethi and Plethi (see on verse 38), as is thought by some, is a view for which little evidence can be adduced.

i. 9, 10. *The proclamation of Adonijah.* The outcome of the conferences with Joab and Abiathar seems to have been a project to precipitate matters by at once proclaiming Adonijah king. The sacrificial feast described in the verses can hardly have any other meaning than this: it is so represented by Nathan, not only in his interview with the king (verse 25), but also in his conversation with Bath-sheba (verse 11); and there are no sufficient grounds for the suspicion that he wilfully exaggerated the significance of the incident. The feast took place at some ancient sanctuary of

oxen and fatlings by the stone of Zoheleth, which is beside En-rogel; and he called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants: but Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, and the mighty 10
men, and Solomon his brother, he called not. Then 11
Nathan spake unto Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon,

Jerusalem (W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*² p. 172, *n.* 3), where there was a sacred stone (Zoheleth) and a sacred well (En-rogel).

9. En-rogel has been usually identified with the so-called Well of Job (*Bîr-'Eyyûb*), south of the city, at the junction of the Kidron and Hinnom valleys. A good many recent writers (following Clermont-Ganneau) take **the stone of Zoheleth** (i. e. the Serpent's stone) to be the modern *ez-Zehweleh*, a rock-hewn stair in the face of the Mount of Olives, right opposite and quite near to the Virgin's Spring (see on verse 33); in which case En-rogel must be the Virgin's Spring itself. But it is plain from this chapter that if En-rogel be the Virgin's Spring, Gihon must be sought elsewhere; and the identification of Gihon with the Virgin's Spring rests on stronger grounds than that of Zoheleth with ez-Zehweleh. There remains of course the possibility that in the environs of ancient Jerusalem there may have been other springs which are now dried up.

all the men of Judah, &c. It is a curious fact that both Absalom and Adonijah seem to have relied most on David's own tribesmen for support to their treasonable designs.

i. 11-14. *The counterplot in favour of Solomon.* The moving spirit is Nathan, who had been David's prophetic adviser from an early period of his reign in Jerusalem (2 Sam. vii), and through whom the name Jedidiah is said in 2 Sam. xii. 25 to have been conferred on Solomon. The traditional view that he had superintended the education of Solomon rests on a misinterpretation of that verse, as if it read, 'he (David) gave him into the hand of Nathan.' Partiality for a favourite pupil cannot, therefore, have been the motive of Nathan's action; the simplest explanation is probably the best, viz. that he was aware of David's decision in favour of Solomon and approved of it. It is true that there is no record of such a decision in the previous history; and the question is much discussed whether it be not a pure invention which Nathan and Bath-sheba succeeded in palming off on the credulity of the king. That theory is no doubt capable of being presented with some plausibility; but in truth the situation is more intelligible on the assumption that the promise was really given. The central fact is the formation of a party in the interest of Solomon

saying, Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the son of
Haggith doth reign, and David our lord knoweth it not?
12 Now therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee
counsel, that thou mayest save thine own life, and the
13 life of thy son Solomon. Go and get thee in unto king
David, and say unto him, Didst not thou, my lord,
O king, swear unto thine handmaid, saying, Assuredly
Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit
14 upon my throne? why then doth Adonijah reign? Behold,
while thou yet talkest there with the king, I also
15 will come in after thee, and confirm thy words. And
Bath-sheba went in unto the king into the chamber:

(verse 8), whose pretensions to the throne must have rested solely on a nomination by his father. How could such a party justify its existence? It must at least have *given out* that Solomon had been privately nominated, so that if there be fraud in the case it must be of somewhat older standing than the theory supposes, though in fact the writer gives no hint that the suspicion of fraud was in his mind at all. The opposite faction may have disbelieved the statement, but could hardly have known it to be false; and there is no reason to suppose that the historian adopted their view. We have therefore to consider which of two things is less improbable—that the younger son, without a shadow of right, should challenge the position of the older; or that the natural heir should seek to assert his claims against an alleged arbitrary nomination by the reigning monarch. The difficulty of the latter alternative is further diminished by the fact that David had obviously lacked the courage to promulgate his decision; and that again is in keeping with the weak indulgence he had always shown to his older children, and to Adonijah in particular (verse 6).

11. Adonijah . . . doth reign: 'hath become king.' See verse 25.

12. save thine own life . . .: by defeating the scheme of Adonijah, whose first step, if successful, would be to remove his rival and enemies.

14. and confirm thy words: not about the alleged oath (which Nathan did *not* confirm), but the statement that Adonijah had been proclaimed (verse 25).

i. 15-21. *Bath-sheba's interview with the king.* Bath-sheba's presentation of the case seems less subtle than that suggested to her by Nathan. Instead of asking, 'Why has Adonijah become

and the king was very old; and Abishag the Shunammite ministered unto the king. And Bath-sheba bowed, 16
and did obeisance unto the king. And the king said,
What wouldest thou? And she said unto him, My lord, 17
thou swarest by the LORD thy God unto thine handmaid,
saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me,
and he shall sit upon my throne. And now, behold, 18
Adonijah reigneth; and thou, my lord the king, knowest
it not: and he hath slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in 19
abundance, and hath called all the sons of the king, and
Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host:
but Solomon thy servant hath he not called. And thou, 20
my lord the king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee,
that thou shouldest tell them who shall sit on the throne
of my lord the king after him. Otherwise it shall come 21
to pass, when my lord the king shall sleep with his
fathers, that I and my son Solomon shall be counted

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king?' (verse 13), as if to insinuate that David must somehow be responsible, she simply states the fact, and assumes that the king is ignorant of it. Her allusion to the oath with regard to Solomon is also perfectly direct and straightforward; and both lead up to the appeal to the king to give effect to his former purpose, and save her and her son from the fate that threatens them.

18. and thou . . . knowest it not. Not a surprised interrogation, but a circumstantial clause = 'without the knowledge of my lord the king.' The marginal reading 'and now' (*'attā* for *'attā*), though supported by Hebrew MSS., is inferior, and is unknown to the ancient Versions.

20. There is more to be said for the marginal 'now' in this verse: the king must *now* decide whether he will fulfil his oath by making known his will, or supinely acquiesce in Adonijah's usurpation.

21. The connexion is obscure in the original, but is probably correctly expressed by the **otherwise** of R.V.: 'in the event of no decided action being taken by the king, it shall come to pass,' &c.

shall be counted offenders: *lit.* 'shall be sinners.' In early religion the sinfulness of an action is not determined solely by

22 offenders. And, lo, while she yet talked with the king,
23 Nathan the prophet came in. And they told the king, saying, Behold, Nathan the prophet. And when he was come in before the king, he bowed himself before the
24 king with his face to the ground. And Nathan said, My lord, O king, hast thou said, Adonijah shall reign after
25 me, and he shall sit upon my throne? For he is gone down this day, and hath slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the king's sons, and the captains of the host, and Abiathar the priest; and, behold, they eat and drink before him, and say,
26 God save king Adonijah. But me, even me thy servant, and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada,
27 and thy servant Solomon, hath he not called. Is this thing done by my lord the king, and thou hast not shewed unto thy servants who should sit on the throne

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its moral quality, but also by its consequences (cf. Gen. xliii. 9, xliv. 32; Num. xxii. 34).

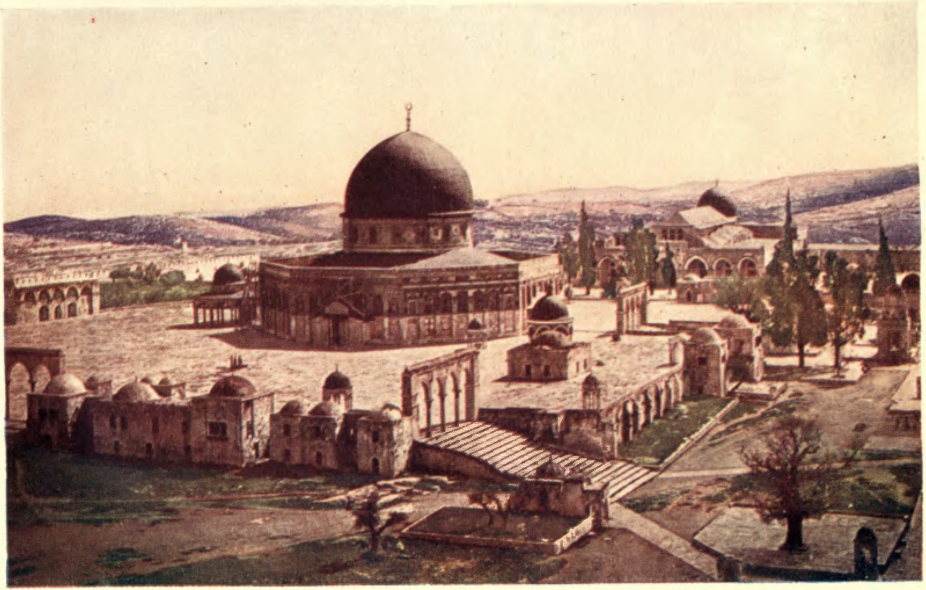
i. 22-27. *Nathan's interview.* The point of the prophet's skilful, and not too ingenuous, appeal lies in the insinuation that, to judge from appearances, David must have been acting behind the backs of his confidential advisers. Nathan cannot believe the king would do such a thing, yet he cannot imagine any other explanation of Adonijah's conduct! It is noticeable that he never once refers to the oath to Bath-sheba. To avoid the semblance of collusion he pretends to look at the matter from a purely official point of view.

23. The ceremonious announcement of the prophet is to allow Bath-sheba to retire (verse 28), in accordance with Eastern etiquette.

25. For **the captains of the host,** read, with LXX (L), 'Joab, the commander-in-chief.' There was but one commander-in-chief.

God save . . . : better, 'Long live King Adonijah!' There is no reason to suppose that the prophet is here drawing on his imagination in order to prejudice the king against Adonijah; nothing is more natural than that he should have kept himself informed by the reports of spies of the doings at the Serpent's Stone.

27. Otherwise: 'If this thing has been brought about . . . then thou hast not,' &c.



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JERUSALEM : TEMPLE AREA

of my lord the king after him? Then king David 28
answered and said, Call me Bath-sheba. And she came
into the king's presence, and stood before the king.
And the king sware, and said, As the LORD liveth, who 29
hath redeemed my soul out of all adversity, verily as I 30
sware unto thee by the LORD, the God of Israel, saying,
Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me and he
shall sit upon my throne in my stead; verily so will I
do this day. Then Bath-sheba bowed with her face to 31
the earth, and did obeisance to the king, and said, Let
my lord king David live for ever. And king David said, 32
Call me Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and
Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. And they came before
the king. And the king said unto them, Take with you 33
the servants of your lord, and cause Solomon my son to
ride upon mine own mule, and bring him down to

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i. 28–31. *David confirms his oath to Bath-sheba.*

29. For the form of the oath, cf. 2 Sam. iv. 9.

i. 32–40. *The anointing of Solomon.* David gives minute and explicit directions for the immediate installation of Solomon as his successor. By putting these orders in the mouth of the king the writer shows how far it is from his intention to represent him as mentally incapable. The essential and decisive feature of the coronation ceremonies was the act of anointing. It consisted in pouring sacred oil on the head of the monarch, and was probably in ordinary cases performed by a priest. The primary meaning of the rite seems to have been to establish a relation between the king and the deity, in virtue of which his person was considered inviolable (1 Sam. xxiv. 6, xxvi. 9). But with this there was early associated the other idea of the communication of the Divine Spirit, to whose indwelling all kingly virtues were ascribed (1 Sam. xvi. 13). See W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*[2] pp. 233, 384; and Weinel in *ZATW* for 1898. The lack of this indispensable function blighted Adonijah's prospects of the throne.

33. the servants of your lord: the bodyguard, associated, as in 2 Sam. xx. 6 f., with the Cherethites and Pelethites (see below).

mine own mule (fem.). The mule is first mentioned in the reign of David as the riding beast of the royal family (2 Sam. xiii. 29, xviii. 9). Common people still used asses (ii. 40; 2 Sam.

34 Gihon: and let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet
anoint him there king over Israel: and blow ye with the
35 trumpet, and say, God save king Solomon. Then ye
shall come up after him, and he shall come and sit upon
my throne; for he shall be king in my stead: and I
have appointed him to be prince over Israel and over
36 Judah. And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada answered the
king, and said, Amen: the LORD, the God of my lord
37 the king, say so *too.* As the LORD hath been with my
lord the king, even so be he with Solomon, and make
his throne greater than the throne of my lord king
38 David. So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet,
and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites
and the Pelethites, went down, and caused Solomon to
ride upon king David's mule, and brought him to Gihon.

xvii. 23), while the war-horse was only introduced under Solomon. These changes mark the rapid advance which the country made in material civilization in the early days of the monarchy.

Gihon, where the anointing was to take place, must have been another sanctuary of ancient Jerusalem (see on verse 9). The indications point to its being identical with the Virgin's Spring (*Bīr Sitti Maryam*) in the Kidron valley, at the foot of the south-east hill on which David's citadel stood (cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14). (See Plan of Jerusalem.) It is about 700 yards north of Job's Well, and by so much nearer the palace—an important consideration in view of the haste with which the ceremony had to be carried through.

36. the LORD . . . say so too. The Hebrew gives a weak sense; the true text is perhaps preserved by LXX (L): 'May Yahweh confirm the words of my lord the king[1].'

38. Cherethites and . . . Pelethites: 'Krethi and Plethi,' foreign mercenaries who formed the garrison of the capital, and the standing nucleus of David's army (cf. 2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7, 23). The Krethi are mentioned in 1 Sam. xxx. 14 as a tribe in the Negeb; Plethi is possibly a corrupt pronunciation of *Plishtim* (Philistines). It was evidently the discipline and fidelity of these troops that saved the situation for Solomon.

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[1] In the Heb., change כן יאמר to יְאַמֵּן and אלהי to את־דברי.

And Zadok the priest took the horn of oil out of the 39
Tent, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save king Solomon.
And all the people came up after him, and the people 40
piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the
earth rent with the sound of them. And Adonijah and 41
all the guests that were with him heard it as they had
made an end of eating. And when Joab heard the
sound of the trumpet, he said, Wherefore is this noise of
the city being in an uproar? While he yet spake, behold, 42
Jonathan the son of Abiathar the priest came: and
Adonijah said, Come in; for thou art a worthy man,
and bringest good tidings. And Jonathan answered and 43
said to Adonijah, Verily our lord king David hath made
Solomon king: and the king hath sent with him Zadok 44
the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the

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39. out of the Tent: doubtless the tent on Zion in which the ark was placed (2 Sam. vi. 17), though some think a sacred tent at Gihon is intended.

40. piped with pipes. LXX, with a small change of text, reads 'danced in dances,' which is perhaps preferable.

i. 41–49. *The collapse of Adonijah's conspiracy.* The guests at En-rogel had reached the end of their protracted carousal, when Joab's practised ear caught the note of the trumpet. His astonished question is answered by the arrival of Jonathan the son of Abiathar, who is effusively but anxiously hailed as a 'worthy man' and an auspicious messenger. Jonathan's report goes beyond what has been previously related; but not necessarily beyond what he had ascertained to have happened. It is part of the writer's art to carry forward his narrative in the speeches of the actors (so in verse 25). The result is that the assembly breaks up in confusion.

42. On **Jonathan,** see 2 Sam. xv. 27 ff., xvii. 17 ff.

a worthy man: originally 'man of valour,' then 'man of substance,' the expression had come to be used as a vague term of approbation, sometimes = 'a capable person': Gen. xlvii. 6; Exod. xviii. 21; and cf. the fem., Prov. xxxi. 10.

son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites and the Pelethites, and they have caused him to ride upon the king's mule:
45 and Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet have anointed him king in Gihon: and they are come up from thence rejoicing, so that the city rang again. This
46 is the noise that ye have heard. And also Solomon
47 sitteth on the throne of the kingdom. And moreover the king's servants came to bless our lord king David, saying, Thy God make the name of Solomon better than thy name, and make his throne greater than thy throne:
48 and the king bowed himself upon the bed. And also thus said the king, Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, which hath given one to sit on my throne this
49 day, mine eyes even seeing it. And all the guests of Adonijah were afraid, and rose up, and went every man
50 his way. And Adonijah feared because of Solomon; and he arose, and went, and caught hold on the horns
51 of the altar. And it was told Solomon, saying, Behold, Adonijah feareth king Solomon: for, lo, he hath laid hold on the horns of the altar, saying, Let king Solomon swear unto me this day that he will not slay his servant
52 with the sword. And Solomon said, If he shall shew himself a worthy man, there shall not an hair of him fall to the earth: but if wickedness be found in him, he

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47. bowed himself upon the bed: cf. Gen. xlvii. 31 (J).

i. 50-53. *Adonijah's life spared.* With a clemency rarely displayed by Eastern despots, Solomon promises to spare Adonijah, on condition of his future good behaviour.

50. On the altar as asylum, see Exod. xxi. 12-14: the only historic instances of the institution in Israel are those of Adonijah here, and Joab in ii. 28. The precise significance of the **horns of the altar** is obscure (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*² p. 436, *n.* 2); but it is clear that special sanctity inhered in them; and that in a sense the efficacy of the altar was concentrated there (Exod. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 7 ff.).

51. this day: render with marg. 'first of all.'

shall die. So king Solomon sent, and they brought him 53
down from the altar. And he came and did obeisance
to king Solomon: and Solomon said unto him, Go to
thine house.

Now the days of David drew nigh that he should die; **2**

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53. Go to thine house: a command to retire into private life.

(2) ii. 1–12. *David's last charge to Solomon.*

With regard to the genuineness of these verses, great diversity of opinion prevails among recent critics. That verses 2–4 are Deuteronomistic is universally admitted; and it is equally certain that verses 10–12 in their present form are from the hand of the compiler of Kings. The important question is whether the remaining verses (1, 5-9) were found in the primary source to which ch. i and ii. 13 ff. belong, or were composed at a later time in order to acquit Solomon of direct responsibility for the death of Joab and Shimei. The arguments for the second view are chiefly these: *first*, that the real motive for the execution of Joab was his complicity in the plot of Adonijah: hence, so far as he is concerned, verses 5-9 are unhistorical; and *second*, that the writer of verses 13–46 evidently takes that view, so that he at least cannot be the author of verses 5-9. But against this it has to be noted (1) that the reasons assigned for the executions in verses 31 ff., 44 ff., are in perfect agreement with verses 5-9. It is replied, indeed, that these were but the official pretexts by which Solomon justified his action; but that the writer regarded them in that light is a purely gratuitous assumption, and affords no real ground for denying to him the authorship of verses 5-9. (2) In the case of Shimei no motive is even suggested except the alleged 'official pretext.' He is never mentioned as an accomplice of Adonijah—an omission which would be inexplicable if the author knew that he was put to death for the same offence as Joab[1]. (3) The theory offers no explanation of the charge concerning the sons of Barzillai (verse 7), the fulfilment of which is not referred to in the sequel. (4) It is very difficult to believe that any Hebrew writer would have sought to exculpate Solomon by throwing a far blacker stain

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[1] The argument here is complicated by the fact that in the LXX the instruction regarding Shimei is *repeated* immediately before verse 36. Since it is unlikely that the same passage should have occurred twice in the original LXX, it is urged that this points to an earlier recension of the text in which Shimei, but not Joab, was marked out for vengeance by David. But in view of the evident superiority of the Hebrew text in chs. i, ii, it is hazardous to base an argument on a hypothetical recension imperfectly preserved in the Greek Version.

2 and he charged Solomon his son, saying, I go the way of
all the earth: [**D**] be thou strong therefore, and shew
3 thyself a man; and keep the charge of the LORD thy
God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, *and* his
commandments, and his judgements, and his testimonies,
according to that which is written in the law of Moses,
that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest, and
4 whithersoever thou turnest thyself: that the LORD may

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on the memory of David. The only assumption at all plausible would be that it was done under the influence of a late tendency to glorify Solomon as a prince whose annals were unstained by bloodshed (1 Chron. xxii. 8–10). But even that suggestion is negatived by the circumstance that no effort is made to absolve him from the blood of his brother Adonijah. On purely historical grounds, therefore, the case against the genuineness of verses 5–9 does not appear to be made out. On *moral* grounds, it might be a satisfaction to get rid of an incident so incongruous with the chivalrous magnanimity of David's character. Yet we must remember that the passage finds an exact parallel in his terrible reprisal on Saul's house for the massacre of the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi). David was after all a child of his age, liable to be swayed by the superstitious beliefs then prevalent, which quenched his nobler impulses and made ideal ethical conduct impossible. (See further on verses 6 and 8.)

ii. 1–4. *General charge to personal piety.* The section is almost entirely written by the compiler; verses 2^b–4 especially exhibiting in nearly every phrase the characteristic style of the Deuteronomic school. Note the parallels pointed out below.

1. drew nigh that he should die: cf. Gen. xlvii. 29 (J); Deut. xxxi. 14.

2. go the way of all the earth: as Joshua xxiii. 14 (a Deuteronomic passage).

be . . . strong: Joshua i. 6 ff.

3. keep the charge: Deut. xi. 1; Joshua xxii. 3.

walk in his ways: Deut. viii. 6, x. 12, xi. 22, &c.

keep his statutes: Deut. iv. 40, vii. 11, x. 13, &c.

his testimonies: Deut. iv. 45, vi. 17, 20.

written in the law of Moses: i. e. the Book of Deuteronomy, the only part of the Pentateuch to which this title is ever applied by the compiler of Kings. Comp. Deut. xvii. 18–20, where the diligent study of the book is specially enjoined on the king.

that thou mayest prosper: Deut. xxix. 9; Joshua i. 7.

establish his word which he spake concerning me, saying, If thy children take heed to their way, to walk before me in truth with all their heart and with all their soul, there shall not fail thee (said he) a man on the
throne of Israel. [C] Moreover thou knowest also 5
what Joab the son of Zeruiah did unto me, even what he did to the two captains of the hosts of Israel, unto Abner the son of Ner, and unto Amasa the son of Jether, whom he slew, and shed the blood of war in peace, and put the blood of war upon his girdle that was about his loins, and in his shoes that were on his feet.
Do therefore according to thy wisdom, and let not his 6
hoar head go down to the grave in peace. But shew 7

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4. his word which he spake concerning me. The reference is to 2 Sam. vii. 12 ff., the contents of which are freely reproduced in the remainder of this verse.

with all their heart and with all their soul: Deut. iv. 29, vi. 5, x. 12; Joshua xxii. 5, &c.

ii. 5–9. *Specific charges regarding individuals.*

5, 6. Joab is marked for vengeance on account of the treacherous assassinations of 'the two commanders-in-chief of Israel'—Abner (2 Sam. iii. 27) and Amasa (xx. 8–10). The clause **and** *set* (so we must render as in marg.) **the blood of war in peace** is omitted by some of the best MSS. of the LXX, possibly on account of the harshness of the Hebrew phrase. The best reading might be that of LXX (L), 'and avenged the blood of war in peace,' which describes exactly the murder of Abner: it was a base and treacherous revenge for the death of Asahel, who had been killed in fair fight. The words may, however, be a gloss. In the following clause it is better (with the same authority) to read 'innocent blood' for **blood of war:** perhaps also 'my girdle . . ., my loins . . ., my sandals . . .,' &c. This at least emphasizes the point that the murders were committed under circumstances that gave colour to the suspicion that David himself was privy to them.

6. Do therefore . . . wisdom: i. e. find some specious pretext for bringing Joab to his death (cf. verse 9).

go down to Sheol: see verse 9. It is difficult for us to estimate fairly the measure of blame attaching to David in this transaction. Since Joab's crimes had been to his advantage, the accusation of personal vindictiveness may be ruled out of con-

kindness unto the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and let
them be of those that eat at thy table: for so they came
8 to me when I fled from Absalom thy brother. And,
behold, there is with thee Shimei the son of Gera, the
Benjamite, of Bahurim, who cursed me with a grievous
curse in the day when I went to Mahanaim: but he
came down to meet me at Jordan, and I sware to him
by the LORD, saying, I will not put thee to death with
9 the sword. Now therefore hold him not guiltless, for

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sideration, unless we are to go behind the narrative and suppose him to have been actuated by a desire to avenge the death of Absalom, or by a vague resentment at the masterful ascendency which Joab had so long exercised over him. We must rather assume that David was influenced by a genuine fear lest the guilt of unrequited murder should bring disaster on his kingdom (see verses 31, 33); and the question is how far that anxiety justified him in inciting Solomon to an act of vengeance which he had lacked either the power or the courage to execute himself. On the most lenient view it must be frankly acknowledged that David's conduct is abhorrent to our ideas of justice and honour; and it is doubtful if it would not have been condemned by the highest moral standard of his own time. But while we admit the stain on the memory of the great king, we have no right to deny to him the possession of all nobler qualities of character, or (like Renan) to speak of this incident as a revelation of 'the black perfidy of his hypocritical soul' (*Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, ii. p. 92).

7. the sons of Barzillai (see 2 Sam. xvii. 27 ff., xix. 33 ff.) are to continue the recipients of a royal pension: this, and not actual fellowship at table, is supposed to be the meaning of the expression **of those that eat at thy table.** But see 2 Sam. ix. 7 ff., xix. 28.

8, 9. Shimei the son of Gera: see 2 Sam. xvi. 5 ff., xix. 16 ff.

Bahurim: on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho (2 Sam. iii. 16, xvi. 5, xvii. 18); the exact site is not certainly known.

a grievous (or *potent*) **curse.** The curse once uttered was conceived as having an objective existence, and endowed with self-fulfilling energy, which it might retain indefinitely, unless it could be rolled back on him who uttered it. That this was the idea in David's mind may be inferred from verses 44 f.

I will not . . . sword. The oath of David as recorded in 2 Sam. xix. 23 is not capable of the sinister construction which is here suggested, viz. that Solomon was not bound by its literal terms. It may be the case (Ewald, *History*, iii. p. 214) that the thou art a wise man; and thou wilt know what thou oughtest to do unto him, and thou shalt bring his hoar head down to the grave with blood. [D] And David 10 slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David. And the days that David reigned over Israel 11 were forty years: seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three years reigned he in Jerusalem.

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exercise of the prerogative of mercy was understood to expire with a change of sovereign; but here again it must be confessed that David's superstitious foreboding leads him to commit an action which to our minds is utterly dishonourable: he 'keeps the word of promise to the ear, and breaks it to the hope.'

9. thou art a wise man: see on verse 6.

bring his hoar head down to Sheol (marg.) **with blood:** Sheol, the underworld, the realm of shades, is the Hebrew equivalent of the Homeric Hades. It is the universal gathering-place of the souls of the departed, to which good and bad alike 'go down' at death. The verse expresses a common belief that the shade preserves the appearance of the living man, or more accurately the appearance with which he made his exit from this world. Shimei's bloodstained hair remains a witness for ever to the dishonoured death he had died. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 35, xlii. 38, xliv. 29, 31 (J).

ii. 10-12. *Concluding notice of David's reign.* We have here the first occurrence of the compiler's 'framework' (Introd., p. 10 ff.). The original document must no doubt have contained at this point a notice of the death of David.

10. Is the stereotyped formula in which the death of the kings of Judah is recorded (cf. xi. 43, xiv. 31, &c.).

slept (strictly 'lay') **with his fathers.** The expression is obviously derived from interment in the family sepulchre (Gen. xlvii. 30), and in its literal sense is inapplicable to David, whose ancestors must have been buried in Beth-lehem. But there are many passages besides this which prove that the expression had been extended, and, so to speak, spiritualized, in the sense of reunion in Sheol (e.g., Deut. xxxi. 16). The whole conception of Sheol, indeed, was largely a projection of the earthly burying place into the sphere of the unseen.

the city of David: the new city built on the site of the old Jebusite fort which had been captured by David (2 Sam. v. 9). As to its situation, see Appendix, Note 1.

11. Cf. 2 Sam. v. 5.

12 And Solomon sat upon the throne of David his father;
13 and his kingdom was established greatly. [C] Then
Adonijah the son of Haggith came to Bath-sheba the
mother of Solomon. And she said, Comest thou peace-
14 ably? And he said, Peaceably. He said moreover, I
have somewhat to say unto thee. And she said, Say on.
15 And he said, Thou knowest that the kingdom was mine,
and that all Israel set their faces on me, that I should
reign: howbeit the kingdom is turned about, and is

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(3) ii. 13-46. *Removal of Solomon's Enemies.*

ii. 13-25. *The fate of Adonijah.* The defeated candidate for the throne seeks an interview with Bath-sheba, now the queen-mother, desiring her to use her influence with Solomon on his behalf. Bath-sheba is completely won over by his pathetic appeal: he speaks as a man resigned to the loss of the great ambition of his life, and with only one small wish left—to receive the beautiful Abishag in marriage. The admirable detachment and impartiality of the narrator allows this request to make on us the same impression as it made on Bath-sheba, and actually leaves us in some uncertainty whether Adonijah cherished the treasonable design which Solomon attributed to him. The probability, however, is that he was not so innocent as Bath-sheba imagined. According to an ancient Semitic custom, which survived in Arabia down to the time of Mohammed (W. R. Smith, *Kinship*^{1}, p. 86 ff.), the wives of a man deceased passed with the other property to his heir. Similarly among the Hebrews great importance was attached, in the case of a royal succession, to the possession of the wives and concubines of the late monarch (see 2 Sam. iii. 7, xii. 8, xvi. 21 f.). Hence to grant Adonijah's wish would strengthen immensely his claim to be regarded as David's lawful heir; and since he had already the right of primogeniture in his favour, and was supported by influential men, Solomon's position might easily have been rendered untenable. He accordingly refuses the request, and sentences his brother to death; a sentence carried out by Benaiah as captain of the bodyguard.

13. Comest thou peaceably? 'Is this a friendly visit?' The astonishment and alarm of the question are natural in the strained relations between the two factions.

15. the kingdom was mine. That Adonijah was really looked on as the heir-presumptive is virtually admitted by Solomon in verse 22, 'he is my elder brother.'

become my brother's: for it was his from the LORD.
And now I ask one petition of thee, deny me not. And 16
she said unto him, Say on. And he said, Speak, I pray 17
thee, unto Solomon the king, (for he will not say thee
nay,) that he give me Abishag the Shunammite to wife.
And Bath-sheba said, Well; I will speak for thee unto 18
the king. Bath-sheba therefore went unto king Solomon, 19
to speak unto him for Adonijah. And the king rose up
to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down
on his throne, and caused a throne to be set for the
king's mother; and she sat on his right hand. Then 20
she said, I ask one small petition of thee; deny me not.
And the king said unto her, Ask on, my mother: for
I will not deny thee. And she said, Let Abishag the 21
Shunammite be given to Adonijah thy brother to wife.
And king Solomon answered and said unto his mother, 22
And why dost thou ask Abishag the Shunammite for
Adonijah? ask for him the kingdom also; for he is
mine elder brother; even for him, and for Abiathar the
priest, and for Joab the son of Zeruiah. Then king 23
Solomon sware by the LORD, saying, God do so to me,

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19. As the queen-mother, Bath-sheba enjoys a dignity in the court which had not belonged to her while David was alive: contrast the ceremony of this reception with the interview of i. 15, 16.

For **bowed himself unto her,** we should read with LXX, 'kissed her.'

20, 21. With a certain consciousness of her new importance, Bath-sheba presents Adonijah's petition as her own personal request.

22. The king's anger breaks out in an ironical question: 'Why ask Abishag only? Why not the kingdom at once?' See above.

even for him: unintelligible. With a slight change of text we may read, 'and on his side are Abiathar . . . and Joab.' Solomon finds in the incident evidence of a fresh conspiracy; and this supplies him with the desired occasion for proceeding against Joab.

and more also, if Adonijah have not spoken this word
24 against his own life. Now therefore as the Lord liveth,
who hath established me, and set me on the throne of
David my father, and who hath made me an house, as
he promised, surely Adonijah shall be put to death this
25 day. And king Solomon sent by the hand of Benaiah
the son of Jehoiada; and he fell upon him, that he died.
26 And unto Abiathar the priest said the king, Get thee to
Anathoth, unto thine own fields; for thou art worthy of
death: but I will not at this time put thee to death,
because thou barest the ark of the Lord God before
David my father, and because thou wast afflicted in all
27 wherein my father was afflicted. [**D**] So Solomon thrust
out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord; that he
might fulfil the word of the Lord, which he spake

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23. against his own life: better, 'at the cost of his life.'

ii. 26, 27. *The banishment of Abiathar.* His life is spared, ostensibly for his long fidelity to David, although, for that matter, Joab's devotion had been still more conspicuous. The king was no doubt influenced by other reasons as well; partly the knowledge that Abiathar was a much less dangerous enemy than Joab, and partly perhaps a regard for the sanctity of his office. He is banished to his patrimonial estate at Anathoth.

26. The words **at this time** ought to be taken (as by LXX) with the previous clause, 'thou art worthy of death this day, but I will not,' &c.

Anathoth is the modern *'Anātā*, two and a half miles north-east of Jerusalem. How Abiathar came to have lands there we do not know; but the place remained for many centuries the residence of a priestly family, from which sprang the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. i. 1).

27. While Abiathar is removed from the royal sanctuary, the original narrative said nothing of a degradation from the priesthood, for this verse must be an editorial insertion. It is based on 1 Sam. ii. 27–36, which, in its present form at least, can hardly have been written earlier than Josiah's reformation. The purpose of the gloss is not so much to call attention to the fulfilment of a prediction as to vindicate the legitimacy of the Zadokite priesthood, which, humanly speaking, owed its elevation to this political measure of Solomon. See on verse 35.

concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh. [**C**] And the 28
tidings came to Joab: for Joab had turned after
Adonijah, though he turned not after Absalom. And
Joab fled unto the Tent of the LORD, and caught hold
on the horns of the altar. And it was told king 29
Solomon, Joab is fled unto the Tent of the LORD, and,
behold, he is by the altar. Then Solomon sent Benaiah
the son of Jehoiada, saying, Go, fall upon him. And 30
Benaiah came to the Tent of the LORD, and said unto
him, Thus saith the king, Come forth. And he said,
Nay; but I will die here. And Benaiah brought the
king word again, saying, Thus said Joab, and thus he
answered me. And the king said unto him, Do as he 31
hath said, and fall upon him, and bury him; that thou
mayest take away the blood, which Joab shed without
cause, from me and from my father's house. And the 32
LORD shall return his blood upon his own head, because

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ii. 28–34. *The end of Joab.* On hearing the rumour of these occurrences, Joab had sought shelter at the altar; and there, without further trial, he is cut down by the order of Solomon.

28. See i. 50.

The parenthetic sentence **for Joab had turned** explains (somewhat superfluously) how and why the rumour affected Joab: that it gives the author's view of the reason for his condemnation, as opposed to the official justification in verses 31 f., is not so evident.

the Tent of the LORD is the tent which David had erected for the ark (i. 39; 2 Sam. vi. 17).

29. The story is amplified in the LXX by a long addition in the middle of the verse, which may be quoted, although it adds nothing to the sense: 'Then Solomon sent to Joab saying, Wherefore hast thou fled to the altar? And Joab said, Because I feared before thy face, and I fled to the LORD. And Solomon sent Benaiah,' &c.

31. and bury him. Joab is to be spared the last indignity of being denied the rites of sepulture.

32. his blood upon his own head: a common, but not meaningless, metaphor. It expresses the idea that blood thus righteously shed in the administration of justice creates no new

he fell upon two men more righteous and better than he, and slew them with the sword, and my father David knew it not, *to wit*, Abner the son of Ner, captain of the host of Israel, and Amasa the son of Jether, captain
33 of the host of Judah. So shall their blood return upon the head of Joab, and upon the head of his seed for ever: but unto David, and unto his seed, and unto his house, and unto his throne, shall there be peace for ever
34 from the LORD. Then Benaiah the son of Jehoiada went up, and fell upon him, and slew him; and he was
35 buried in his own house in the wilderness. And the king put Benaiah the son of Jehoiada in his room over the host: and Zadok the priest did the king put in the
36 room of Abiathar. And the king sent and called for Shimei, and said unto him, Build thee an house in

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blood-feud: the otherwise endless *vendetta* is stayed. Compare the opposite case in the next verse.

34. Like Samuel (1 Sam. xxv. 1), Joab is buried **in his own house,** which was in the **wilderness** of Judea (see the graphic description in G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 312 ff.). Joab's house and family grave would naturally be in the neighbourhood of Beth-lehem.

35. The installation of Zadok, here inserted by an editor, was an event of extraordinary significance in the religious history of Israel. In the first instance, it was nothing more than the selection of a particular Levitical line as custodians of the royal sanctuary; but with the growing importance of the Jerusalem temple the influence of its priesthood steadily increased; and that influence seems, on the whole, to have been exercised in the true interests of the national religion. The High Priesthood appears to have remained in the family till the murder of Onias in B.C. 171 (2 Macc. iv. 34). Even after the restoration of Jewish independence, the name Zadokite survived as the designation of the sect of the Sadducees, who were originally the old temple aristocracy, who adhered as a body to the policy of the priest-princes of the Asmonean house.

ii. 36–46. *The reckoning with Shimei.* He is summoned from Bahurim and ordered to take up his residence in Jerusalem, where his movements could be closely watched; and is made to swear,

Jerusalem, and dwell there, and go not forth thence any
whither. For on the day thou goest out, and passest 37
over the brook Kidron, know thou for certain that thou
shalt surely die: thy blood shall be upon thine own
head. And Shimei said unto the king, The saying is 38
good: as my lord the king hath said, so will thy servant
do. And Shimei dwelt in Jerusalem many days. And 39
it came to pass at the end of three years, that two of the
servants of Shimei ran away unto Achish, son of Maacah,
king of Gath. And they told Shimei, saying, Behold,
thy servants be in Gath. And Shimei arose, and 40
saddled his ass, and went to Gath to Achish, to seek his
servants: and Shimei went, and brought his servants
from Gath. And it was told Solomon that Shimei had 41
gone from Jerusalem to Gath, and was come again.
And the king sent and called for Shimei, and said unto 42
him, Did I not make thee to swear by the LORD, and
protested unto thee, saying, Know for certain, that on
the day thou goest out, and walkest abroad any whither,
thou shalt surely die? and thou saidst unto me, The
saying that I have heard is good. Why then hast thou 43

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on pain of death, not to pass the limits of the city. (The brook Kidron is mentioned as the boundary he would have to cross to get back to his old haunts and connexions among the Benjamites.) For three years he observed the compact; then his restless spirit found a slight occasion for an excursion in the direction opposite to that which he was expected to take. The affair is duly reported to Solomon; and Shimei is condemned to death.

39. Achish, son of Maacah, king of Gath. In 1 Sam. xxvii. 2 we read of an Achish, son of 'Maoch'; and though more than forty years had elapsed, the same king must probably be meant; and the names should doubtless be read alike in the two passages.

42. protested unto thee: 'solemnly admonished thee.' The last clause, **and thou saidst . . . good**, is not found in the LXX, perhaps owing to a mistake of the translator. If genuine, it should be rendered: 'Good is the matter! I have heard,' which is Hebrew for 'Very good! I obey.' (Cf. verse 38.)

not kept the oath of the Lord, and the commandment
44 that I have charged thee with? The king said moreover
to Shimei, Thou knowest all the wickedness which thine
heart is privy to, that thou didst to David my father:
therefore the Lord shall return thy wickedness upon
45 thine own head. But king Solomon shall be blessed,
and the throne of David shall be established before the
46 Lord for ever. So the king commanded Benaiah the
son of Jehoiada; and he went out, and fell upon him,
that he died. And the kingdom was established in the
hand of Solomon.

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44. Behind the technical offence lies a graver charge, which is the real ground of his condemnation. The words **which thine heart is privy to** (*lit.* 'knoweth') seem to represent a variant of the preceding clause.

shall return: better perhaps, 'hath returned' (so LXX, &c.). Shimei's infatuated conduct was Yahweh's sentence on his wickedness.

45. king Solomon shall be blessed: by the removal of the curse from his house (see on verse 8).

46. And the kingdom. The sentence is inserted by the LXX (in a corrupt form) in the middle of verse 35. It is hard to say which may have been its original position.

Note on the LXX of chapter ii.

One of the most important peculiarities of the Greek text of Kings is found in the latter part of chap. ii, in the form of two very long additions, one between verses 35 and 36, and the other after verse 46. (It has to be remembered that the last clause of verse 46 is transferred to the middle of verse 35; see the last note.) The additional verses are numbered in Swete's edition by the letters of the alphabet, as ii. $35^{a, b, c} \dots {}^{o}$; and ii. $46^{a} \dots {}^{l}$: and this notation is adopted in the following notes, in the few instances where it is necessary to refer to the passages. Each insertion begins with a notice of Solomon's wisdom and power; and then passes on to a series of fragmentary data, such as we frequently find in the Hebrew of chaps. iii–xi. The first (35^{l-o}), ends with an account of David's charge regarding Shimei, which naturally leads up to the narrative of the death of the latter, as in verses 36–46. The second insertion ends with a verse (46^{l}), which corresponds generally with iv. 1 of the Hebrew; but in

[**A**] And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of **3**

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the Vatican MS. (LXX (B)), this is followed by a break in the continuity, which shows that the LXX text has been abruptly dropped (probably at the end of a page) to make way for the present Hebrew text. It is impossible here to discuss the intricate problems of textual history which are suggested by these variations. The hypothesis that the LXX represents an independent recension, older than the Hebrew, cannot be established. With very few exceptions the inserted notices all occur in one place or another of the Hebrew of iii–xi; and most of the facts can be explained by assuming that they are an attempted rearrangement of the material supplied by the Hebrew for the history of Solomon. At the same time, their secondary character does not destroy their value for the criticism of the text. The compilation must have been made from an earlier form of the Hebrew; and in some cases has preserved a better reading. It is possible also that it underwent expansion here and there, and that in its amplified form it came into the hands of a later scribe, who used it to annotate his Hebrew MS.

iii–xi. THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

The account of Solomon's reign occupies (if we include i. ii) more than a fourth part of the two Books of Kings; and is arranged upon a method almost peculiar to this section. Instead of the graphic continuous narratives which form the basis of the history of David, we have (in iii–xi) a lifeless and somewhat confused assortment of very heterogeneous material, 'determined less by chronological sequence than by community of subject' (Driver). The selection of material seems to have been influenced largely by two leading points of view: a sense of Solomon's importance as the founder of the temple; and admiration of him as the *beau idéal* of wisdom and regal magnificence. The first of these appealed most strongly to the Deuteronomic editors, as we may judge from the disproportionate space (more than half the section) allotted to the building and inauguration of the sanctuary (v. 1—ix. 9). The second appears in the older authorities; and also in some late additions which celebrate the splendour of Solomon's rule in terms which occasionally exceed historical probability.

The literary analysis of the section is extremely complicated. Setting aside post-redactional glosses and insertions of various kinds, we can distinguish three kinds of material which enter into the composition:—

(1) A statistical or annalistic account of Solomon's kingdom, commencing at iv. 1 and extending to iv. 28, resumed in ix. 10–28, and concluding with x. 14–29 (A). It is a reasonable assumption

Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her

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that these detached notices are based in the first instance on the state records of the reign, although the form and connexion in which they now appear must be due to the labours of successive editors. It is uncertain whether the description of the temple buildings and utensils in vi, vii is taken from the same source, or from an independent document (T) preserved in the temple archives.

(2) A series of narratives (S), partly historical, describing important events in the reign, and partly biographical, illustrative of Solomon's wisdom and greatness: iii. 4–13, 16–28, v. 1—vi. 1, viii. 1–13, x. 1–13, the basis of xi. 1–8, xi. 14–22, 26–31, 40. It is not to be assumed that all these passages are derived from a single document, or belong to one age: the story of the queen of Sheba (x. 1–13) has certain traces of later authorship (see p. 166); while the account of Jeroboam (xi. 26 ff.), which anticipates xii, shows that some at least of the sources were not peculiar to the history of Solomon, but belonged to historical works of more comprehensive scope.

(3) The Deuteronomic supplements (D), which occur partly in the form of short interpolations, and partly as longer compositions: iii. 3, 14 f., v. 4 f., vi. 11–13, viii. 14–61, ix. 1–9, xi. 9–13, 32–39, 41–43. Of these again some parts appear to be pre-Exilic, and others Exilic or post-Exilic.

The most interesting question which here arises concerns the relation of (1) and (2) to the work cited in xi. 41 as the Book of the Acts of Solomon. Since it contained some account of Solomon's 'wisdom,' it may be presumed at least to have included certain anecdotes of the kind mentioned under (2). Now there is evidence that some of these narratives had been combined with annalistic material in the sources which lay before the compiler; and a peculiar use of the particle 'then' (iii. 16, viii. 1, 12, ix. 11, 24, xi. 7) suggests that the combination had been effected in a document of the same general character as the chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah. It is possible, therefore—though far from certain—that this was the history of Solomon referred to. But that *all* the notices grouped under (1) had been thus treated we can hardly assume, in view of the extremely fragmentary nature of the compilation and the numerous displacements revealed by a comparison of the Hebrew text with the LXX. It seems better, accordingly, to denote these by a special symbol (A), and to use (S) for the more continuous narratives.

It is from the pre-Deuteronomic sources that we must start if we are to form a historical estimate of the character and policy of Solomon. There is no doubt that these writers present his government on the whole in a favourable light. We cannot be into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the LORD, and

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wrong in thinking of the reign as a period of rapidly advancing civilization, of great material prosperity and outward splendour; nor in attributing all this mainly to the initiative and enterprise of the monarch. Solomon was a man of brilliant genius and resource, inspired by a passion for self-aggrandizement which found an outlet in the ostentatious luxury of his court and the costly building projects that made his name famous. He was quick to perceive the opportunities offered to the newly consolidated nationality of Israel by its geographical position and political relations; and he knew how to utilize these advantages in opening up new sources of revenue. But the history enables us to see at the same time that his rule was by no means an unmixed blessing to his subjects. It shows that under him the empire of David began to crumble; that his government, if essentially just, was despotic and oppressive; and that his selfish ambitions exhausted the financial resources of the country. And the silence of the historians is perhaps even more eloquent than their speech. It is significant that they have little to tell of true moral greatness, or any application of his fabulous wealth except the barren and extravagant display of an oriental court. We can readily understand that Solomon, with his purely intellectual eminence and his soaring cosmopolitan ideas, excited the admiration rather than the affection of his people; and that his harsh and unsympathetic administration produced a smouldering discontent which broke out in open rebellion immediately after his death.

iii. *Introductory Narratives.*

iii. 1. *Solomon's marriage with an Egyptian princess.*—The verse hardly stands here in its proper position. In the LXX it is united with ix. 16 of the Hebrew, and the two are inserted after iv. 34 of the E. V. (between verses 14 and 15 of ch. v in the Hebrew). In that connexion the incident would belong to the annalistic account of Solomon's reign which commences at iv. 1; and, on the whole, this may be presumed to have been its original setting. The history of Solomon will then have begun in the usual way, with the compiler's verdict on his religious attitude, in verse 3.

1. made affinity with: 'became the son-in-law of.' The Pharaoh referred to must have been a predecessor of Shishak (xiv. 25), the founder of the twenty-second dynasty; and therefore one of the last kings of the twenty-first (Tanitic) dynasty. Winckler (*KAT*^{3}, p. 236) points out that, according to a passage in the Tel-Amarna tablets, it was impossible for an Egyptian princess to marry a foreigner; hence he argues that there must

2 the wall of Jerusalem round about. [Z] Only the people sacrificed in the high places, because there was no house built for the name of the LORD until those
3 days. [D] And Solomon loved the LORD, walking in the statutes of David his father: only he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.

4 [S] And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there

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be a confusion here between Miẓraim (Egypt) and the Arabi kingdom of Muẓri. The passage occurs in a corresponden between the kings of Egypt and Babylon, in which the former refuses his daughter to the latter on the ground that such a thing had never been done. His royal correspondent, however, appears to treat the refusal as a diplomatic evasion. In any case, it happened four or five centuries before the time of Solomon. (See *KIB*, v. p. 8 f.)

On the **wall of Jerusalem** see ix. 15.

iii. 2, 3. *Religious judgements on Solomon.* The word 'only' in verse 2, qualifying nothing in the preceding context, indicates that there has been some textual disturbance, which is probably to be explained as follows:—The Deuteronomic compiler is responsible for verse 3 alone, which expresses, in the terms usually applied to the good kings of Judah, a general commendation of Solomon's conduct (see xv. 14; 2 Kings xii. 3, &c., &c.). Verse 2 was first written as a marginal comment by a later scribe, who supposed that the second half of verse 3 referred merely to the sacrifice at Gibeon, and wished to justify Solomon by pointing out that this was due to the temple not being built. Eventually the gloss was incorporated in the text in its present unsuitable position. Verse 2, however, still represents the Deuteronomic point of view: the law of the one sanctuary did not come into practical operation until the temple was built. The older narrative (verse 4) accepts the worship of the high places as a matter of course.

3. loved the LORD, walking: a Deuteronomic phrase; Deut. x. 12, xi. 22, &c.

sacrificed and burnt incense: strictly, 'slaughtered and turned into (sacrificial) smoke'; an expression of frequent occurrence in the Deuteronomic portions of Kings (xi. 8, xxii. 43 2 Kings xii. 3, &c.).

iii. 4-15. *Solomon's initiatory sacrifice and vision at Gibeon* Solomon appears to have celebrated his accession by a grea

for that was the great high place: a thousand burnt
offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar. In Gibeon 5
the LORD appeared to Solomon in a dream by night:
and God said, Ask what I shall give thee. And 6
Solomon said, Thou hast shewed unto thy servant
David my father great kindness, [**D**] according as he

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religious ceremony at the most frequented sanctuary in the vicinity of Jerusalem. On the following night Yahweh appears to him in a dream, and offers the fulfilment of whatever request he may make. The incident has a profound interest and significance. The youthful monarch, solemnized perhaps by the imposing service in which he had been engaged, and impressed by a sense of the responsibilities of government, puts aside the prospect of earthly greatness, and definitely chooses as his portion the wisdom and righteousness necessary for the right discharge of his exalted duties. His unselfish aspiration is rewarded by a promise not only of the wisdom he had asked, but of wealth and honour and long life. It is noteworthy that the two recorded Divine communications to Solomon take place, not through the medium of prophecy, but through dreams in a sacred place (cf. ix. 1, 2). In the whole history of Solomon there is no instance of prophetic influence on his policy, such as Nathan and Gad had exerted in the reign of David. The passage contains numerous traces of the hand of the compiler, especially in verses 6 and 14; but the basis of the narrative is undoubtedly ancient. See Burney, p. 28 ff., who gives a careful comparison of the text with the parallel in 2 Chron. i. 3–13.

4. Gibeon, the modern *el-Jīb*, was in the territory of Benjamin, some six miles north-west of Jerusalem. It was **the great** (i. e. 'chief') **high place,** possibly on account of its central position, and its proximity to the capital.

high place (Heb. *bāmāh*) is the ancient and technical name (found also on the Moabite Stone) of the local Canaanitish sanctuaries, which had been adopted by the Israelites, and consecrated to the worship of Yahweh. Every town and village had such a place of sacrifice, situated on the 'height' on whose slope the town was built (1 Sam. ix. 10 ff.). In the Chronicler's version of the incident (2 Chron. i. 3 ff.), a different reason is given for the choice of Gibeon for the sacrifice, viz. that the Mosaic tabernacle and the brazen altar were there, though the ark was in Jerusalem. That explanation is certainly unhistorical; but it is one which arose naturally from the fixed belief that sacrifice elsewhere than at the one legitimate sanctuary had always been impossible.

6. The phraseology here is mostly Deuteronomic.

walked before thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in
uprightness of heart with thee; and thou hast kept for
him this great kindness, that thou hast given him a son
7 to sit on his throne, as it is this day. [S] And now, O
LORD my God, thou hast made thy servant king instead
of David my father: and I am but a little child; I
8 know not how to go out or come in. And thy servant is
in the midst of thy people which thou hast chosen, a
great people, that cannot be numbered nor counted for
9 multitude. Give thy servant therefore an understanding
heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between
good and evil; for who is able to judge this thy great
10 people? And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon
11 had asked this thing. And God said unto him, Because

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thou hast kept: reserved this as thy crowning act of goodness to David; cf. i. 48.

7. I am but a little child is of course a hyperbolical expression for inexperience. The actual age of Solomon at his accession is not stated. If the numbers in xiv. 21 and xi. 42 be correct, he had already a son; and his vigorous action in ch. ii certainly suggests that he had passed beyond boyhood. Tradition makes him to have been really a child. Some copies of the LXX insert in ii. 12 a notice that he was twelve years old; Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 211) says he was fourteen, giving him, however, a reign of eighty years.

to go out or come in: i. e., to discharge the duties of one's station (1 Sam. xviii. 16).

8. cannot be . . . counted for multitude: cf. viii. 5; Gen. xvi. 10, xxxii. 12.

9. an understanding heart: *lit.* 'a hearing heart' (as marg.); i. e. a receptive mind, one that listens and considers before it decides (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 17; Prov. xxi. 28).

to judge has here almost the sense of 'to govern,' the administration of justice being the principal function of the king in time of peace.

10, 11. To have perceived the supreme importance of this quality, as contrasted with external greatness and military glory, is the ethically valuable element in Solomon's choice which makes it pleasing to God.

thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself
long life; neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast
asked the life of thine enemies; but hast asked for
thyself understanding to discern judgement; behold, I 12
have done according to thy word: lo, I have given thee
a wise and an understanding heart; so that there hath
been none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall
any arise like unto thee. And I have also given thee 13
that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour,
so that there shall not be any among the kings like unto
thee, all thy days. [D] And if thou wilt walk in my 14
ways, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as
thy father David did walk, then I will lengthen thy days.
[S] And Solomon awoke, and, behold, it was a dream: 15
and he came to Jerusalem, and stood before the ark of
the covenant of the LORD, and offered up burnt offerings,
and offered peace offerings, and made a feast to all his
servants.

Then came there two women, that were harlots, unto 16

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12. an understanding heart: better, 'a discerning mind'; the marginal reference 'hearing' is a mistake.

13. all thy days: this senseless clause should be omitted with the LXX.

14. See on ii. 2–4.

15 is generally considered to be the work of a still later writer, who thought that if Solomon had committed the irregularity of sacrificing at a high place, he would be sure to put matters right by a sort of indemnifying ceremony at the proper place. But the first sentence must be from the old source; and for the rest, there is perhaps nothing very improbable in the statement that the return to Jerusalem was signalized by fresh sacrifices before the ark, where there seems to have been an altar (ii. 29). The phrase 'ark *of the covenant* of Yahweh' may be Deuteronomic; but the addition has crept into the text in other early passages, and there is no reason why it might not have done so here.

iii. 16–28. *An instance of Solomon's sagacity.* The story comes in here appropriately as an illustration of the endowment which

17 the king, and stood before him. And the one woman
said, Oh my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house;
and I was delivered of a child with her in the house.
18 And it came to pass the third day after I was delivered,
that this woman was delivered also; and we were
together; there was no stranger with us in the house,
19 save we two in the house. And this woman's child died
20 in the night; because she overlaid it. And she arose at
midnight, and took my son from beside me, while thine
handmaid slept, and laid it in her bosom, and laid her
21 dead child in my bosom. And when I rose in the

Solomon had obtained in answer to his prayer. To us it is interesting as showing the kind of quality which the early Hebrews popularly called 'wisdom' (*ḥokmāh*), and which was so greatly esteemed among them. It is not the faculty of philosophical reflection, nor is it essentially a moral virtue; 'the wisdom which the East admires' is 'the clever judicial decision, the faculty of clothing a practical experience in a rule of life or a witty saying, the acuteness which can solve an enigma' (Duncker). That blending of insight, shrewdness and tact which penetrates the disguises of human action, and plays deftly on the true motives which lie beneath, is the wisdom of Solomon; and Jewish legend relates many examples, more extravagant than this, of his peculiar gift. Grotius called attention to an interesting parallel in Diodorus Siculus: Ariopharnes, king of Thrace, had to decide which of three pretenders was really the son of the dead king of the Cimmerians; he discovered the truth by ordering them to pierce the body of the father with a spear, when of course the true son refused. (Quoted by Thenius.)

16. Then. The other instances of this use of the word (see on p. 82 above) are viii. 1, 12, ix. 11, 24, xi. 7, xvi. 21, xxii. 49; 2 Kings viii. 22, xii. 17, xiv. 8, xv. 16, xvi. 5. 'In many cases the notices introduced by it lack any definite point of attachment in the preceding narrative: at the same time, their directness of statement and terseness of form suggest the inference that they may be derived immediately from the contemporary annalistic records' (Driver, *Introd.*^{6} p. 203). Driver considers the usage to be a characteristic of the compiler; but it is equally probable that it belongs to the style of the documents he employed.

18. no stranger: so that the case cannot be decided by evidence.

morning to give my child suck, behold, it was dead: but when I had considered it in the morning, behold, it was not my son, which I did bear. And the other 22 woman said, Nay; but the living is my son, and the dead is thy son. And this said, No; but the dead is thy son, and the living is my son. Thus they spake before the king. Then said the king, The one saith, 23 This is my son that liveth, and thy son is the dead: and the other saith, Nay; but thy son is the dead, and my son is the living. And the king said, Fetch me a sword. 24 And they brought a sword before the king. And the 25 king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other. Then spake the 26 woman whose the living child was unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, Oh my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, It shall be neither mine nor thine; divide it. Then the king answered and said, Give her 27 the living child, and in no wise slay it: she is the mother thereof. And all Israel heard of the judgement 28 which the king had judged; and they feared the king:

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21. considered it: better, 'looked at it narrowly' (as Isa. xiv. 16).

22, 23. The LXX omits the sentence **And this said . . . my son** in verse 22, and in the following verse reads, 'Thou sayest . . . and thou sayest,' instead of **The one saith . . . and the other saith.** The Hebrew is preferable in both cases: in the first, because it depicts better the unseemly wrangling of the two women before the king; and in the second, because a soliloquy of Solomon on the peculiar situation is the most suitable prelude to verse 24.

26. her bowels yearned: *lit.* 'grew warm' or 'tender'; cf. Gen. xliii. 30 (J).

27. give her the living child. Since the pronoun does not refer to the last speaker, it may be better to read, somewhat as LXX, 'Give it to her who says, Give her the living child . . . : she is its mother.'

for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgement.

4 [A] And king Solomon was king over all Israel.
2 And these were the princes which he had; Azariah the
3 son of Zadok, the priest; Elihoreph and Ahijah, the sons
of Shisha, scribes; Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud, the

28. the wisdom of God: better, 'Divine wisdom.'

iv. *Annalistic account of Solomon's Kingdom.*

The chapter consists for the most part of a series of extracts from the official Annals of Solomon's reign: these (though interspersed with a few notices of later date) continue to the end of verse 28. Since a heading similar to verse 1 precedes the list of David's officials in 2 Sam. viii. 15, it seems a plausible conjecture that it forms the introduction to an independent account of the reign, transferred bodily either from the State documents, or from some abridgement of them which had been published (so Kittel).

iv. 2–6. *List of Solomon's Ministers.* The list occurs twice in the LXX; once in the present connexion, and again as part of the long addition in ch. ii (ii. 46 h)[1]. The variations of the three texts are very considerable; but in the first case the divergences from the Hebrew can, on the whole, be fairly explained by scribal errors either in the Hebrew or the Greek. In the other case, however, the discrepancies are very remarkable and perplexing. Benzinger has hazarded the bold suggestion that we have really to do with two independent compilations, based on two different official lists, one belonging to an earlier and the other to a later period of the reign. It is also of interest to compare the corresponding lists for the reign of David, which are found in 2 Sam. viii. 17 f., and xx. 23–26.

2. princes: (Heb. *sārîm*, often rendered 'captains') is the technical designation of the high civil and military officials of the monarchical régime. Here it denotes the Ministers of State, or heads of departments.

the (chief) **priest** is **Azariah the son of Zadok,** hence the list cannot be from the very beginning of the reign (see ii. 35).

3. The **scribes,** or 'secretaries' (*lit.* 'writers') would be the officials to whom was entrusted the conduct of correspondence, the keeping of records, the preparation of documents, &c. The office would seem, like the priesthood, to have been hereditary; for **Shisha,** the father of **Elihoreph** (LXX, 'Eliaph' or 'Eliab')

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[1] See the note on p. 80 f.

recorder; and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the 4
host; and Zadok and Abiathar were priests; and Azariah 5
the son of Nathan was over the officers; and Zabud the
son of Nathan was priest, *and* the king's friend; and 6
Ahishar was over the household; and Adoniram the son
of Abda was over the levy. And Solomon had twelve 7

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and **Ahijah**, can easily be recognized through all its protean disguises as the name of David's secretary (Seraiah, 2 Sam. viii. 17; Sheva, xx. 25). In the LXX of ii. 46^h the father still holds the office.

The business of the **recorder** (*mazkîr*, *lit.* 'remembrancer') was probably to bring important matters of State to the notice of the king. The office is still held by **Jehoshaphat,** as under David (2 Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24).

4^a. The commander-in-chief is **Benaiah,** as in ii. 35. But here we cannot ignore the surprising variation of the LXX (ii. 46^h), which makes Benaiah still captain of the guard, and names 'a son of Joab' as commander-in-chief. It is barely possible that this represents the distribution of offices at an early period of Solomon's reign, if we assume that the appointment mentioned in ii. 35 was not made immediately on the death of Joab, which it must be confessed is little probable.

4^b is a particularly stupid interpolation (after 2 Sam. viii. 17), absolutely irreconcileable with ii. 35.

5^a. over the officers: or governors; see on verse 7 below.

5^b. Render, **and Zabud . . . , a priest, was the king's friend,** unless we are to follow the LXX and omit 'priest' entirely. The duties of this functionary (cf. 2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16) are quite unknown to us. The office is mentioned in the Tel-Amarna tablets as familiar in the petty courts of Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C. (see *KIB*, v. p. 215). Cf. also Maspero, in *Records of the Past*^{2}, ii. p. 18.

6^a. over the household: superintendent of the palace, or major-domo.

Adoniram (abbreviated to 'Adoram') still occupied the office at Solomon's death (xii. 18).

6^b. the levy (Heb. *maṣ*) is a collective noun denoting labour-bands raised under the system of the *corvée* or forced labour, which apparently was introduced by David (2 Sam. xx. 24), but enormously extended by Solomon for the execution of his public works (cf. verse 27 f., ix. 15, and Exod. i. 11; Judges i. 28). The word is supposed to be borrowed from Egyptian.

iv. 7–19. *List of Provincial Governors.* The country was

officers over all Israel, which provided victuals for the
king and his household: each man had to make pro-
8 vision for a month in the year. And these are their
9 names: Ben-hur, in the hill country of Ephraim: Ben-
deker, in Makaz, and in Shaalbim, and Beth-shemesh,
10 and Elon-beth-hanan: Ben-hesed, in Arubboth; to him
11 *pertained* Socoh, and all the land of Hepher: Ben-
abinadab, in all the height of Dor; he had Taphath the

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divided into twelve administrative districts—nine west, and three east of the Jordan—under as many Collectors or Prefects, each of whom was charged with the provision of the royal table for one month in the year. The system seems to have been instituted by Solomon; and it is noteworthy, as illustrating the centralizing tendencies of the monarchy, that in the division of the country the tribal boundaries are mostly ignored. The high rank and responsibility of the officers is shown by the fact that two of them are expressly said to have been sons-in-law of the king. The list is very confused and incomplete.

7. The word for **officers** (*nizzābîm*) occurs only in the history of Solomon, but a closely allied form (*nĕzîb*) is occasionally found in the same sense elsewhere. It means 'appointed.'

8. *First District*, **the hill country of Ephraim,** administered by a certain **son of Hur.** It is noticeable that all the officers are mentioned by their patronymic, the personal name being sometimes inserted and sometimes omitted.

9. *Second District*, on the west side of the Judaean mountains; where **Shaalbim** may be *Selbīt*, in the ancient territory of Dan (Joshua xix. 42); **Beth-shemesh** is certainly *'Ain Shems*, on one of the roads from Jerusalem to Jaffa. A place **Makaz** is not known. **Elon** and **Beth-hanan** are *two* places; the former was also in Dan (Joshua xix. 43); the latter has been conjecturally localized far to the south, at *Beit Hanūn*, a few miles north-east of Gaza.

10. *Third District*, in the south of Judah, more central than the second, including **Arubboth** (unknown) and **Socoh,** which is one or other of two villages bearing the modern name of *Shuweikeh*. The northernmost, in the *Wadi es-Sunt*, is too near Beth-shemesh; hence the other, lying about ten miles south-south-west of Hebron, is most probably the place here meant. **Hepher** is mentioned in Joshua xii. 17 as the seat of a Canaanitish kingdom, presumably in this same region.

11. *Fourth District*, allotted to a son-in-law of Solomon, was in the rich undulating Plain of Sharon—**the high land of Dor** (= *Tantura* on the coast)—between Carmel and the sea.

daughter of Solomon to wife: Baana the son of Ahilud, 12
in Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth-shean which is
beside Zarethan, beneath Jezreel, from Beth-shean to
Abel-meholah, as far as beyond Jokmeam: Ben-geber, 13
in Ramoth-gilead; to him *pertained* the towns of Jair
the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead; *even* to him
pertained the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, three-
score great cities with walls and brasen bars: Ahinadab 14
the son of Iddo, in Mahanaim: Ahimaaz, in Naphtali; 15

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12. *Fifth District*, falling to **Baana the son of Ahilud** (a brother of the 'recorder'?—see verse 3); it takes in the Plain of Esdraelon, where **Taanach** and **Megiddo** (*Lejjūn*) are situated; and also the eastern extension of that valley towards the Jordan, **beneath Jezreel** (*Zer'īn*) **from Beth-shean** (*Beisān*), as far south as **Abel-meholah. Zarethan** and **Jokmeam** have not been certainly identified.

13. *Sixth District*, most northerly of the three Trans-Jordanic districts, having its centre in **Ramoth-Gilead.** The site of this important frontier town has, unfortunately, not yet been determined (see on xxii. 3). The common identification with *es-Salt* places it much too far south for our passage; for **the region of Argob** (Deut. iii. 4, 13, 14) was in Bashan, and therefore (roughly speaking) north of a line drawn from the *Jebel Hauran* to the Lake of Galilee; but in what part of that extensive district it is to be located we do not know. The verse contains two glosses: the first ('to him . . . Gilead') is wanting in the LXX; the second ('threescore great . . . bars') is based on Deut. iii. 4, 5.

14. *Seventh District*, also east of the Jordan, with its dépôt at **Mahanaim**, which was apparently the capital of Gilead. The site is again uncertain. The most attractive identification seems that of Robinson and Buhl, who place it at *Mahnê*, a few miles north-east of the town of *Ajlūn*. (But see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 587.)

15–17. *Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Districts*. Recrossing the Jordan, we come to **Naphtali** (next to the Sea of Galilee and the upper Jordan), **Asher** (between that and the Mediterranean), and **Issachar** (further south in the corner between the Sea of Galilee and the vale of Jezreel).

15. Ahimaaz, the only governor whose father is not named, is possibly the son of Zadok (2 Sam. xv. 27); **he also** was a son-in-law of Solomon.

he also took Basemath the daughter of Solomon to wife:
16 Baana the son of Hushai, in Asher and Bealoth:
17, 18 Jehoshaphat the son of Paruah, in Issachar: Shimei the
19 son of Ela, in Benjamin: Geber the son of Uri, in the
land of Gilead, the country of Sihon king of the
Amorites and of Og king of Bashan; and *he was* the
20 only officer which was in the land. [Z] Judah and

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16. **Hushai** may be the friend of David (2 Sam. xv. 32, &c.). A place **Bealoth** is not known: MSS. of the LXX (B and A) read 'Maaleh' or 'Maaloth,' which has been thought to mean the 'Ladder' of Tyre (on which see *Camb. Bible* on 1 Macc. xi. 59).

18. *Eleventh District*, **Benjamin,** immediately north of Jerusalem.

19. *Twelfth District*, and southernmost of the Trans-Jordanic districts, **in the land of Gad** (so we must read with the LXX), **the country of Sihon,** which latter extended 'from the Jabbok to the Arnon' (Num. xxi. 24).

and of Og king of Bashan is an incorrect gloss; Bashan is already disposed of in verse 13.

The last clause, *lit.* 'and one officer who was in the land,' gives no sense. The most facile expedient would be to read with LXX 'in the land of Judah,' taking on the first word of the next verse. But that is encumbered by several obvious difficulties. This part of the text has in any case suffered much disturbance, and it is hardly worth while to try to bring it into order.

iv. 20, 21, 24, 25. *Prosperity and greatness of Solomon's Kingdom.* The section from verse 20 to verse 28 is entirely lacking in unity, and shows signs of great textual disorder, which can partly be rectified by the help of the LXX. In that version the list of governors (7–19) is immediately followed by the description of their duties (27, 28); and this again by the account of the daily purveyance for the royal establishment (22, 23). This may be accepted as the natural and original order; and in that order the passage may probably be assigned to the same annalistic source as verses 1–19. Verses 20, 21 and 24, 25, on the other hand, are two post-redactional additions; while verse 26, though genuine, stands here out of its proper context in x. 26[1]. In the Hebrew, ch. v commences with iv. 21 of the E.V.

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[1] With regard to the position of the verses in the LXX, the facts are as follows: Verses 20, 21 are practically identical with Swete's ii. 46^{a},^{b} (see the note on p. 80 above); and 24, 25 with ii. 46^{f},^{g} (where, as here, they follow immediately on the account of Solomon's

Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking and making merry.

And Solomon ruled over all the kingdoms from the 21
River unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the
border of Egypt: they brought presents, and served
Solomon all the days of his life. [A] And Solomon's 22
provision for one day was thirty measures of fine flour,
and threescore measures of meal; ten fat oxen, and 23
twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred sheep,
beside harts, and gazelles, and roebucks, and fatted fowl.
[Z] For he had dominion over all *the region* on this side 24

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20. as the sand: a common comparison; see Gen. xxii. 17; Joshua xi. 4; Judges vii. 12; 2 Sam. xvii. 11, &c.

21. the River *par excellence* is, as often, the Euphrates. The closing words of the verse are inconsistent with the facts related in ch. xi; and the whole conception of Solomon's age as a halcyon period of Hebrew history appears to be late.

iv. 22, 23. *Daily provision for Solomon's table.* To be read after verse 28.

22. The 'cor' (marg.) or *homer* is estimated as approximately = 11 bushels (see Kennedy in *DB*, iv. p. 912). Kittel calculates that the quantities named would sustain 33,000 to 36,000 persons, or 3,000 to 4,000 households, and does not consider the numbers excessive.

23. The word for **fowl** (*barbûrîm*) is unknown elsewhere; but the traditional interpretation is no doubt correct.

24. on this side the River must be rendered as in the marg., 'beyond the River.' The phrase does not necessarily imply that the writer lived east of the Euphrates; for it seems to have been

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daily provision); verse 26 = ii. 46^{l}, being separated from 46^{g} by the list of ministers corresponding to iv. 2-6. In the LXX, verse 24 occurs *also* in its place in the Hebrew, while 21 is partly *repeated* in ii. 46^{k}, and also between verses 26 and 27 of ch. x of the E.V. Verses 25 and 26 are found in LXX *only* in ii. 46. These phenomena are susceptible of a double explanation: (1) the LXX of ii. 46 might have been compiled from the present Hebrew text (including its glosses); or (2) it might have been put together at an earlier stage of the Hebrew, and afterwards used to supplement the Hebrew MSS. Possibly both processes will have to be allowed for; but the subject cannot be pursued further here.

the River, from Tiphsah even to Gaza, over all the kings
on this side the River: and he had peace on all sides
25 round about him. And Judah and Israel dwelt safely,
every man under his vine and under his fig tree, from
Dan even to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon. [**A**]
26 And Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for his
27 chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen. And those
officers provided victual for king Solomon, and for all
that came unto king Solomon's table, every man in his
28 month: they let nothing be lacking. Barley also and
straw for the horses and swift steeds brought they unto

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the official designation in the Persian period of the Syrian satrapy, to which Palestine belonged (see Ezra iv. 17, &c.; Neh. ii. 9). It is, in any case, an indication of late date.

Tiphsah is 'Thapsacus,' the most important crossing-place in the middle course of the Euphrates, above the confluence of the Baliḥ (Xenophon, *Anab.* I. iv.; Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 7). The name probably means 'ford,' being derived from *pāṣaḥ*, the root of the Hebrew word for 'Passover.'

The phrase **from Tiphsah . . . River** seems to be later than the rest of the verse; it is wanting in the LXX here, though occurring in ii. 46 [f].

on all sides is a better reading than marg., 'with all his servants,' from which it differs but in a single Hebrew letter.

25. under his vine: cf. 2 Kings xviii. 31; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10.

from Dan . . . Beer-sheba: the north and south extremities of the Israelitish territory: Judges xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20, &c.

iv. 26. *Solomon's horses and chariots.*

forty thousand stalls . . . twelve thousand horsemen: cf. the numbers in x. 26 (= 2 Chron. i. 14), 1,400 chariots . . . 12,000 horsemen; and 2 Chron. ix. 25, 4,000 stalls . . . 12,000 horsemen. The figures probably stood originally as in x. 26, from which the notice was taken as a gloss to iv. 28. See below.

iv. 27, 28. *Tribute of the Governors.* Continuation of **iv. 19**, expanding iv. 7.

27. those officers: those named in verses 8–19.

all that came (or, 'had access to') . . . **table**: like the sons of Barzillai; see on ii. 7.

the place where *the officers* were, every man according to his charge.

[**Z**] And God gave Solomon wisdom and under- 29
standing exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even
as the sand that is on the sea shore. And Solomon's 30
wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the
east, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser 31

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28. where the officers **were:** rather 'where they (i. e. the horses) were'; the cavalry being distributed at various places throughout the country; see x. 26.

iv. 29-34. *Solomon's wisdom and its world-wide fame* (= Hebrew, v. 9-14). The *greatness* of Solomon's wisdom is first celebrated (29-31), then the *forms* in which it expressed itself (32) and its *character* (33), and finally the *impression* it made on his contemporaries far and near (34). The passage can hardly have come from an ancient source. The conception of wisdom which it reveals is different from what we meet in iii. 5-28: there the practical insight and sagacity of the judge, here the literary, reflective criticism of life in general which was so largely developed in later times. That Solomon excelled in both directions is not to be doubted; but the enumeration of his wise sayings seems to presuppose an extensive Solomonic literature, such as we have in the Books of Proverbs, Job, and Canticles (see Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 129). The whole tone of the section—its vague generalities, its backward look to the shadowy personages of a hoary antiquity, is unlike anything found in the contemporary documents of the Monarchy. For these reasons it is doubtful if it be even as old as the Deuteronomic compiler: more probably it is post-Exilic. The last verse suggests that the passage may have been the introduction to the story of the queen of Sheba (x. 1-13), and may come from the same source. If so, it must have been inserted at this point to introduce the embassy of Hiram, the first foreign potentate who (in the view of the editor) was attracted by the wisdom of Solomon.

29. largeness of heart: 'breadth of mind.' The Greek word used by the LXX (*chuma*) seems to have suggested Cheyne's interesting but quite unnecessary emendation; 'a mind "seething" with new ideas' (loc. cit. p. 128).

30. the children of the east. The expression is commonly applied to the Arabs of the Eastern deserts (Job i. 3; Ezek. xxv. 4, 10, &c.), also to Mesopotamia (Gen. xxix. 1); but here it may refer to the far East, especially the Babylonians. (But see Burney's note on p. 50 f.)

than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman,
and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol: and his
32 fame was in all the nations round about. And he spake
three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand
33 and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is
in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of
the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of
34 creeping things, and of fishes. And there came of all
peoples to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings
of the earth, which had heard of his wisdom.

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31. Nothing is known of the four persons named in this verse, except that they must have been famous sages of the olden time. In 1 Chron. ii. 6 they are given as descendants of Zerah son of Judah; but this does not exclude the possibility that they were really Edomites; since Edomite clans were incorporated in the tribe of Judah. Some think, but with little justification, that they may have been mythical heroes of Babylonia, identifying Ethan with the legendary Etana (Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 519). **Ethan** and **Heman** can have nothing to do with the Levitical singers of the same names mentioned in 1 Chron. vi. 33, 44 (cf. the titles of Psalms lxxxviii, lxxxix).

32. proverbs . . . songs: i. e. *gnomic* and *lyric* poetry, the two great branches of Hebrew poetic composition. The proverb (*māshāl*) was originally a comparison or simile (of which we have many examples in the older parts of the Book of Proverbs), then a gnomic saying in general. Similarly the song (*shîr*) includes all varieties of lyrical poetry.

33. he spake of trees. What is here ascribed to Solomon is neither on the one hand a scientific knowledge of Natural History, nor on the other (as late Jewish legend imagined) a knowledge of the language of the creatures, enabling him to converse *with* them. It is simply the faculty of drawing lessons for human instruction, based on observation of the vegetable and animal worlds. Note the four conventional subdivisions of the latter: beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes.

hyssop: a small wall-growing plant, greatly used in ceremonial sprinklings. The botanical species has not been certainly identified. The 'hyssop' of the Greeks (*Hyssopus officinalis*), prevalent in Southern Europe, has not been found in Palestine.

[After verse 34, the LXX inserts its notice of Solomon's marriage, and of the dowry which his Egyptian wife brought to him, the

[S] And Hiram king of Tyre sent his servants unto 5
Solomon; for he had heard that they had anointed him
king in the room of his father: for Hiram was ever a
lover of David. And Solomon sent to Hiram, saying, 2
[D] Thou knowest how that David my father could not 3
build an house for the name of the LORD his God for

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possession of the town of Gezer: iii. 1, ix. 16; see the notes on these verses.]

v. *Preparations for the Building of the Temple.*

v. 1–12. *Preliminary negotiations with Hiram* (= Hebrew, v. 15–26). Hiram king of Tyre sends an embassy to Solomon to congratulate him on his succession; and Solomon takes the opportunity to solicit his assistance in his cherished project of building a temple to Yahweh. Hiram, himself a great builder, as well as an old ally of David, readily accedes; and agrees to furnish timber and skilled labour in return for an annual contribution of natural produce. The narrative has been revised by the compiler of Kings (verses 3–5, 7, 12), who thus early reveals his interest in all that pertained to the temple. The account in the original source (S ?) cannot, however, have been materially different; though it is probable that the royal palace would be mentioned as well as the temple. The whole passage should be compared with the highly elaborated record in 2 Chron. ii. 3–16.

1. Hiram: more correctly 'Hirôm,' as in verses 10, 18 (Assyrian, *Hirummu*; Josephus, *Heirōmos*). According to the calculation of Winckler (*KAT*³, p. 129), Hiram I reigned *c.* 968–935 B.C. The reckoning is based on the Chronicle of Menander of Ephesus, quoted by Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i. 117–126, 154–160); and the result agrees fairly well with the chronology of Kings. Menander gives a legendary account of the intercourse between Hiram and Solomon, in which they try to puzzle each other with riddles, and Hiram's adviser always comes off best (*Ant.* viii. 148).

a lover of: 'friendly to.' The LXX has a strange reading of this verse: 'And Hiram sent his servants to anoint Solomon instead of David his father, for,' &c. This might have some significance as countenancing a speculation of Winckler's, that Solomon was really a vassal of Tyre; although the relation is almost reversed by the Biblical writers (see on ix. 11 ff.). That it was customary for a vassal to be anointed by his suzerain appears from the Tel-Amarna tablets (*KIB*, v. 99; see *KAT*³, p. 237 f.).

3. could not build. Three reasons are given for David's not having built a temple: (1) in 2 Sam. vii he is forbidden to do so

the wars which were about him on every side, until the
4 Lord put them under the soles of his feet. But now
the Lord my God hath given me rest on every side;
5 there is neither adversary, nor evil occurrent. And,
behold, I purpose to build an house for the name of the
Lord my God, as the Lord spake unto David my
father, saying, Thy son, whom I will set upon thy throne
in thy room, he shall build the house for my name.
6 [S] Now therefore command thou that they hew me
cedar trees out of Lebanon; and my servants shall be
with thy servants; and I will give thee hire for thy
servants according to all that thou shalt say: for thou
knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to
7 hew timber like unto the Zidonians. And it came to
pass, when Hiram heard the words of Solomon, that he
rejoiced greatly, and said, Blessed be the Lord this day,
which hath given unto David a wise son over this great
8 people. And Hiram sent to Solomon, saying, I have

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because such a sanctuary was inconsistent with the primitive simplicity of the worship of Yahweh; (2) here the reason is that David was hindered by his incessant wars; (3) in 1 Chron. xxii. 8 ff., xxviii. 2 f., it is because he was personally unfit, his hands being stained with blood.

which were about him: or, 'with which they (men) surrounded him.'

4. hath given me rest: 2 Sam. vii. 1, 11. This is the true Deuteronomic standpoint: the law of the one sanctuary does not come into force until Israel has received rest from its enemies (Deut. xii. 9, 10, xxv. 19).

neither adversary: i. e. for the present; see on ch. xi.

5. Thy son . . . name: quoted from 2 Sam. vii. 13, which is apparently itself a Deuteronomic gloss on the original narrative.

6. the Zidonians: i. e. Phoenicians, who in early times were known by the name of their most important ancient city.

7. the LORD. The reading of LXX (L), 'Yahweh the God of Israel,' is more appropriate in the mouth of a foreigner. The cordiality of Hiram's response is remarkable; but it did not of course imply that he was himself a worshipper of Yahweh.

heard *the message* which thou hast sent unto me: I will do all thy desire concerning timber of cedar, and concerning timber of fir. My servants shall bring them 9
down from Lebanon unto the sea: and I will make them into rafts to go by sea unto the place that thou shalt appoint me, and will cause them to be broken up there, and thou shalt receive them: and thou shalt accomplish my desire, in giving food for my household.
So Hiram gave Solomon timber of cedar and timber of 10
fir according to all his desire. And Solomon gave 11
Hiram twenty thousand measures of wheat for food to his household, and twenty measures of pure oil: thus
gave Solomon to Hiram year by year. [D] And the 12
LORD gave Solomon wisdom, as he promised him; and there was peace between Hiram and Solomon; and they two made a league together.

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9. the place that thou shalt appoint: no doubt Joppa (*Jafa*, still the port of Jerusalem), as is expressly said in 2 Chron. ii. 16.

11. In return Solomon pays yearly a stipulated amount of produce, whether in permanence or only during the building of the temple does not appear. This would cover both the price of the timber and the hire of labour (verse 6).

On the 'cor,' see on iv. 22. Instead of **twenty measures of . . . oil,** we must read, with LXX: 'twenty thousand baths of . . . oil.' The 'bath' was a liquid measure, equal in capacity to the 'ephah,' which was one-tenth of the 'homer' or 'cor' (approximately equivalent to nine gallons).

pure oil: 'beaten oil,' procured by pounding the olives in a mortar instead of treading them in a press: the finest kind of oil, used for the lamp of the tabernacle, &c. (Exod. xxvii. 20, xxix. 40; Lev. xxiv. 2; Num. xxviii. 5).

12. The implied connexion probably is that the successful conduct of negotiations so advantageous to Solomon was due to the Divine wisdom with which he was inspired. The first half of the verse is written by the compiler; cf. the expression **as he promised him** with Deut. i. 21, vi. 3, ix. 3, and many other instances in the Book of Deuteronomy.

made a league: 'a covenant.' In strictness this would mean

13 [**S** (?)] And king Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel;
14 and the levy was thirty thousand men. And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses: a month they were in Lebanon, and two months at home:
15 and Adoniram was over the levy. And Solomon had threescore and ten thousand that bare burdens, and fourscore thousand that were hewers in the mountains;

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a compact ratified by solemn and peculiar religious ceremonies; see Davidson, in *DB*, i. 509 ff.

v. 13-18. *The Preparation of Materials* (= Hebrew, verses 27-32). An army of 30,000 labourers is raised from all Israel, by means of the *corvée*; these are divided into three equal bands, which are sent in turn for a month each to cut trees in Lebanon. Besides these a much larger number (70,000 burden-bearers, and 80,000 quarriers, under 3,300 foremen) are set to hew stones in the hill-country of Palestine. In this way, and with the assistance of Hiram's skilled workmen, the stones and timber are made ready for the erection of the temple. (Cf. 2 Chron. ii. 2, 17, 18.) It is impossible to say for certain from what source the passage is taken: it might be either the continuation of verses 1-12, or an introduction to ch. vi, or an independent extract from the annals.

13. a levy: 'a labour band'; see on iv. 6.

out of all Israel. The statement is in direct opposition to ix. 20-22 (see on the passage), and implicitly at variance with the parallel in 2 Chron. ii. 17 f.

14. by courses: 'in relays.'

Adoniram: see on iv. 6.

15, 16. The numbers in these two verses have been suspected of exaggeration, in comparison with the more moderate figures of verses 13 f. The chronicler (who is fond of large figures) passes over the 30,000 of verse 13; and this may mean that he followed authorities in which the smaller estimate had been replaced by the larger. On the other hand, the two statements do not appear to be duplicates: the one refers to those who were sent to cut timber in Lebanon, and the other to those who laboured in the quarries at home. Nor can we say that the numbers are excessive in relation to the work to be done, when we consider the waste of life incident to the system of forced labour.

in the mountains: i. e. (probably) not Lebanon, but the hill-country of Palestine; where the limestone rock yielded good building stone, soft when first quarried, but hardening under exposure to the weather.

besides Solomon's chief officers that were over the work, 16
three thousand and three hundred, which bare rule over
the people that wrought in the work. And the king 17
commanded, and they hewed out great stones, costly
stones, to lay the foundation of the house with wrought
stone. And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders 18
and the Gebalites did fashion them, and prepared the
timber and the stones to build the house.

[?] And it came to pass in the four hundred and **6**

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16. See on ix. 23. For 3,300, Chron. and LXX (B) have 3,600; one officer to every fifty of the total body of labourers.

17. hewed out: 'quarried.' The stones were **costly** on account of their size.

to lay the foundation: see vii. 10.

wrought stone: (Heb. *gazith*). There were several degrees of finish: sometimes only the four fitting surfaces were accurately squared and dressed, leaving the outer surface in the rough; very often the margins of the outer face were finely chiselled to a breadth of a few inches; and at other times the whole outer surface (with or without a depressed margin) was smoothed.

18. the Gebalites: men of Gebal, now *Jebeil*, the Byblus of the Greeks, about twenty miles north of Beirût. Assuming the correctness of the text, these Gebalites must have been famous stone-masons of Phoenicia, specially engaged by Solomon. The LXX, however, reads a verb; and it has been thought that an otherwise unknown technical term of masonry may be the original reading: 'And Solomon's and Hiram's masons hewed them, *and provided them with borders.*'

vi. *Description of the Temple Buildings.*

The document from which this account is taken was in all probability written by a contemporary of Solomon; but is hardly likely to have belonged to the State records of the kingdom. The writer was evidently thoroughly familiar with the temple, while his descriptions of the other royal buildings (vii. 1 ff.) are so vague as to suggest that he had never seen the inside of them. Such a paper would not naturally be preserved in the palace archives: more probably its author belonged to the ranks of the priesthood. Although the general outlines are clear enough, the details are frequently quite unintelligible: this is due partly to the highly technical character of the description, but partly also to the condition of the text, which is amongst the worst preserved portions eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's

of the O. T. Light is thrown on many points by the much more lucid description of Ezekiel's temple, which, though only an ideal, is evidently based for the most part on reminiscences of the first temple.

The passage may be divided into six sections, as follows: (1) the main structural features of the temple building, with its portico and side-chambers, 2–10; (2) the internal arrangement of the house and its decoration, 15–22; (3) description of the cherubim, 23–28; (4) the doors, 31–35; (5) the inner court, 36; and (6) chronological notices, 37, 38. Verses 1, 7, 11–14 are editorial additions; and minor glosses and interpolations are very numerous.

vi. 1. *Date of the Foundation of the Temple.* Twelve generations after the Exodus, in the second month of the fourth year of Solomon, the work was commenced. The verse is assigned to an editor on several grounds: (*a*) The Hebrew word for 'month' (*ḥōdesh*) is different from that used in the old documents (*yeraḥ*, vi. 37, 38, viii. 2). Moreover, the practice of *numbering* the months seems to have been introduced only towards the age of the Exile. (*b*) The round number 480 (twelve generations) has been thought to belong to an artificial chronological scheme, which assigned an equal duration to the interval between the founding of the first and that of the second temple[1]. (*c*) The chronological statement of the primary document occurs in verses 37, 38 (where it breaks the connexion); it probably stood originally here, and was afterwards displaced in favour of verse 1. (*d*) The verse stands in the LXX in another and obviously unsuitable place[2].

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[1] The sum of the reigns of the kings of Judah in the framework amounts precisely to 430 years; if we add the 50 years of Exile, we have a second period of 480 years from the foundation of Solomon's temple to the return from captivity. See further, Burney, p. 58ff.

[2] The LXX gives an entirely different arrangement in the end of ch. v and the beginning of ch. vi, which is here quoted in full for the sake of comparison. The order is: v. 18^b, vi. 1, v. 17, 18^a, vi. 37, 38, vi. 2. After verse 16 the LXX proceeds: 'And they prepared the stones and the timber *for three years*. [Omit vi. 1]. And they brought great costly stones for the foundation of the house, even hewn stones. And the sons [*read* builders] of Solomon and the sons [builders] of Hiram hewed them *and laid them*. In the fourth year he laid the foundation of the house of the Lord in the month Neisan and the second month. In the eleventh year, in the month Baad

reign over Israel, in the month Ziv, which is the second
month, that he began to build the house of the Lord.
[**T**] And the house which king Solomon built for the 2
Lord, the length thereof was threescore cubits, and the
breadth thereof twenty *cubits*, and the height thereof
thirty cubits. And the porch before the temple of the 3

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in the fourth year: see on verses 37, 38.

vi. 2–10. *Main structural features of the building, with its porch and side-chambers.* The temple was a rectangular building, measuring sixty cubits in length (east to west), twenty in breadth (north to south), and thirty in height; these, of course, are *inside* measurements, as appears from verse 20. In front of the building (east side) was an entrance hall or porch, twenty cubits long (north to south, corresponding to the breadth of the house) and ten broad (east to west). On the other three sides (north, west, and south) there was a double wall, the intervening space (five cubits at the base) being occupied by rows of cells in three stories. Whether these chambers extended along the sides of the porch, as well as of the main building, we are not told. Nor is the thickness of the walls specified: in Ezekiel's temple the inner wall was six, and the outer five, cubits thick (Ezek. xli. 5, 9). In general appearance, the temple must have been massive rather than elegant; and this perhaps reflects the character of the Phoenician architecture, regarding which Renan says: 'The architectural principle is the hewn rock, not as in Greece the column. The wall takes the place of the hewn rock, without altogether losing the character of its original.' (Quoted by Benzinger.)

2. The **cubit** (*cubitum* = elbow, Heb. *'ammāh*), the length of the forearm, is the Hebrew unit of length. Its absolute length is not quite certainly known. Ezekiel (xl. 5, xliii. 13) speaks of two cubits, the ordinary cubit (cf. Deut. iii. 11) and another a handbreadth longer; and from 2 Chron. iii. 3 it may perhaps be inferred that the longer cubit was used in the building of Solomon's temple. It may be roughly estimated as twenty inches (see Kennedy, *DB*, iv. p. 906 ff.). The inner dimensions of the house would then be approximately 100 ft. × $33\frac{1}{3}$ × 50.

3. the temple of the house. On the sense of this expression see below on verse 17.

[Bul], which is the eighth month, the house was finished in all its parts and all its arrangements. And the house which,' &c. That the position here given to vi. 1 is impossible requires no proof; but it is by no means obvious that otherwise the arrangement is as a whole inferior to that of the Massoretic text.

house, twenty cubits was the length thereof, according to
the breadth of the house; *and* ten cubits was the
4 breadth thereof before the house. And for the house
5 he made windows of fixed lattice-work. And against
the wall of the house he built stories round about,
against the walls of the house round about, both of the
temple and of the oracle: and he made side-chambers
6 round about: the nethermost story was five cubits

---

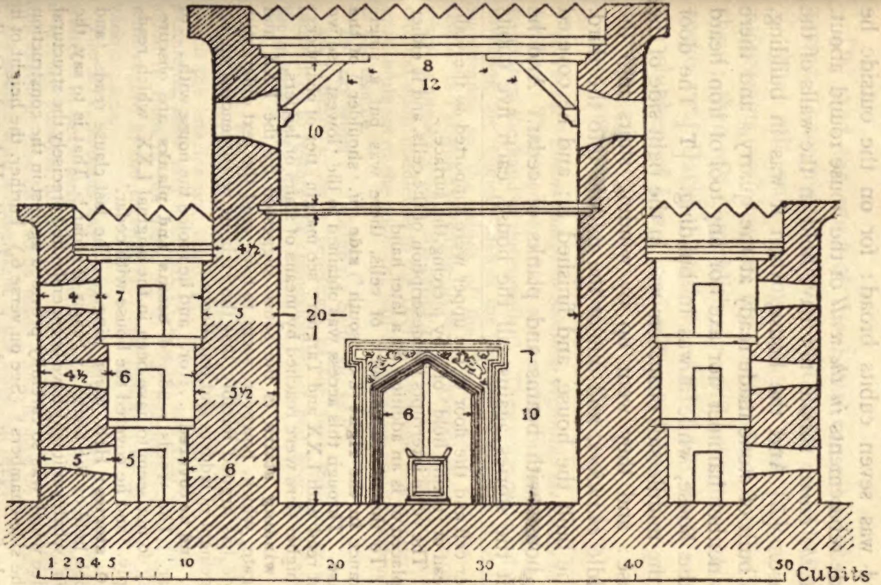
4. **windows.** The outer wall being lower than the inner, there was a sort of 'clerestory' of at least ten cubits deep; and in this the windows must have been placed. What is meant by the words rendered **of fixed lattice-work** remains obscure. The ancient versions seem all to have thought of apertures obliquely cut in the wall (i. e. narrowing towards the outside), and somehow closed or concealed (see marg.). The translation in the text reproduces the view of most moderns, that the windows are described as 'fitted with beams,' and 'closed' (with lattice-work) in contrast to the windows of private houses, which could be opened or closed at pleasure. Since artificial light was used in the temple, we may assume that very little light came through the windows, and that the apertures were intended more for ventilation than for illumination.

5. The meaning of the word for **stories** (*yāẓia'*, only here and verse 10) is conjectured from what follows. It is taken to denote the whole of the outer building enclosing three sides of the temple, within which were the cells to which the description immediately passes. Properly, it means 'bed' (flat surface?); and it might fairly be questioned if it has anything to do with the cells at all, though no other plausible interpretation suggests itself.

round about, against the walls of the house: omit these words, and read simply: 'round about the temple and the oracle' (so LXX (B) and (L)). On the **oracle** see on verse 16.

side-chambers: or, 'cells' (*lit.* 'ribs'). In Ezekiel's temple there were thirty such cells in each of the three stories; their use would be for storing the treasures, and gifts of all kinds of produce pertaining to a great national sanctuary.

6. **the nethermost story:** read with LXX, 'the nethermost cell,' or rather, 'row of cells.' The widening of the upper stories is caused by **rebatements** or contractions on the outside of the inner wall. If (as is probable) corresponding ledges were made on the inside of the outer wall, the depth of each rebatement would be half a cubit. Thus the beams which made the ceiling of the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Cubits

Section of the Temple, north to south.

By permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, and the Rev. T. W. Davies, author of the article 'Temple' in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible.*

broad, and the middle was six cubits broad, and the
third was seven cubits broad: for on the outside he
made rebatements *in the wall* of the house round about,
that *the beams* should not have hold in the walls of the
7 house. [**Z**] And the house, when it was in building,
was built of stone made ready at the quarry: and there
was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard
8 in the house, while it was in building. [**T**] The door
for the middle side-chambers was in the right side of the
house: and they went up by winding stairs into the
middle *chambers*, and out of the middle into the third.
9 So he built the house, and finished it; and he covered
10 the house with beams and planks of cedar. And he
built the stories against all the house, each five cubits

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lower cell and the floor of the upper were supported *on* the wall, instead of 'taking hold' of it by piercing the surface.

7. The verse interrupts the description of the cells, and is either misplaced or is an addition by a later hand.

8. To the whole complex of cells, there was but a single entrance **in the right** (i. e. 'south') **side** (*lit.* 'shoulder') **of the house.** Through this access was obtained to the 'lowest' (so we must read with LXX and Targum: see margin) tier of chambers; the higher tiers were reached by means of stairs or ladders.

winding stairs is the sense suggested by the LXX and Vulgate, which, however, seem to have read the text differently. Stade has argued forcibly that the Hebrew word denotes an arrangement of ladders and trap-doors.

9. and he covered . . .: or, 'and he roofed the house with . . . of cedar.' The words rendered **beams and planks** are obscure. They do not seem to have been in the original LXX, which reads simply, 'and he covered the house with cedar.'

10. stories: Heb. *yāṣīa'* (sing.). The last clause reads, 'and it took hold of the house by beams of cedar.' That is to say, the *yāṣīa'*, whatever it may have been, embodied precisely the structural device which was so carefully provided against in the construction of the side-chambers! (See on verse 6.) Further, the height of it is only five cubits (the word *each* is not in the Hebrew). On the common view, this of course could only be the height of a single 'story'; hence, to save that interpretation, we must either read 'fifteen cubits,' or else allow for very great looseness of expression.

high: and they rested on the house with timber of cedar.

[**D**] And the word of the LORD came to Solomon, 11
saying, Concerning this house which thou art in building, 12
if thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my
judgements, and keep all my commandments to walk in
them; then will I establish my word with thee, which I
spake unto David thy father. And I will dwell among 13
the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people
Israel.

So Solomon built the house, and finished it. [**T**] And 14, 15

vi. 11–14. *Divine charge to Solomon regarding the house he was building.* These verses, which are wanting in the LXX, appear to be from the hand of the compiler[1]. They are very important as revealing the religious idea of the temple, which gave it so much significance to the minds of the Deuteronomic writers. The temple is Yahweh's dwelling-place—the symbol and pledge of His gracious presence with His people Israel. That presence is conditional upon obedience to the Divine law; and it is implied that unfaithfulness to the covenant will be followed by the destruction of the temple.

12. my word . . . which: 2 Sam. vii. 12 ff.

14 appears to be a repetition of the first half of verse 9, introduced to restore the connexion which had been disturbed by the insertion of 11–13.

vi. 15–22. *The internal arrangements of the house.* This extremely confused and difficult passage describes (1) the woodwork with which the interior was lined, 15; (2) its division into two compartments, *debîr* and *hêkāl*, 16, 17, 20; (3) the altar of cedar that stood in front of the *debîr*, 20, 21; (4) disconnected statements with regard to the carving (18) and gilding (20, 21, 22) of the various parts.

The E.V. smooths over many anomalies in the Hebrew text, which is in fact utterly untranslateable as it stands. In the notes it is only possible to indicate very briefly the principal changes and excisions that have to be made; and it may be advisable to begin at once with a translation of the amended text:—

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[1] Burney (p. 68 f.) adduces strong but perhaps hardly decisive reasons for regarding them as the work of the Priestly redactor.

he built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar; from the floor of the house unto the walls of the cieling, he covered them on the inside with wood: and he covered the floor of the house with boards of fir.
16 And he built twenty cubits on the hinder part of the house with boards of cedar from the floor unto the walls: he even built *them* for it within, for an oracle, [**P**] even
17 for the most holy place. [**T**] And the house, that is,
18 the temple before *the oracle*, was forty cubits *long*. And

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'(15) And he built the walls of the house within with planks of cedar, from the floor of the house to the beams of the ceiling, covering with wood within; and he covered the floor of the house with planks of cypress. (16) And the twenty cubits at the furthest end of the house he built as a *debîr*; (17) and the *hêkāl* measured forty cubits before (20) the *debîr*. And the *debîr* was twenty cubits in length, and twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height. And he made an altar of cedar (21) before the *debîr*[1].

15. The walls of the house are lined with **boards** (*lit.* 'ribs') of cedar. Instead of **walls of the cieling**, read (with a slight change, *qôrôth* for *qîrôth*) 'beams (or rafters) of the.'

16. The words **with boards . . . walls** (marg. 'beams') seem a mistaken recapitulation of part of verse 15. When these are removed we see that the following clause **he even . . . within** has been added merely to restore the lost continuity of the sentence, and must also disappear.

oracle: (Vulg. *oraculum*) is an incorrect and misleading equivalent for the Heb. *debîr*, which means really the 'hinder part' of the building. It is used exclusively of the inner shrine of Solomon's temple, the place where Yahweh dwelt (cf. Ps. xxviii. 2). The later name was 'Holy of Holies,' which accordingly is here added at the end of the verse as an explanatory gloss.

17. the house, that is, the temple. The expression violates the consistent usage of the writer, in which the 'house' invariably denotes the whole building, including both the *debîr* and the *hêkāl* (temple). Hence the words **the house, that is** must be omitted, and for this excision we have again the authority of the LXX. *Hêkāl* comes ultimately from the Accadian E-GAL (= great house).

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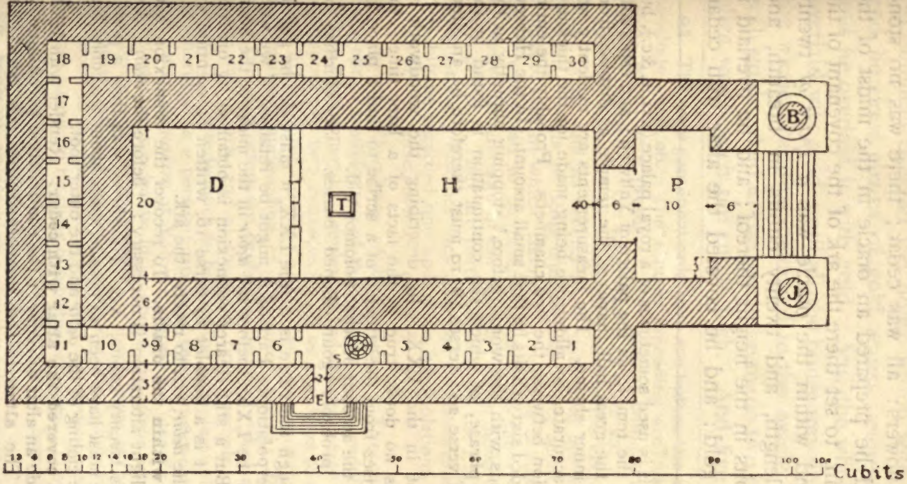
[1] The treatment of the text follows in the main that of Benzinger in his commentary. The analysis of Kittel reaches a similar result, but appears in some points less satisfying. See also Burney, p. 70 ff.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Cubits
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Ground Plan of Solomon's Temple.

B and J = Boaz and Jachin—the pillars. P = the porch. H = the *Hêkāl* or Holy Place. D = the *Debîr* or Most Holy Place. T = the table of shewbread. S = the stairway to the upper chambers. E = entrance to the chambers. 1, 2, &c., the chambers after Ezekiel's temple.

By permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark and the Rev. T. W. Davies, author of the article 'Temple' in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible.*

there was cedar on the house within, carved with knops
and open flowers: all was cedar; there was no stone
19 seen. And he prepared an oracle in the midst of the
house within, to set there the ark of the covenant of the
20 LORD. And within the oracle was *a space of* twenty
cubits in length, and twenty cubits in breadth, and
twenty cubits in the height thereof; and he overlaid it
with pure gold: and he covered the altar with cedar.

In the O. T. it is used sometimes of a royal palace (xxi. 1, &c.), but generally of the temple as the palace of Yahweh; and especially (as here) of the great hall (nave) of the temple as distinct from the *debîr* or inner shrine. The measurements are evidently not pedantically accurate, no allowance being made for the thickness of the partition between the two chambers. Probably the entire length exceeded sixty cubits by that small amount. In the Hebrew the verse ends with the word 'before,' stopping abruptly in the middle of a phrase, of which the continuation is found in the beginning of verse 20; verses 18, 19 must therefore be an interpolation.

18 is not in the LXX. In describing the woodwork as **carved,** it is no doubt true to the facts of a later time; the confusion arises from the attempt of a scribe to find a place for the detail in the account of what Solomon did.

knops: probably gourd-shaped bosses. See further on verse 29.

19. Although the verse is in the LXX, it must also be got rid of as an interpolation. Part of it might be retained if we were to read with the LXX, 'before the *debîr* in the midst of the house inwards.' But a still clearer connexion is obtained by omitting it entirely. It is a doublet to verse 16, written to mention the purpose of the *debîr*, viz. to receive the ark.

20. And within the oracle. To recover the connexion with verse 17 a slight alteration is necessary: 'before the *debîr*. And the *debîr* was twenty cubits,' &c. The shrine was thus a perfect cube: there must have been an unused space about ten cubits high between the cieling of the *debîr* and the outer roof.

and he covered the altar with cedar. Render with LXX, 'and he made an altar of cedar': the continuation is contained in verse 21. The **altar** is the shewbread-table (vii. 48). The transition from the name 'altar' to 'table' is shown by Ezek. xli. 22; cf. also Exod. xxv. 23 ff. The preceding clause, **and he overlaid . . . gold,** is to be deleted (see on verse 22).

So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold: 21
and he drew chains of gold across before the oracle;
and he overlaid it with gold. And the whole house he 22
overlaid with gold, until all the house was finished: also
the whole altar that belonged to the oracle he overlaid
with gold. And in the oracle he made two cherubim of 23
olive wood, each ten cubits high. And five cubits was 24

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21. The only genuine words here are **before the oracle,** which conclude verse 20. The clauses preceding are wanting in the LXX, which here preserves the original connexion. The last clause is rejected for the same reason as verse 22.

22. The repeated and disjointed statements about the plating of the house and its several parts with gold are suspected, on internal grounds, of being unhistorical. They seem to represent a mass of wealth which, though not perhaps in itself incredible, could hardly fail to be taken notice of in the records of the successive plunderings of the temple. (See, however, Burney's *Notes*, p. 73 f.) They are partly wanting in the LXX; and since in almost every instance they interrupt the description, they may probably be regarded one and all as interpolations. Hence the whole of this verse should be omitted.

vi. 23–28. *Description of the Cherubim.* The cherubim were the Hebrew modification of the composite winged figures which play so large a part in Babylonian and Assyrian art. In the O. T. they appear in two characters: (1) as guardians of sacred places (Gen. iii. 24; Ezek. xxviii); and (2) as bearers of the theophany, or sensible manifestation of Yahweh (Ezek. i; Ps. xviii. 10). Here both characters are probably combined; they are guardians of the sacred ark, and at the same time symbols of the Divine presence. There is much to be said for the opinion that originally the cherub was a personification of the thunder-cloud, which is the symbol *in nature* of Yahweh's presence (see Ps. xviii. 7–15). Unfortunately we know little about the *form* in which they were represented in the temple. All we learn is that they were (as always) winged, that they were each ten cubits high, and that they stood in the inner shrine (*debîr*), the whole breadth of which was just measured by their outstretched wings. They would thus stand ten cubits apart, the intermediate space being the destined resting-place of the ark (viii. 6, 7).

23. each ten cubits high: strictly, 'its height was ten cubits.' The sing. (without 'each') creates a difficulty, which Stade ingeniously remedies by transposing the whole of verse 26 to this place: 'two cherubim of olive wood; the height of the one

the one wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other
wing of the cherub: from the uttermost part of the one
wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten
25 cubits. And the other cherub was ten cubits: both the
26 cherubim were of one measure and one form. The
height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so was it
27 of the other cherub. And he set the cherubim within
the inner house: and the wings of the cherubim were
stretched forth, so that the wing of the one touched the
one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the
other wall; and their wings touched one another in the
28 midst of the house. And he overlaid the cherubim with
29 gold. And he carved all the walls of the house round
about with carved figures of cherubim and palm trees and
30 open flowers, within and without. And the floor of the

. . . cubits, and similarly the second cherub's height was ten cubits.'

24. The wings are supposed to be outstretched; and the measurement in each direction is from a single central point.

25. the other cherub was ten cubits: i. e. not in height, but in spread of wings.

26. See on verse 23.

27. within: 'in the midst of,' probably midway between the east and west walls. That the cherubim faced towards the *hêkāl* need not be said.

and the wings . . . stretched forth. Read with LXX, 'and they spread out their wings.' The rest of the description follows from what has been already said.

28. The gold-plating of the cherubim is in itself quite credible, although the statement lies under the suspicion adhering to similar notices in the chapter (see on verse 22); and the two following verses are certainly interpolated.

29. The verse hardly agrees with verse 18; on the other hand it has a close resemblance to Ezek. xli. 18. Possibly the ornamentation of the second temple may have been transferred to that of Solomon.

open flowers: or, 'garlands of flowers'; so verse 18, whence the phrase (which is wanting here in the LXX) may have been taken.

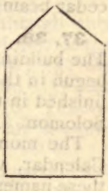
house he overlaid with gold, within and without. And 31
for the entering of the oracle he made doors of olive
wood: the lintel *and* door posts were a fifth part *of the
wall.* So *he made* two doors of olive wood; and he 32
carved upon them carvings of cherubim and palm trees
and open flowers, and overlaid them with gold; and he
spread the gold upon the cherubim, and upon the palm
trees. So also made he for the entering of the temple 33
door posts of olive wood, out of a fourth part *of the wall*;
and two doors of fir wood; the two leaves of the one 34
door were folding, and the two leaves of the other door

---

within and without: perhaps, 'both of the inner and of the outer house' (Klostermann).

vi. 31-35. *The Doors.* The doors of the *debir* were of olive wood; at the outer entrance only the posts were of olive, the folding-doors themselves of cypress. The shape of the doors is indicated, but not their size. In Ezekiel's temple the outer door was ten cubits wide (Ezek. xli. 2).

31. the lintel and **door posts were a fifth part**: an obscure expression. It might mean that the cross-section of the posts was pentagonal (see on verse 33, vii. 5). The most probable sense, however, is: 'the lintel and the door posts formed a pentagon;' meaning that the lintel, instead of being a single horizontal beam, was formed of two pieces, meeting each other at an angle. The peculiar shape may have been suggested (as Thenius thinks) by the tent, in which the ark had previously been kept.



32. So he made . . . **them**: rather, 'And on the two doors he carved.' On the carving, see verses 18, 29; on the gold-plating, see verse 22.

33. The entrance from the porch to the *hêkāl* is fitted with posts of olive wood, which are described as 'four-cornered posts' (read so with Vulgate, instead of **out of a fourth part**). That might be naturally understood of the 'cross-section' of the posts; but if the explanation given of verse 31 be correct, it is more likely to mean that the side posts with the lintel and threshold formed in this case a rectangle.

34. There were two doors of cypress wood, each divided (vertically) into two leaves.

the two leaves . . .: or, 'the one door was (composed of) two folding leaves, and,' &c.

35 were folding. And he carved *thereon* cherubim and
palm trees and open flowers: and he overlaid them with
36 gold fitted upon the graven work. And he built the
inner court with three rows of hewn stone, and a row of
37 cedar beams. In the fourth year was the foundation of
38 the house of the LORD laid, in the month Ziv. And in
the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth
month, was the house finished throughout all the parts
thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was
he seven years in building it.

7 And Solomon was building his own house thirteen

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35. Cf. verse 32.

36. *The Inner Court.* The temple stood within an enclosure by itself (the 'upper court' of Jer. xxxvi. 10), the wall of which is here described. See further, Introductory Note to ch. vii, and on vii. 12.

and a row of cedar beams. This is the only difficult point in the description. Were the beams laid flat on the top of the stone, or did they stand upright and form a palisade? Or is it meant that *every fourth* course in the wall was a string-course of cedar beams? It is impossible to say.

37, 38. *Dates of the Commencement and Completion of the Work.* The building of the temple lasted over seven years, having been begun in the second month (see verse 1) of the fourth year, and finished in the eighth month of the eleventh year, of the reign of Solomon. On the original position of the verses, see on verse 1.

The month-names **Ziv** and **Bul** belong to the old Hebrew Calendar, which was in use down to the Exile. Only four of these names have been preserved in the O. T.—*Abib* (first month), *Ziv* (second), *Ethanim* (seventh), and *Bul* (eighth). The *numbering* of the months, on the other hand, follows the Babylonian Calendar, in which the year began with the vernal equinox, instead of in the autumn, according to the older system. **Ziv** is the 'flower month,' and corresponds to our April or May; **Bul** (Oct.-Nov.) probably means the 'rainy month.' The explanatory clause, **which is the eighth month,** betrays its character as a gloss, not only by the numeral, but also by a different word for month (*ḥōdesh*) from that used in the other two places (*yeraḥ*).

vii. 1-12. *The Palace Buildings.*

In the LXX this section stands at the end of the chapter, following the description of the temple furniture in verses 13-51

years, and he finished all his house. For he built the 2
house of the forest of Lebanon; the length thereof was

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of the Hebrew. This seems at first sight the natural arrangement, inasmuch as it disposes of everything pertaining to the temple before proceeding to speak of other buildings. But Wellhausen has pointed out that the Hebrew order proceeds on a principle which was apt to be overlooked by later editors, but which when observed at once commends itself as original. For the description of the temple in ch. vi ends with the 'inner court': that implies an 'outer court,' to which we expect the writer to pass on. Now the 'great court' is first mentioned in verse 9 (more fully in verse 12); and the obvious inference is that it included all the buildings here enumerated, as well as the temple. We shall see presently (on verse 7) that there were in fact two inner courts, one for the temple and another for the palace. Both these, therefore, stood within the same 'great court'; and the temple had but one court peculiar to itself. That this was actually the case is confirmed in part by Ezek. xliii. 7, 8, where we read that 'only a wall' separated the dwelling-place of Yahweh from that of the kings of Judah. With regard to the situation and relative disposition of the various buildings, it is enough to say here that they appear to be taken in the order in which they would be passed by one entering the great court from the south and proceeding northwards towards the temple. See further, Appendix, Note 1.

There are in all five buildings to be considered, although only the first is described in anything like detail: (1) the House of the Forest of Lebanon, 2–5; (2) the Hall of Pillars, 6; (3) the Hall of Justice, 7; (4) the Royal Residence, 8; (5) the House of Pharaoh's Daughter, 8. Then follow (6) general statements as to the stonework, 9–11; and (7) an account of the wall of the great court, 12.

1. **his own house:** as 'house' in ch. vi includes both parts of the temple, so here it denotes the whole complex of palace buildings.

The **thirteen years** are reckoned, according to ix. 10, from the completion of the temple.

The last clause, **and he finished,** is transposed in the LXX to the end of the chapter (after verse 12).

vii. 2–5. *The House of the Forest of Lebanon.* The peculiar name is not of course to be taken literally, as if a summer residence in Mount Lebanon were meant. It is a poetic designation suggested by the forest-like appearance of the great hall, with its numerous pillars of cedar from Lebanon. It was by far the largest of all the buildings, measuring 100 cubits long, 50 broad, and 30 high. It is absolutely impossible to form a clear idea of the structure

an hundred cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits,
and the height thereof thirty cubits, upon four rows of
3 cedar pillars, with cedar beams upon the pillars. And
it was covered with cedar above over the forty and five

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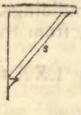
from the meagre details given. As the principal feature we must imagine a spacious hall, covering no doubt the entire area, whose roof was supported by forty-five pillars in three rows of fifteen each. It is commonly supposed that over this there was an upper story; but that does not seem necessarily implied by verses 2, 3. If there was no upper story, the mention of lights and doors proves that the hall was walled in on all sides—in any case the most probable view—so that the pillars in each row would be about 10 feet, the rows themselves about 20 feet, apart. Some think that one side was open, the front being occupied by the first row of pillars; and that is quite possible, if we suppose the lights, &c., to have been those of the upper chambers. As regards the purpose of the building, all we certainly know is that some part of it was used as an armoury for the weapons of the troops (x. 17). Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. 133), says the great hall was intended to hold the concourse of people that came together for the courts of justice; and for some such public gatherings the place must surely have been constructed.

2. For he built: 'And he built.' The height (30 cubits) is not mentioned by the LXX.

upon four rows. The LXX reads 'three rows'; and this is seen from verse 3 to be correct. If the preposition **upon** can be pressed—the house built 'upon' the pillars—then certainly there was an upper story: in fact, the house *is* the upper story. But is such an expression natural? And can we lay such stress on a single particle, which moreover is wanting in Swete's LXX?

with cedar beams: LXX, 'with shoulders of cedar' (*kĕthē-phôth* for *kĕrûthôth*). This is perhaps to be preferred as the more technical and difficult reading. By 'shoulders' we are probably to understand *struts*, abutting on the pillars, and supporting the roof with triangular brackets (*s* in the fig.). These would be almost a structural necessity, and would besides enhance the forest-like appearance of the interior.



3. it was covered: or, 'lined.'

over the forty and five . . . row. Render, 'over the planks' (or, side-chambers?) 'that were upon the pillars [and the pillars were] forty-five, fifteen in each row.' The words in square brackets might easily have been dropped in a Hebrew text (so Benzinger). Now, here everything depends on whether the word *ẓèlă'ôth* is to be rendered 'planks' or 'side-chambers.' It is used

beams, that were upon the pillars; fifteen in a row.
And there were prospects in three rows, and light was 4
over against light in three ranks. And all the doors and 5
posts were square in prospect: and light was over against
light in three ranks. And he made the porch of pillars; 6
the length thereof was fifty cubits, and the breadth thereof
thirty cubits; and a porch before them; and pillars
and thick beams before them. And he made the porch 7
of the throne where he might judge, even the porch of
judgement: and it was covered with cedar from floor to

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in both senses in ch. vi (the former in verses 15, 16; the latter in verses 5, 6, 8). But while a *lateral* chamber might fitly be designated a *zēlaʻ* (rib), it is difficult to think that the term is appropriate for a chamber in general, or for an *upper* chamber. We may therefore keep to the sense 'planks.'

4. The sense is hopelessly obscure. The word for **light** occurs nowhere else (supposed to be from a verb meaning 'to gaze'—places one gazes through). That for **prospects** occurs in vi. 4 ('lattice-work,' R. V.); and *might* be the plural of that similarly rendered in vii. 5. If we seek a sense suitable in all three passages, the best is perhaps 'framework.' Hence, 'there were frames in three rows, and light was over against light three times.' But no one can pretend to know what that means.

5^a. For **posts** read, with LXX, 'lights.' 'And all the doors and lights were square in framework' (see on verse 4). Unfortunately, nothing is said of the position of the doors.

5^b repeats 4^b in the Hebrew: the LXX has 'doors' in place of 'lights.'

6. *The Hall of Pillars*, 50 cubits in length, and 30 in breadth. The purpose of this building can only be guessed from its position in relation to the Throne Hall, next to be described. It may have been a waiting-chamber for those engaged in lawsuits to be brought before the king. Attached to this there seems to have been an ante-chamber or porch, also furnished with pillars, and some unknown structure called an *'āb* (**thick beams:** marg. 'threshold'). The word is found again only in Ezek. xli. 25, where it is variously explained as a 'projecting roof,' a 'landing,' &c. (R. V. 'thick beams,' as here).

7. *The Throne Hall, or Hall of Justice.* The purpose is distinctly stated: **where he might judge.** The dimensions are not given: all we are told is that it was lined **with cedar from floor to floor** (perhaps we should read, as in vi. 15, 'from floor to rafters').

8 floor. And his house where he might dwell, the other
court within the porch, was of the like work. He made
also an house for Pharaoh's daughter, (whom Solomon
9 had taken to wife,) like unto this porch. All these were
of costly stones, even of hewn stone, according to measure, sawed with saws, within and without, even from the
foundation unto the coping, and so on the outside unto
10 the great court. And the foundation was of costly stones,
even great stones, stones of ten cubits, and stones of
11 eight cubits. And above were costly stones, even hewn

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8. *The Royal Palace and the House of Pharaoh's Daughter.* The first part of the verse should read: 'And his house in which he dwelt (in) the other court, inwards from (i. e. nearer the temple than) the Hall (of Justice), was of like construction (with the latter).' We learn (1) that of all the buildings the palace was nearest to the temple court, and (2) that it stood within a court of its own, which in 2 Kings xx. 4 is appropriately termed 'the middle court.' From Ezek. xliii. 8 we may infer that one side of this enclosure was formed by the south wall of the temple court. It is natural to suppose further that the house of Pharaoh's daughter stood within this same 'other court.'

like unto this porch ('Hall'): i. e., again, the Hall of Justice.

vii. 9–11. *Description of the stonework.*

9. All these: the buildings just enumerated.

even of . . . measure: or perhaps, 'in accordance with the measurements of hewn stone (*gāzîth*)'; i. e. with the exact measurements applicable to hewn stone.

sawed with saws: the ordinary method of squaring and dressing the soft limestone of Palestine (verse 15).

within and without: dressed on all sides, the outer surface not being left in the rough, as was often done by the ancient Phoenician stone-masons (see on verse 17).

The last clause, **and so . . . great court**, gives no clear sense. Burney suggests a plausible emendation of the text, which would read: 'and from the court of the house of Yahweh unto the great court.'

10. By the **foundations** are meant the lowest course of the stonework. At the base of the retaining walls of the present Haram area are found stones of considerably larger dimensions than those here recorded.

11. The upper courses were built with smaller stones of the same character (see on verse 9) and cedar.

stone, according to measure, and cedar wood. And the 12
great court round about had three rows of hewn stone,
and a row of cedar beams; like as the inner court of the
house of the LORD, and the porch of the house.
And king Solomon sent and fetched Hiram out of 13

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12. *The Courts.* The whole complex of buildings, including the temple, was surrounded by an outer wall, forming the enclosure called the 'great court.' This outer wall was of the same structure as that of the 'inner court' (see on vi. 36). The second half of the verse is difficult both in grammar and in sense; and is possibly a doublet of vi. 36, after which it occurs in the LXX. With the help of the LXX, however, Burney amends the text so as to read 'round about the court of the House of Yahweh, and the court of the porch of the palace.' In this form it would stand quite appropriately in its present position.

On the site of Solomon's buildings see Appendix, Note 1.

vii. 13-51. *The Temple Implements.*

Solomon sends to Tyre for a famous brass-worker named Hiram (or Huram-abi, see on verse 13), the son of a Tyrian father and an Israelitish mother. This man comes and sets up his foundry at a spot in the Jordan valley, where he found suitable soil for his gigantic moulds (verse 46); and there he manufactured the following articles: (1) the two great pillars, Jachin and Boaz, with their ornamental chapiters, 15-22; (2) the brazen sea, with the twelve oxen on which it rested, 23-26; (3) ten portable lavers on wheeled carriages, 27-39; (4) various minor utensils, 40. We have next (5) an inventory of these productions of Phoenician workmanship, 41-47; (6) an enumeration of the golden vessels and implements of the temple, 48-50; and (7) a short notice of the depositing of the utensils, along with the treasures bequeathed by David, in the temple, 51.

There is no reason to doubt that the passage belonged to the same ancient source as the account of the buildings in vi. 2—vii. 12, to which, however, verses 47-50 may be an addition by a later hand. Some touches of style are common to the two pieces; and the peculiar arrangement is amply explained by the consideration mentioned in the Introductory Note to ch. vii. On the other hand, the abrupt mention of the summons to Huram-abi, as if it had been an afterthought, seems to show that this section was unknown to the writer of ch. v; otherwise the Tyrian workman would probably have been referred to in the preliminary negotiations with Hiram. This difficulty seems to have been felt by the chronicler, who accordingly works the mission of Huram-abi into his account of the correspondence (2 Chron. ii. 7, 13, 14).

14 Tyre. He was the son of a widow woman of the tribe of
Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in
brass; and he was filled with wisdom and understanding
and cunning, to work all works in brass. And he came
15 to king Solomon, and wrought all his work. For he
fashioned the two pillars of brass, of eighteen cubits high
apiece: and a line of twelve cubits compassed either
16 of them about. And he made two chapiters of molten

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vii. 13, 14. *The Artist.*

13. Hiram: from 2 Chron. ii. 13, iv. 16 it has been inferred that his real name was *Hûram-âbi* (= 'Hûram is my father'), which was first shortened to Huram, and then changed to Hiram through a confusion with the name of the king. This is better than to suppose with Barnes (*Camb. Bible*, Chronicles, p. 148) that in these places Hiram the king calls his subject 'Huram my father,' as a title of honour.

14. According to 2 Chron. ii. 14, Huram-abi's mother was of the tribe of Dan, the tribe to which the similarly gifted Oholiab belonged (Exod. xxxi. 6). His occupation was, as usual, hereditary; and perhaps his skill also, his father before him having been a noted worker in brass.

vii. 15-22. *The great Twin-pillars, and their Chapiters.* The pillars are eighteen cubits high, and twelve in circumference (though LXX has fourteen). The thirty-five cubits of 2 Chron. iii. 15 must be an error of some scribe who added length and circumference together and included the height of the chapiters. On the position of these monuments, and their symbolic significance, see on verse 21. The textual deficiencies in the opening verses have to be remedied by the help of two parallel passages, 2 Chron. iii. 15-17, and especially Jer. lii. 21-23 (= 2 Kings xxv. 17).

15. For he fashioned: better, as LXX, 'And he cast.'

of eighteen cubits, &c. The marginal rendering, which alone is correct, reveals here a lacuna in the text; for to say that *one* pillar was eighteen cubits long and *the other* twelve cubits in circumference would be an odd way of expressing the fact that they were alike. The defect can be supplied from the LXX, which agrees with Jer. lii. 21. Read accordingly: 'eighteen cubits was the height of one pillar, and a line of twelve cubits compassed it about, and the thickness of the pillar was four finger-breadths. It was hollow; and so the second pillar.' The thickness of the metal would be about 2¼ inches.

brass, to set upon the tops of the pillars: the height of the one chapiter was five cubits, and the height of the other chapiter was five cubits. There were nets of 17
checker work, and wreaths of chain work, for the chapiters which were upon the top of the pillars; seven for the one chapiter, and seven for the other chapiter. So he 18
made the pillars; and there were two rows round about upon the one network, to cover the chapiters that were upon the top of the pillars: and so did he for the other

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16. The pillars are surmounted by chapiters, each five cubits high (the diameter is nowhere indicated). In the description which follows, three things are to be distinguished: (1) the chapiter itself; (2) a network which covered it; and (3) festoons of pomegranates attached somehow to the network (cf. verses 41, 42). It is extremely difficult to form any conception of the shape and general appearance of these ornaments. From verse 41 we learn that the 'chapiters' themselves were globular in form; but this, of course, does not necessarily imply that they were strictly spherical. The 'network' we may suppose to have been closely fitted to the surface of the spheroids. Further, we gather from verse 42 that there were for each chapiter two chains of pomegranates, on each of which 100 apples were strung: these we imagine to have hung loosely from or over the network (see below on verse 18). If the reader will think of two enormous pine-apples, with the leaves removed, he will perhaps have some notion of the form and reticulated appearance of these strange objects.

17. The verse reads in the LXX: 'And he made two nets to cover the chapiters of the pillars, even a net for the one chapiter and a net for the other chapiter.' This text is very nearly correct; only, by taking from verse 18 a clause which is out of place there, we may read instead of 'chapiters of the pillars,' 'chapiters which were on the top of the pillars,' as in the Hebrew of this verse. The phrases **of checker work** and **wreaths of chain work** are merely explanatory glosses to the rare word for **nets.** The difference between 'nets' and **seven** involves the change of only a single consonant in the Hebrew.

18. So he made the pillars is evidently wrong. The words 'pillars' and 'pomegranates' appear to have exchanged places in the verse (see marg.); hence the original opening was: 'And he made the pomegranates.' The clause **to cover . . . pillars** is a misplaced fragment of verse 17 (see on the verse above), and must therefore be omitted here. With these alterations the verse

19 chapiter. And the chapiters that were upon the top of the pillars in the porch were of lily work, four cubits.
20 And there were chapiters above also upon the two pillars, close by the belly which was beside the network: and the pomegranates were two hundred, in rows round about
21 upon the other chapiter. And he set up the pillars at the porch of the temple: and he set up the right pillar,

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yields a fairly good sense; but a still better is obtained by taking in a slightly modified form of 20[b] (which is wanting in the LXX). It then reads thus: 'And he made the pomegranates, and that in two rows over the one network; and the pomegranates were two hundred, in rows round about the one chapiter: and so he made for the other chapiter.' There were, then, 100 pomegranates in each row. That they were not strung tightly round the chapiter seems to follow from the interesting notice in Jer. lii. 23, which apparently means that of the 100 pomegranates, ninety-six 'hung free.' That would imply that they were arranged in festoons, looped up at four points, at each of which one pomegranate was fixed.

19, 20, and **22** are hardly intelligible, and are probably nothing but a congested mass of marginal glosses. Verses 19 and 22[a] appear to be variants, and the only thing that causes hesitation in rejecting both is the statement about the **lily work,** which is too distinctive to be lightly disregarded. That the chapiters themselves were lily-shaped (verse 19) is indeed irreconcileable with verse 41. Taking 22[a] as the original form of the doublet (LXX seems to have done so), we might possibly understand it to mean that the rounded ends of the chapiters rested in borders of lily work **upon the top of the pillars.** Of the words **in the porch . . . four cubits** (which stand together in the Hebrew, verse 19) nothing whatever can be made.

Verse 20[a], so far as it is intelligible, is wholly superfluous at this point; the words **close by . . . network** represent a corrupt and untranslateable text; while 20[b] has already been incorporated in verse 21. The description was evidently meant to close with

21, where the *position* and the *names* of the two pillars are indicated. They were set up **at the porch of the temple,** no doubt one on each side of the entrance.

right and **left** mean, in accordance with usage, 'south' and 'north' respectively. An important question is whether they stood *in* the doorway, supporting the lintel of the porch, or quite clear of the building, some distance in front. A perfectly definite statement on this point is not found in the O. T.; though 2 Chron.

and called the name thereof Jachin: and he set up the left pillar, and called the name thereof Boaz. And upon 22

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iii. 17 is perhaps in favour of the second alternative. But the mere absence of any hint that they formed part of the structure is itself significant. What weighs most strongly in favour of the other view is the fact that detached frontal pillars were a common feature of ancient sanctuaries in Western Asia and also in Babylonia. Herodotus (ii. 44) mentions two such pillars in the temple of Melkarth at Tyre; and others are known to have existed at Paphos, Hierapolis, and elsewhere. Representations of them are found on ancient coins, &c.; and on a fragment of a glass dish (of third or fourth century), discovered in Rome in 1882, there is a bird's-eye view of the temple at Jerusalem with the two pillars standing quite apart from the building (Benzinger, *Archäologie*, p. 251). See W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*^{2}, p. 208, 488; Chipiez et Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. p. 119 ff.; Sayce, *Early Religions of Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 454, 459 f. The probability, therefore, is that the pillars stood isolated in the court, and near the entrance of the porch. The names **Jachin** and **Boaz** are to us unintelligible.

Jachin ('He shall establish,' marg., or 'Stablisher') occurs as a Divine name on a Phoenician inscription (*CIS*, i. 10; see Winckler, *KAT*^{3}, p. 224); and it has been pointed out that it would be the equivalent in Phoenician of the Hebrew 'Yahweh.'

Boaz is still more enigmatical; the marginal interpretation, 'In it is strength,' is very precarious. See further below.

What, now, is the significance of these objects? If, as we have just argued, they served no architectural purpose, we are almost compelled to recognize in them some symbolical or religious meaning. Perhaps the most likely view is that they were artificial imitations—translations into metal—of the sacred stones or obelisks (*maẓẓēbāh*), which appear to have been an indispensable part of the equipment of an ancient Semitic sanctuary. Originally these stones were regarded as the abode of the divinity; and long after that primitive stage of religion had been outgrown, they retained their place as symbols of his presence. That the pillars might have this significance is shown by the statement of Herodotus (ii. 44) that at Tyre the god Melkarth was worshipped in the form of two such pillars. Still more instructive would be the fact that, according to Sayce, the twin pillars of Babylonian temples represented two gods; one of whom was Tammuz, and the other was called Nin-gis-zida, which Sayce renders 'The lord of the firmly-planted stake.' He considers that Jachin is a very passable translation of Nin-gis-zida; and suggests that Boaz may be a corruption of Tammuz (loc. cit., p. 460). Kittel throws out the conjecture that the mysterious names may have been those of two

the top of the pillars was lily work: so was the work of
23 the pillars finished. And he made the molten sea of ten
cubits from brim to brim, round in compass, and the
height thereof was five cubits: and a line of thirty cubits
24 compassed it round about. And under the brim of it
round about there were knops which did compass it, for
ten cubits, compassing the sea round about: the knops

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ancient mazzēbās which had stood from time immemorial on the site now occupied by Solomon's temple. It is more probable that their introduction was a purely conventional imitation of Phoenician and Babylonian sanctuaries. Whether any special symbolism was embodied in the 'chapiters' is a question that has hardly been considered by commentators; yet it is extremely unlikely that their curious design was in its origin merely decorative. W. R. Smith argued with amazing ingenuity and erudition for the theory that they had the form of *cressets*, and that one of them was used for burning the fat of the sacrifices, that in fact this was the only brazen altar of the temple prior to the time of Ahaz (*Rel. of Sem.*², Note K). But that view is attended by many difficulties, and has found little support. (See below on verse 41.)

vii. 23-26. *The Brazen Sea.* (Cf. 2 Chron. iv. 2-5.) This was a huge circular basin, measuring ten cubits in diameter and five in depth, and said to have been capable of containing 2,000 baths. It was richly ornamented; and the casting of it must have been an even greater triumph of the founder's art than that of the pillars. It was supported on the backs of twelve brazen oxen, which stood facing outwards, three towards each cardinal point of the compass.

23. from brim to brim: i. e. in diameter, probably the inside measurement.

a line of thirty cubits. The proportion of circumference to diameter is not mathematically exact: the LXX has 'thirty-three cubits,' which is too much.

24. knops: see vi. 18. The word is connected with that for 'gourds'; but whether it was the fruit or the flowers (colocynth flowers) that was imitated in the ornamentation is uncertain.

for ten cubits. The marginal rendering, 'ten in a cubit,' is grammatically inadmissible; but the phrase is very perplexing. Stade thinks that a scribe intended to write the circumference from verse 23, but by mistake inserted the diameter instead.

compassing . . . about: is wanting in LXX (B), and perhaps better omitted as a variant of the preceding clause.

were in two rows, cast when it was cast. It stood upon 25
twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three
looking toward the west, and three looking toward the
south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea
was set upon them above, and all their hinder parts were
inward. And it was an handbreadth thick; and the brim 26
thereof was wrought like the brim of a cup, like the
flower of a lily: it held two thousand baths. And he 27

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cast when it was cast: i. e. in one mould with the basin, unlike the ornaments of the chapiters of the pillars.

26 precedes **25** in the LXX—an order which at once commends itself as natural. The thickness of the casting was **an handbreadth,** = four finger-breadths (verse 15), or about three inches.

like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lily: i. e. widening towards the surface.

two thousand baths: 2 Chron. iv. 5 has 3,000; but even the lower number seems exaggerated. Taking the bath as sixty-five pints (Kennedy, *DB*, iv. p. 912), it would amount to about 16,250 gallons, whereas the sea, even if it had been cylindrical, would not have held more than 11,000 gallons. Probably 1,000 baths would have been near its actual capacity.

The 'sea' was to stand in the south-east portion of the temple court (verse 39). As to its use or meaning, nothing whatever is said in this account; and though the chronicler (2 Chron. iv. 6) explains that it was used by the priests to wash in, it remains highly probable that (like the pillars) it was copied from Phoenician or Babylonian models, and had originally some symbolic significance. Kosters (*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1879, p. 455 ff.) seems to have been the first to suggest that it expressed a cosmological idea, being a representation of the World-ocean (*Tĕhôm*), out of which, in the Babylonian Creation-Epos, Marduk formed the habitable world, after a conflict with the Dragon (*Ti'āmāt*), the mythological personification of the primaeval chaos. That theory still lacks conclusive evidence; but it derives some support from the fact that in the temple of Marduk in Babylon there was an artificial sea (*ta-am-tu*), along with a dragon (*KIB*, iii. p. 143). In Solomon's temple the dragon is suppressed, but the sea remains to symbolize perhaps Yahweh's power over the ocean, a theme frequently dealt with in the poetic mythology of the O. T. (See further, Sayce, *Early Religions of Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 458 f.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 27 f., 153; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 653).

vii. 27-39. *The Ten Lavers with their wheeled Carriages.* These made the ten bases of brass; four cubits was the length of one base, and four cubits the breadth thereof, and

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were to stand five on the north and five on the south side of the temple building (verse 39). According to 2 Chron. iv. 6, they were for washing things pertaining to the burnt-offering; this appears to imply that they were employed to convey water from the sea to the great altar. Whether the statement is historically accurate, or whether in addition to their utilitarian purpose the vessels had also a symbolic meaning, we cannot at present determine. Kosters, following out his conception of the symbolism of the brazen sea, regards them as emblems of the clouds, the carriers of the upper waters of the firmament (Gen. i. 6, 7).

The description of these articles is the most difficult part of the chapter; and we have no means of controlling the extremely confused text by comparison with parallel passages. The problem has been considerably simplified by the recent discovery at Larnaka (in Cyprus) of a miniature specimen of the apparatus here described. It is a small bronze carriage (about 15 inches high, and 9 square) mounted on four wheels, the square upper frame supporting a cylindrical ring, which was adapted to receive a rounded vessel. (A reproduction will be found in Burney's *Notes*, p. 91.) Its size is thus only about one-ninth of the huge erections we are now to consider; but it evidently represents the class of implements to which they belong, and is at present the best guide we have to the construction and appearance of the laver-carriages of the temple. Before this discovery most writers found it necessary to distinguish *three* main parts of the structure: (1) the carriage proper (*mĕkônāh*), mounted on wheels; (2) an upper framework (*kēn*), resting on the *mĕkônāh*, and carrying a circular rim, in which stood (3) the laver itself (*kiyyôr*). Now the Larnaka model has no room for the second framework; and it is improbable that it ever existed except in the imagination of commentators. Of course, the textual facts which led to its being postulated remain. But Stade has shown, by a renewed examination of the passage (*ZATW*, 1901, p. 145-92), that the details of the description can all be explained by the newly discovered implement, on the assumption that some of the principal parts *are described twice over*; in other words, that the passage before us has been produced by the interweaving of two independent and slightly divergent accounts of the same objects. In the Notes that follow Stade's reconstruction is in the main adhered to, though hesitation is expressed with regard to one or two points of detail.

27 presents no difficulty. It gives the dimensions of the carriage in which the laver was set, 4 cubits in length and breadth,

three cubits the height of it. And the work of the bases 28
was on this manner: they had borders; and there were

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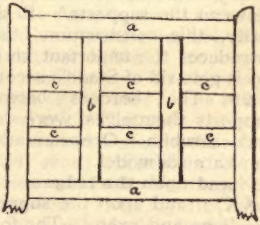
and 3 in height. The measurements of the LXX (5 cubits long, by 4 broad, and 6 high) are erroneous. The word for **base** (*mĕkônâh*) might be better rendered 'stand.' The same word (*makânat*) is said to be found on Minaean inscriptions in Arabia, designating a framework for supporting a laver (Hommel, in *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 750).

28. The carriage (base) must obviously have been constructed with four corner-posts, connected, on each of the four sides, by two or more transverse bars. But whether these essential parts of the framework are denoted by the **borders** (*misgĕrôth*) and **ledges** (*shĕlabbîm*) of this verse is doubtful: they might be mentioned merely for the sake of the ornamentation upon them (to be described in the next verse). A word similar to *shĕlabbîm* is used in the Talmud of the steps of a ladder; hence it would naturally mean here 'cross-pieces'; whether the cross-pieces were upright or horizontal will depend on the position assigned to the *misgĕrôth*. We may look first at Stade's interpretation. The *misgĕrôth* he explains, after the analogy of the 'border' of the shewbread table of the tabernacle (Exod. xxv. 25, 27), as narrow horizontal plates of metal extending between two posts, and forming the upper and lower bars of the frame (*a*, *a* in the figure). Taking these as the two sides of the ladder, the cross-pieces (*shĕlabbîm*) are an undefined number of vertical pieces (*b*, *b*) uniting the upper and lower bars. Finally, he supposes a second set of *misgĕrôth* (*c*, *c*, *c*), those, namely, which are said in this verse and the next to be **between the ledges** (*shĕlabbîm*). One objection to this view is that, judging from 2 Kings xvi. 17, the *misgĕrôth* must have been structurally unimportant, since Ahaz seems to have removed them without material injury to the fabric. Partly for this reason, other writers prefer the sense 'panels' for *misgĕrôth* (see R. V. marg.), taking the *shĕlabbîm* to be either the corner-posts or the whole metal framework, whose intervals are conceived as fitted with thin plates of brass. So far as verse 28 is concerned, that would be a satisfactory explanation; but it leads to confusion when we attempt to carry it through the following verses (see verses 31, 32). On the whole, therefore, Stade's construction is to be preferred; unless we were to assume that the word *misgĕrôth* occurs in two



29 borders between the ledges: and on the borders that were between the ledges were lions, oxen, and cherubim; and upon the ledges there was a pedestal above: and beneath the lions and oxen were wreaths of hanging work.
30 And every base had four brasen wheels, and axles of brass: and the four feet thereof had undersetters: beneath the laver were the undersetters molten, with wreaths

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different senses in the two parallel accounts. Stade himself hints at this as a possible solution, pointing out that in verse 36 (which is obviously the parallel to verse 29) the word *lûḥôth* (**plates**) might be the equivalent of the *misgĕrôth* of verses 28, 29. But he justly observes that such a divergence in the use of a technical term is not probable. An excellent suggestion (though it accentuates the difficulty referred to above) has been made by Burney. Substituting *shĕlabbîm* for *misgĕrôth* at the beginning, he renders: 'They had (upright) supports, and there were border-frames between the supports.' Besides removing a grammatical irregularity, this construction has two distinct advantages: (*a*) it introduces the important corner-posts into the description; and (*b*) it gets rid of Stade's second set of *misgĕrôth* altogether.

29. The 'borders' between the supports, as well as the supports themselves, were decorated with figures of lions, oxen and cherubim. Ornamentation of a similar character is seen on the Larnaka model.

and upon the ledges.... Render (inserting 'and' with the LXX): 'and upon the supports likewise; and above and below the lions and oxen.' The following word is corrupt. Instead of **were wreaths of** we may (with Burney) read 'and cherubim,' which is necessary after 'lions and oxen,' and for **hanging work** render 'was bevelled work,' the edges of the *misgĕrôth* being 'bevelled in the form of steps.'

30. Each stand rested on four wheels, with axles of brass, probably one axle to each *pair* of wheels (so on the Larnaka wagon).

The **feet** of the stand would naturally mean the downward prolongations of the four corner-posts, in the ends of which the wheels were fitted. At first sight it seems equally natural to identify the **undersetters** (*lit.* 'shoulders,' marg.) with the diagonal braces represented in the model as connecting the feet with the lower bars of the framework (see on vii. 2). But in that case their number would be not four but eight. Moreover, the next phrase **beneath the laver** would require us to suppose that the 'shoulders' were braces extending inwards towards the centre

at the side of each. And the mouth of it within the 31
chapiter and above was a cubit: and the mouth thereof
was round after the work of a pedestal, a cubit and an
half: and also upon the mouth of it were gravings, and
their borders were foursquare, not round. And the four 32

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of the base of the stand, beneath the bottom of the lavers when in position. Unfortunately the closing words (rendered, **with wreaths at the side of each**), which might have thrown some light on the structure, are hardly intelligible; while apart from them the statement that 'the shoulders were cast' conveys little meaning. Stade's view of the construction is very different. He takes the **feet** to be the corner-posts as a whole, and explains the 'shoulders' as the projecting upper ends of the posts, which in the model are surmounted by figures of small birds. It has been proposed to change 'feet' to 'corners' in accordance with verse 34. The reader may choose!

31. Here at least the description certainly passes to the upper part of the stand. By the **mouth** of the stand is meant a circular ring of brass, held by the four bars of the upper frame, and rising above them to the height of one (?) cubit (see below). Its purpose was of course to receive the laver; its diameter was therefore 4 cubits (verse 38), exactly the length of one side of the square frame in which it was contained (verse 27). The word **chapiter** must be a mistake, since no chapiters are mentioned in the whole description. Stade, following Ewald, reads 'shoulders,' which suits his view of what the shoulders were, and no doubt strengthens the presumption that that view is correct. The only alternative would be to substitute 'borders,' which would give perhaps an even better sense. The numeral before **cubit** has been dropped out: we should probably insert 'one' (but see on verse 35). The beginning of the verse should thus be translated: 'And its mouth within the shoulder-pieces (?) and upward was one cubit.'

round after the work of a pedestal: i. e. made as pedestals were made; but what that means we do not know. The words **a cubit and a half** cannot be explained: they may have crept in by mistake from the next verse.

gravings. These covered the projecting part of the ring (mouth) on its outer side.

and their borders were foursquare, not round. If we might substitute 'its' for 'their,' the clause has a good sense where it stands; it reminds us that while the mouth was round, the frame in which it was set was square. But Stade is possibly right in thinking that the clause is the immediate continuation of verse 27, and that 'their' refers to the stands of verse 27. The intervening

wheels were underneath the borders; and the axletrees of the wheels were in the base: and the height of a
33 wheel was a cubit and half a cubit. And the work of the wheels was like the work of a chariot wheel: their axletrees, and their felloes, and their spokes, and their
34 naves, were all molten. And there were four under-

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verses (28—'gravings' in 31) he regards as a secondary account of the laver-carriages, partly parallel to the main description (which is complete in itself) in verses 27, 31^b, 32-39. Another division, however, is possible, and seems equally satisfactory. Leaving 31^b where it stands, we might take verses 27-31, 37-39 as the main account, and verses 32-36 as the secondary parallel. In any case it is tolerably plain that verses 32-36, to which we now proceed, are a duplicate of 29-31; they describe the same objects (wheels, shoulder-pieces, mouth, ornamentation); though with differences in the details and in the terminology.

32, 33 give a fuller description of the 'wheels' than verse 30. They were **underneath the borders** (see on verse 28); i. e. their height did not reach to the lower part of the framework.

and the axletrees . . . base: perhaps, 'and the holders of the wheels were in the stand.'

axletrees is a doubtful rendering of the Hebrew word, which means *lit.* 'hand'; because we cannot tell whether the wheel revolved on the axle (like an ordinary cart-wheel), or whether the axle itself revolved in bearings (as in a locomotive); in the latter case (which is the more probable view) the 'hand' might be the ring through which the axle passed. We must understand the statement to mean that the 'hands' were in those extensions of the corner-posts of the base which were called its 'feet' in verse 30. Stade thinks that 'hands' is the technical designation of the diagonal braces mentioned in the notes on verse 30; but that is rather forced: although the hands were *in* the base, it appears from verse 33 that they belonged specially to the wheels. The height of each wheel was 1½ cubits. Neither the length of the 'feet' nor the height of the frame above the ground is anywhere specified. In the Larnaka model the height of the upper bar of the frame from the ground is nearly two and a half times the depth of the framework itself: if we suppose the proportions to have been similar in Solomon's vessels, the upper bar would have stood about 7½ cubits (12 to 13 ft.) high.

33. The construction of the wheels resembled, part for part, that of a chariot-wheel; only, 'the whole was foundry-work.'

axletrees: 'holders,' as before.

setters at the four corners of each base: the undersetters thereof were of the base itself. And in the top of the 35 base was there a round compass of half a cubit high: and on the top of the base the stays thereof and the borders thereof were of the same. And on the plates of the stays 36 thereof, and on the borders thereof, he graved cherubim, lions, and palm trees, according to the space of each, with wreaths round about. After this manner he made 37

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34. undersetters: 'shoulder-pieces,' see on verse 30.

at the four . . . base might be rendered, 'for the four corner-pieces of one stand.' The word for **corners** (*pinnôth*) here replaces that for 'feet' (*peʿāmôth*) in the parallel account (verse 39), and being equally vague in meaning leaves the same uncertainty as to where the shoulder-pieces were. The last clause may be read: 'The shoulder-pieces were part of the stand'; either cast in one piece with it, or rigidly attached.

35. See above on verse 31. In the first clause the subject is omitted in the original; we must insert either 'mouth' or 'pedestal,' in accordance with verse 31 (so Stade), and render: 'And in the top of the stand there was a mouth (pedestal), half a cubit in height, circular round about.' The height given is only half of what was taken to be the original text of verse 31. Perhaps it should be 'a cubit and a half.' The remainder of the verse defies reasonable explanation. Stade thinks the last words, **the stays** ('hands') **thereof . . . same,** belong to the parallel account, and finds a place for them in verse 30 after **axles of brass:** but the difficulty is not appreciably lessened by this transposition.

36 appears to be the parallel to verse 29. So far as it can be translated, it reads: 'And he engraved on the plates cherubim, lions, and palm trees.' The words omitted, **of the stays thereof,** and **on the borders thereof,** are due to a mistaken repetition from the line above; the end of the verse, **according to the space . . . about,** may be corrected in accordance with verse 30, and translated: 'with wreaths at the side of each.'

plates (*lûḥôth* = tablets) is probably a comprehensive designation of the flat surfaces on the side of the stand, including both the *misgĕrôth* and the *shĕlabbîm* of verse 29: on the possibility that they might be 'panels,' see on that verse. It is true that the ornamentation differs from that of verse 29 by the substitution of palm-trees for oxen; but the discrepancy hardly requires us to refer the descriptions to two different objects.

the ten bases : all of them had one casting, one measure,
38 and one form. And he made ten lavers of brass : one
laver contained forty baths : and every laver was four
cubits : and upon every one of the ten bases one laver.
39 And he set the bases, five on the right side of the house,
and five on the left side of the house : and he set the sea
on the right side of the house eastward, toward the south.

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37. The description given applies to all the ten stands ; they are uniform in every respect.

and one form : omitted by LXX.

38. To each stand a circular laver is made, fitting the mouth-piece on the top, 4 cubits in diameter, and capable of holding 40 baths (about 375 gallons) of water.

39. See introductory note to verses 27 ff.

We conclude the somewhat intricate exposition of this section with a continuous translation of the text as amended, disentangling the two parallel accounts in separate columns :—

(27) And he made the stands, ten in number, of brass ; one stand was four cubits in length, four cubits in breadth, and three cubits in height. (28) And the construction of the stand(s) was as follows : they had upright supports ; and borders between the supports.

(29) And on the borders that were between the supports were lions, oxen, and cherubim, and upon the supports in like manner ; and above and below the lions and oxen and cherubim was bevelled work. (30) And for one stand there were four wheels of brass, with axles of brass ; and its four feet had shoulder-pieces underneath the laver (?). (31) And its mouth-piece within the shoulder-pieces (? borders) and upward was one cubit ; and its mouth-piece was circular, after the workmanship of a pedestal : and upon its mouth-piece also were gravings ; but its (?) borders were square, not round.

(32) And the four wheels were underneath the borders ; and the holders of the wheels were in the stand : and the height of one wheel was one and a half cubits. (33) And the make of the wheels was like the make of a chariot wheel : their holders, and their felloes, and their spokes, and their hubs, all was foundry-work. (34) And there were four shoulder-pieces for the four corners of one stand : its shoulder-pieces were part of the stand. (35) And in the top of the stand was a mouth-piece, half a cubit in height, circular round about. (36) And he engraved on the plates cherubim, lions, and palm-trees, with wreaths at the side of each.

And Hiram made the lavers, and the shovels, and the 40
basons. So Hiram made an end of doing all the work
that he wrought for king Solomon in the house of the
LORD: the two pillars, and the two bowls of the chapiters 41
that were on the top of the pillars; and the two networks
to cover the two bowls of the chapiters that were on the
top of the pillars; and the four hundred pomegranates 42
for the two networks; two rows of pomegranates for each
network, to cover the two bowls of the chapiters that
were upon the pillars; and the ten bases, and the ten 43
lavers on the bases; and the one sea, and the twelve 44

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(37) Thus he made the ten stands: all of them had one casting, and one measure. (38) And he made the ten lavers of brass, &c.

vii. 40. *The Smaller Utensils.*
For **lavers** read (with LXX and parallel passages) 'pots.' (Cf. verse 45.)

shovels: utensils for cleaning the altar (Exod. xxvii. 3, &c.).
basons: used in the sacrificial ritual for catching the blood and dashing it on the altar.

vii. 41-47. *Inventory of Huram-abi's Works.* The list on the whole corresponds with the preceding detailed descriptions; but there are peculiarities of phraseology which go to show that the passage is taken from an independent but ancient and valuable source. This conclusion is confirmed by an important addition of the LXX in verse 45, which appears to have been omitted by the Hebrew in order to bring about perfect harmony with what has gone before.

41. the two bowls of the chapiters are doubtless the two chapiters themselves (as distinct from the ornamental network); but this is the only place where we are informed that they were *globular* in shape. The word (*gullāh*) ordinarily means 'bowl' in Hebrew; but in Assyrian it is said to be used of the rounded ornament of a pillar (Jensen, *ZA*, IX. p. 133); and this is no doubt the sense here. W. R. Smith held that the chapiters were really bowl-shaped cressets, with the network stretched over their open mouths like the grating of an altar-hearth; and argued that they were originally intended for burning the fat of the sacrifices (see above, p. 126, and *Rel. of Sem.*^{2}, Note K).

42. The close of the verse, **to cover . . .**, is perhaps a repetition of the similar words of verse 41.

45 oxen under the sea; and the pots, and the shovels, and
the basons: even all these vessels, which Hiram made
for king Solomon, in the house of the LORD, were of
46 burnished brass. In the plain of Jordan did the king
cast them, in the clay ground between Succoth and
47 Zarethan. And Solomon left all the vessels *unweighed*,
because they were exceeding many: the weight of the
48 brass could not be found out. And Solomon made all
the vessels that were in the house of the LORD: the

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45. After **house of the LORD,** LXX continues: 'and the forty-eight pillars of the house of the king and of the house of the Lord: all the works of the king did Hiram make entirely of brass.' Although we have no mention elsewhere of brazen pillars in the palace or the temple, the words are probably genuine; a certain irregularity in the Hebrew text points to an omission. The next four or five verses are in some disorder: see at the close.

46. Huram-abi's foundry was in the Jordan valley, the nearest place probably where clay suitable for the great moulds could be found. (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 488.)

For **the king** read 'he' (LXX); the subject of the sentence being obviously Huram-abi.

in the clay ground: *lit.* 'in the thickness of the soil' (so LXX); but the text is doubtful. It is perhaps better to amend and read with Moore (*Judges*, p. 212 f.) and Benzinger: 'at the ford of Adamah.' Adamah, 'the city beside Zarethan' (Joshua iii. 16), is probably the modern *ed-Damieh*, on the west bank of the Jordan, twenty-four miles from its mouth. **Succoth** is on the other side of the river (Gen. xxxiii. 17; Joshua xiii. 27; Judges viii. 4, 5). A good road for the transport of the vessels to Jerusalem was essential; and this was secured by choosing a situation near one of the principal crossing-places of the Jordan.

47. The quantity of brass consumed was so great that no attempt was made to keep a record of its weight.

vii. 48-51. *The Golden Utensils for the Interior of the Temple.* The passage is usually regarded by critics as a late addition to the original account of the temple furniture. The chief arguments for this opinion are: (*a*) the improbability of so lavish an expenditure of gold on articles like hinges, &c.; (*b*) the mention of a golden altar within the temple, of which there is no historical evidence in pre-Exilic times; (*c*) the discrepancy between verse 48 and vi. 20 ff., where the name 'altar' is applied to the shewbread table, and no other altar is spoken of. It is urged that if all these articles had

golden altar, and the table whereupon the shewbread
was, of gold; and the candlesticks, five on the right side, 49
and five on the left, before the oracle, of pure gold; and
the flowers, and the lamps, and the tongs, of gold; and 50
the cups, and the snuffers, and the basons, and the
spoons, and the firepans, of pure gold; and the hinges,
both for the doors of the inner house, the most holy
place, and for the doors of the house, *to wit*, of the

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been inside the temple, the proper place to mention them would have been in ch. vi, along with the cherubim and the altar of cedar. (*d*) It excites suspicion that the vessels are merely enumerated, without any description of their appearance or mention of their maker, a reticence which is doubly surprising in contrast with the elaborate account of the brazen vessels made by Huram-abi. These considerations are perhaps sufficient to show that the verses do not belong to the document from which the previous descriptions are taken. At the same time, the use of the word *dĕbîr*, and the mention of ten candlesticks (as contrasted with the one candelabrum of the tabernacle and the second temple), proves that the account rests on some knowledge (whether personal or traditional) of the arrangements of the pre-Exilic temple. It is probable, in short, that such articles did exist in Solomon's temple; though it is doubtful if they were made by Solomon. Cf. 2 Kings xii. 13, xxv. 14 ff.; Jer. lii. 18 ff.

48. the golden altar is the altar of incense, which stood within the tabernacle (Exod. xxx. 1 ff., xxxix. 38) along with the **table** for the **shewbread** (*lit.* 'bread of the presence,' Exod. xxv. 23 ff.). That the latter institution was ancient is known from 1 Sam. xxi. 4 ff.; the incense altar, on the contrary, is unknown in pre-Exilic history, and is not mentioned even by Ezekiel. It occurs first in secondary strata of the Priestly Code (Exod. xxx, xxxix); and of course existed in the second temple (1 Macc. i. 21, iv. 49 f.).

49. the candlesticks (rather, 'lampstands') stood **before the oracle** (*dĕbîr*); i. e., apparently, along the partition-wall, five on each side of the door. These candlesticks are nowhere else mentioned except in Jer. lii. 19 and 2 Chron. iv. 7, 20 (but cf. xiii. 11), and 1 Chron. xxviii. 15 (where *silver* candlesticks are spoken of along with them). Elsewhere we read of only one candlestick with seven lamps (represented, as is well known, on the Arch of Titus). The writer, therefore, cannot have drawn his information from post-Exilic times.

the flowers are the flower-like ornaments of the candlesticks, in which the lamps rested (see Exod. xxv. 31 ff.).

51 temple, of gold. Thus all the work that king Solomon wrought in the house of the LORD was finished. And Solomon brought in the things which David his father had dedicated, *even* the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, and put them in the treasuries of the house of the LORD.

8 [S] Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel,

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51. The work being completed, Solomon brings the consecrated gifts of his father David, and deposits them in **the treasuries** (perhaps the side-chambers) of the new sanctuary.

the things . . . dedicated: *lit.* 'the sacred things of David his father.'

The **vessels** (or 'weapons'?) might include shields and other trophies of victory, tribute-gifts, &c., such as we read of in 2 Sam. viii. 7 ff.: verse 11 says expressly that they were dedicated to the Lord.

The text of verses 46–51 is hardly in its original condition. The LXX gives a better sequence by transposing verses 46 and 47; and has a much superior reading of the first half of verse 47. The words 'And Solomon left,' which most naturally mean 'And Solomon deposited,' and cannot possibly be translated 'left unweighed,' are transferred in LXX (L) to the beginning of verse 48, where they find a suitable context. (See the exhaustive Note of Burney, p. 99 ff.) Making these changes, and omitting verses 48^{b}–50 as a gloss, the close of the passage reads as follows:—

'(47) There was no weight to the brass which he (i. e. Huram-abi) made into all these vessels, because it was very great: the weight of the brass was not ascertained. (46) In the plain of Jordan did he cast them, at the ford of Adamah between Succoth and Zarethan. (48) And Solomon deposited the vessels which he had made in the house of Yahweh. (51) Thus all the work that Solomon wrought in the house of Yahweh was finished. And Solomon brought in the consecrated things of David his father, the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, placing them in the treasuries of the house of Yahweh.'

viii. *The Dedication of the Temple.*

In the present form of the narrative the inaugural ceremony appears as a great complex function in three acts: the removal of the ark to its new abode (verses 1–11); the orations and prayer of Solomon (12–61); and, finally, the dedicatory sacrifices and celebration of the annual festival (62–66). The critical analysis

[**P**] and all the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers' *houses* of the children of Israel, unto king Solomon [**S**] in Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which is

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of the chapter, however, discloses a more profound and instructive division, by which the historical exposition of the passage must be guided. The whole section, namely, from verse 14 to verse 61, is demonstrably Deuteronomic from beginning to end, and must have been composed and inserted by the compilers of the Book of Kings. Removing this long expansion, we have left in verses 1-13 the original account of the transference of the ark, closing with the only authentic utterance of Solomon on this occasion (verses 12 f.). It is probable (though not certain) that the conclusion of this ancient narrative lies in verses 62-66. Thus we are led to the following threefold division of the chapter: (1) the old account of the ceremonies connected with the placing of the ark in the temple, verses 1-13; (2) the speeches put by the Deuteronomic writers into the mouth of Solomon, verses 14-61; (3) the account—partly ancient—of the dedicatory sacrifices and the festival, verses 62-66.

viii. 1-13. *The transportation of the Ark: Solomon's poetic Dedication.* (Cf. 2 Chron. v. 2—vi. 2.) The section has been somewhat freely interpolated, partly by the Deuteronomic compilers, but still more by a later editor, whose point of view is that of the Priestly Code. Many of these additions are wanting in the LXX, which represents (especially in the first five verses) a shorter and purer text than the Hebrew. When these are eliminated, there remains a kernel of narrative which satisfies every test of antiquity and historicity which we can reasonably apply. There is a *prima facie* probability that the long records of the building of the temple in ch. v-vii were followed by an account of its dedication; and there is no reason to doubt that the verses before us were taken from some ancient document.

1, 2. In the shorter recension of the LXX the verses read: 'Then king Solomon assembled all the elders of Israel in Zion to bring up the ark of the covenant of Yahweh from the city of David, which is Zion, in the month Ethanim.'

The **elders of Israel** are the representatives of the old tribal aristocracy—**the heads of tribes** and **princes of fathers'** houses (i. e. 'chiefs of families'), as is quite correctly explained in the gloss which follows. The terms of the gloss, however, are distinctive of the Priestly Code. The reading **Jerusalem** of the Hebrew text is preferable to the 'Zion' of LXX.

the city of David, which is Zion: (see on ii. 10). The name

2 Zion. [**P**] And all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto king Solomon at the feast, [**S**] in the month
3 Ethanim, [**P**] which is the seventh month. [**S** ?] And all the elders of Israel came, [**P** ?] and the priests took up

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Zion was originally restricted to the site of the Jebusite fort on the lower southern spur of the eastern hill of Jerusalem, on the higher northern plateau of which the temple now stood (note the expression 'bring up'). In later times it was extended to the temple hill generally, and eventually to the whole city.

2. On the **month Ethanim,** and the gloss **which is the seventh month,** see on vi. 37, 38.

at the feast. Throughout the O. T. *the* feast *par excellence* is the autumn festival, the 'feast of ingathering at the end of the year.' In later times it was certainly held in the seventh month (Lev. xxiii. 34 ff.; Num. xxix. 12 ff.); and in spite of xii. 32 there is no clear evidence that this was not always the custom in the southern kingdom (see the note on the verse). The time of the festival is nowhere prescribed in the pre-Exilic legislation (Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22; Deut. xvi. 13); and the truth may be that it varied at different sanctuaries according to the season of the fruit-gathering. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that the festival actually fell in the seventh month. The phrase is wanting in the LXX, and may of course be a gloss; but the fact remains that the dedication did coincide with 'the feast' (see verse 65). A more serious difficulty arises from the comparison of this notice with vi. 38. If the temple was not finished till the eighth month, how could the dedication take place in the seventh? The simplest explanation, though critics are slow to entertain it, is that the dedication was postponed to the year following the completion of the house (so Farrar, i. p. 167). It is quite conceivable that vi. 38 refers only to the building, and that Huram-abi's works were not ready till some months later. Kittel, who assigns vi. 2—vii. 12 and vii. 13-51 to different sources, holds that viii. 1-13 is the continuation of the latter, which he supposes to have followed a different tradition as to the date of the completion of the temple from vi. 38. That is not a probable view, because ch. viii presupposes a knowledge of ch. vi but not of vii. 13 ff. As a last resource it is proposed (Stade, Benzinger, &c.) to delete the phrase 'in the month Ethanim' as a gloss, and retain 'at the feast,' with the understanding that the feast was observed in ancient times in the eighth month. But that is a very arbitrary proceeding, in view of the pre-Exilic phraseology of the clause.

3, 4. Here again the text shows unmistakeable traces of post-Exilic redaction. First of all, the statement that the Tent of

the ark. [**S** ?] And they brought up the ark of the Lord, 4
[**P**] and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels
that were in the Tent; even these did the priests and
the Levites bring up. [**S**] And king Solomon and all 5
[**P**] the congregation of [**S**] Israel, [**P**] that were assembled unto him, were with him [**S**] before the ark, sacrificing sheep and oxen, that could not be told nor numbered for multitude. And the priests brought in the ark 6
of the covenant of the Lord unto its place, into the oracle
of the house, [**P**] to the most holy place, [**S**] even under

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Meeting and its vessels were brought up to the temple along with the ark cannot be historical. The sources of Kings know of no sacred tent except that made by David for the ark (see on i. 39); but this is never called 'Tent of Meeting,' and would hardly have been thought worthy of being transported to the new sanctuary. The Tent of Meeting can mean nothing else than the tabernacle 'which Moses made in the wilderness' (1 Chron. xxi. 29), which late writers like the chronicler supposed to be still in existence in the time of Solomon. Hence that whole clause, although it is found in the LXX, must be removed. Similarly, the distinction between **priests** and **Levites** in the end of verse 4 implies the standpoint of the Priestly Code (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 219); and this clause also must be omitted, as in the LXX. What now remains of the two verses consists of two doublets: (*a*) 'And all the elders of Israel came and brought up the ark of Yahweh'; and (*b*) 'And the priests took up (*or*, carried) the ark.' It is difficult to say which of these represents the original text. The LXX retains only (*b*); yet, on internal grounds, we are disposed to regard (*a*) as the better reading. We may suppose (*b*) to have been a marginal correction to remind the reader that the ark must have been actually carried by priests; and the LXX translators, recognizing that one or other of the two readings was superfluous, may have adopted the more precise statement and let the other drop.

5. The numerous sacrifices were probably offered at stages on the route, as at David's removal of the ark to the metropolis (2 Sam. vi. 13). The verse should probably be read as simplified in accordance with the LXX: 'And the king and all Israel (went) before the ark, sacrificing sheep and oxen,' &c.

6. The priests deposit the ark in the place prepared for it in the *debîr* of the temple. The words **to the most holy place** are a Priestly gloss (as in vi. 16).

7 the wings of the cherubim. For the cherubim spread forth their wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubim covered the ark and the staves thereof above.
8 And the staves were so long that the ends of the staves were seen from the holy place before the oracle; but they were not seen without: and there they are, unto
9 this day. There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, [**D**] when the LORD made a covenant with the children of Israel,
10 when they came out of the land of Egypt. [**S**] And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place, that the cloud filled the house of the LORD,
11 so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the LORD filled the house of the LORD.

7, 8. The exact position of the ark under the wings of the cherubim is carefully defined. The meaning of verse 8 seems to be that the ark lay east and west, in such a position that its staves could just be seen in the darkness of the inner chamber from the main hall, but did not extend beyond the door. In Exod. xxv. 15 it is directed that the staves of the ark should not be removed. The words **and there they are unto this day** are not in the LXX, but are doubtless genuine: the temptation to omit them in later times is obvious.

9. The contents of the ark. Why the writer says it contained *nothing but* the tables of stone we cannot tell, unless there was a current impression that it held something else. As to what the ark really did contain at this time, see Kennedy in *DB*, i. p. 151. It may be noted that the expression 'Ark of the covenant of Yahweh' seems to have originated in the Deuteronomic school of writers; and the latter part of this verse shows clearly what was meant by it. It is necessary to insert a phrase from the LXX, and read (after **Horeb**): 'the tables of the covenant which Yahweh made with . . . Egypt.' (Cf. verse 21.)

10, 11. The introduction of the ark into the shrine is followed by the appearing of the glory of Yahweh in the form of a cloud, the ancient symbol of the theophany (Exod. xxxiii. 9 ff.). It is the visible token that Yahweh has taken up His abode in the new temple.

Then spake Solomon, The LORD hath said that he 12
would dwell in the thick darkness. I have surely built 13
thee an house of habitation, a place for thee to dwell

12, 13 contain, in a mutilated text, the pregnant formula of dedication uttered by Solomon on this occasion. The complete poetic form of the quatrain can be recovered by the help of the LXX, which puts the verse after verse 53 (an additional proof that the text of the chapter has been dislocated by the insertion of verses 14 ff.), and adds a note to the effect that the words were taken from the 'Book of Songs.' Wellhausen has plausibly conjectured that this is a mistake for 'Book of Jashar[1],' an old collection of poetry which contained Joshua's apostrophe to the sun and moon at Gibeon (Joshua x. 13), and David's elegy on Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 18). Of the various reconstructions of the text that have been proposed, we here follow that given by Cheyne in *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 193, 212; it may be translated thus:—

'The sun has Yahweh set in the heavens;
He (himself) has resolved to dwell in thick darkness:
Built have I a lofty mansion for thee,
A place for thee to dwell in for (all) ages.'

A singular interest attaches to this obscure and perhaps fragmentary epigram, *first* as an authentic document of the early Hebrew conception of the nature of Yahweh, and *second* as an expression of the religious idea embodied in the erection of the temple. The striking contrast in the first two lines, 'between the sun in his glorious heavenly mansion and the cloud-inhabiting Creator' (Cheyne), reveals even at this early period a belief in Yahweh as the Creator of the universe; and also a sense of the paradox involved in building a habitation for a Being so glorious and powerful. The higher religious minds of Israel had therefore advanced beyond the conception of a merely tribal or national Deity to that of a God who, under self-imposed limitations, is the Maker and Lord of Nature. The last two lines apply this thought to the building of the temple: the dark inner shrine is a suitable dwelling-place for the Being who has chosen to shroud Himself in thick darkness; while the external magnificence of the structure as a whole is worthy of Him who has fixed the sun in the heavens. The theology of the passage may be expressed in these three propositions: (1) the temple is literally the dwelling-place of Yahweh; (2) Yahweh is at the same time the Creator of the world; (3) the darkness in which He dwells symbolizes the

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[1] הישר misread by transposition as השיר.

in for ever. [**D**] And the king turned his face about, 14
and blessed all the congregation of Israel: and all the
congregation of Israel stood. And he said, Blessed be 15
the LORD, the God of Israel, which spake with his mouth
unto David my father, and hath with his hand fulfilled

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mystery of Divinity, the contrast between His nearness to Israel and His essential power and majesty. In so far as the founding of the temple impressed this profound idea of God on the mind of the nation, it was an event of the first importance in the history of the O. T. religion.

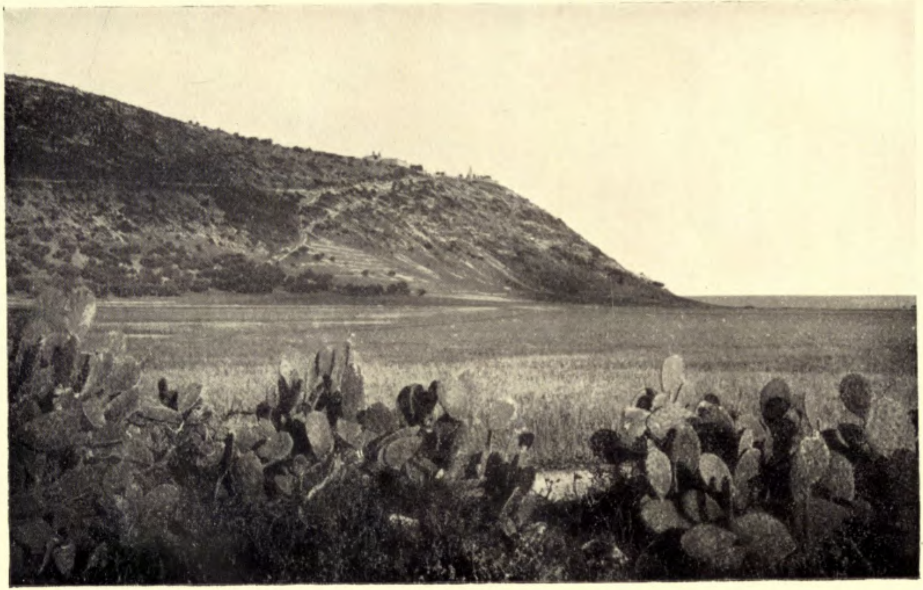
viii. 14–61. *The Orations of Solomon.*

Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 3–42. It was a common practice of ancient historians to throw their own interpretation of a historical situation into the form of speeches supposed to have been delivered at the time by the leading personages of the story. The compiler of Kings here avails himself of this literary license, in order to give expression to his own view of the supreme significance of this great event in the history of his people. The passage is remarkable for the orderly arrangement of thought; and it exhibits all the oratorical power which characterizes the Deuteronomic school of writers. It consists of three parts: (1) Solomon's address to the people, verses 15–21; (2) his Dedicatory Prayer, 22–53; and (3) the Benediction, 54–61.

There are some indications that the literary unity of the composition is not perfect. The position of verses 12 f. in the LXX, between verses 53 and 54, and the omission of the last section in Chronicles, are difficult to account for except on the assumption of some very extensive re-arrangements of the text in late times. Moreover, some allusions (e. g. 25 ff.) assume the existence of the Monarchy and the temple, while others (46 ff.) have been thought to presuppose the experience of the Exile. But these differences do not interfere with the general conclusion that the passage as a whole is Deuteronomic. That is abundantly proved by the numerous coincidences in style with the Book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic parts of Joshua. Of these, a list is given in Driver's *Introduction*[6], p. 200 f.; see also Burney in *DB*, ii. p. 859 ff., and more fully in his *Notes*, p. 115 ff.

viii. 14–21. *The Address to the People.* This is mainly a recapitulation, based on 2 Sam. vii. 5 ff., of the providential circumstances which had led up to the building of the temple.

15, 16. A free rendering of 2 Sam. vii. 6 f., but with an important modification from the Deuteronomic point of view. The



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MOUNT CARMEL: THE WESTERN PROMONTORY

it, saying, Since the day that I brought forth my people 16
Israel out of Egypt, I chose no city out of all the tribes
of Israel to build an house, that my name might be
there; but I chose David to be over my people Israel.
Now it was in the heart of David my father to build 17
an house for the name of the LORD, the God of Israel.
But the LORD said unto David my father, Whereas it 18
was in thine heart to build an house for my name, thou
didst well that it was in thine heart: nevertheless thou 19
shalt not build the house; but thy son that shall come
forth out of thy loins, he shall build the house for my
name. And the LORD hath established his word that he 20
spake; for I am risen up in the room of David my
father, and sit on the throne of Israel, as the LORD
promised, and have built the house for the name of the
LORD, the God of Israel. And there have I set a place 21
for the ark, wherein is the covenant of the LORD, which

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meaning in Samuel is that Yahweh had dwelt in a tent since the Exodus, and did not wish to be installed in a 'house of cedar.' Here, on the contrary, the idea is that the period since the Exodus had been a transition period, during which Yahweh had not indicated the place where His temple was to be erected. The standpoint is obviously that of Deut. xii. 11, &c.

that my name might be there. See below on verse 29.

but I chose David. Read, inserting a clause from LXX and 2 Chron. vi. 6, 'but (now) I have chosen Jerusalem that my name might be there, and I have chosen David.' David's city and David's dynasty are frequently associated as theocratic institutions; they are twin pledges of Yahweh's covenant relation to Israel.

17-19. The building of the temple is the realization of a cherished design of David, which was overruled at the time, for reasons not here stated (see on verse 3). Verse 19 refers to 2 Sam. vii. 13, where it is simply stated that the temple was to be built by David's son. That verse, however, is evidently itself a Deuteronomic interpolation in 2 Sam. vii, for it is clear that the whole drift of Nathan's oracle is as little favourable to the building of a temple by Solomon as it is to David's proposal to build one himself.

21. wherein is the covenant of the LORD. See on verse 9.

he made with our fathers, when he brought them out of the land of Egypt.

22 And Solomon stood before the altar of the LORD in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread
23 forth his hands toward heaven: and he said, O LORD, the God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in heaven
24 above, or on earth beneath; who keepest covenant and mercy with thy servants, that walk before thee with all their heart: who hast kept with thy servant David my father that which thou didst promise him: yea, thou spakest with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled it with thine
25 hand, as it is this day. Now therefore, O LORD, the God of Israel, keep with thy servant David my father that which thou hast promised him, saying, There shall not fail thee a man in my sight to sit on the throne of Israel; if only thy children take heed to their way, to
26 walk before me as thou hast walked before me. Now therefore, O God of Israel, let thy word, I pray thee, be verified, which thou spakest unto thy servant David
27 my father. But will God in very deed dwell on the

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viii. 22–53. *The Prayer of Dedication.* It is delivered by Solomon *standing* in front of the altar, with hands outstretched to heaven—the universal ancient attitude in prayer (Exod. ix. 29; Isa. i. 15; 2 Macc. iii. 20, &c.: see Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 485 ff.).

viii. 23–26. Prayer for the fulfilment of the promise to David (2 Sam. vii. 12 ff.).

24, indeed, speaks of the promise as already fulfilled in the establishment of Solomon's kingdom, and the completion of the temple; but

25, 26 contemplate a larger fulfilment in the maintenance of the newly-founded dynasty.

viii. 27–30. The burden of all the following petitions is here expressed in general terms, viz. that the temple may ever be the guarantee of intercourse between heaven and earth, the symbol and pledge of the answer to prayer.

27. But will God in very deed. In what sense can this house be thought of as the dwelling-place of the infinite and omnipresent

earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded! Yet have thou respect unto the prayer of thy 28
servant, and to his supplication, O LORD my God, to hearken unto the cry and to the prayer which thy servant prayeth before thee this day: that thine eyes may be 29
open toward this house night and day, even toward the place whereof thou hast said, My name shall be there: to hearken unto the prayer which thy servant shall pray toward this place. And hearken thou to the supplication 30
of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall

Yahweh? LXX and Chronicles have, **dwell** *with men* **on the earth.** The question leads up to a conception of God's dwelling in the temple, more spiritual than that which prevailed in earlier times (verse 13). It becomes, as it were, the ideal point of contact at which God's thought and man's thought meet and touch each other, and real religious communion is established between them. This is the idea implied in verse

29. Yahweh's eyes are to be **open toward this house night and day:** when Israel prays **toward this place** Yahweh will hear 'in heaven His dwelling place,' and answer (cf. verse 52). In the examples which follow (verses 31 ff.), the prayer is conceived sometimes as offered *in* the temple, sometimes as directed *towards* it; in either case the underlying idea is the same.

whereof thou hast said, My name shall be there. See Deut. xii. 5, 11, xiv. 23, 24, xvi. 2, 6, 11, xxvi. 2. The association of the Divine name with the sanctuary is mostly Deuteronomic or later (2 Sam. vii. 13; 1 Kings iii. 2, v. 3, 5, &c.); but it appears in at least one older passage, Exod. xx. 24 ('where I will cause my name to be commemorated'). The idea probably originated in the liturgical phrase, 'to call on the name' of the Deity (Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, xiii. 4, &c.). It describes the *evocation* of the Deity, by the solemn utterance of His name, which is the preliminary to every act of worship. Hence, to say that the name of Yahweh is *in* the sanctuary means practically, and in the first instance, that in that place Yahweh will *answer to His name*—will reveal His gracious presence in response to the worship of His servants. Whether, or in what degree, the Deuteronomic usage of the expression implies a hypostasis of the name, as a special and local manifestation of the Divine presence, is a question that need not be discussed here.

pray toward this place: yea, hear thou in heaven thy
31 dwelling place; and when thou hearest, forgive. If a
man sin against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon
him to cause him to swear, and he come *and* swear
32 before thine altar in this house: then hear thou in
heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, condemning the
wicked, to bring his way upon his own head; and justifying the righteous, to give him according to his right-
33 eousness. When thy people Israel be smitten down
before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee;
if they turn again to thee, and confess thy name, and
pray and make supplication unto thee in this house:
34 then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy
people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which
35 thou gavest unto their fathers. When heaven is shut up,
and there is no rain, because they have sinned against

30. when thou hearest, forgive. Every answer to prayer includes the forgiveness of sins.

viii. 31 ff. From this point the supplication resolves itself into an enumeration of typical cases—mostly of national distress—in which prayer would be offered toward or in the temple.

31, 32. The case of a curse pronounced in the sanctuary, over a transgressor against whom no legal evidence is procurable: cf. Exod. xxii. 7–12; Num. v. 5 ff. The Lord is besought to preside over the ordeal, and **judge his servants,** by giving effect to the curse if the man be guilty[1].

condemning . . . justifying: i.e. 'declaring guilty' or 'righteous' by the issue of the trial.

33, 34. Defeat of Israel in battle, as a consequence of apostasy from Yahweh.

and bring them again unto the land seems to imply the Exile; but this is inconsistent with **pray . . . in this house** (verse 33). Perhaps we should read, with a change of vowel points, 'and let them remain in the land,' i. e. avert the extreme penalty of exile (so Klostermann, Benzinger).

35, 36. The case of drought: cf. Deut. xi. 13–17. **when** (*or,*

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[1] Many cases of this kind are referred to in the recently discovered code of Hammurabi. See Johns, *Oldest Code of Laws*, §§ 20, 131, 227, 266, &c.

thee; if they pray toward this place, and confess thy
name, and turn from their sin, when thou dost afflict
them: then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of 36
thy servants, and of thy people Israel, when thou
teachest them the good way wherein they should walk;
and send rain upon thy land, which thou hast given to
thy people for an inheritance. If there be in the land 37
famine, if there be pestilence, if there be blasting *or*
mildew, locust *or* caterpiller; if their enemy besiege
them in the land of their cities; whatsoever plague,
whatsoever sickness there be; what prayer and supplica- 38
tion soever be made by any man, *or* by all thy people
Israel, which shall know every man the plague of his
own heart, and spread forth his hands toward this
house: then hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and 39
forgive, and do, and render unto every man according to
all his ways, whose heart thou knowest; (for thou, even
thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men;)
that they may fear thee all the days that they live in the 40
land which thou gavest unto our fathers. Moreover 41

'because') **thou dost afflict them,** is better than marg. 'because thou answerest them,' though it may involve a slight change of pointing; which, however, is warranted by LXX and Vulg.

the good way . . . walk. Cf. Jer. vi. 16.

viii. 37–40. *Famine, Pestilence, and other calamities.*

37. locust and **caterpiller** are probably names of distinct species of locusts (Joel i. 4: see Driver's Excursus, *Camb. Bible*, p. 82 ff.).

in the land of their cities (marg. 'gates'). Read, with LXX, 'in any of their gates,' a thoroughly Deuteronomic expression (Deut. xv. 7, xvii. 2, &c.).

38. Omit, or **by all thy people Israel** (LXX).

every man the plague of his own heart: a peculiar expression, probably = the stroke that affects him personally. The generalized language of the verse seems to show that the prayer is drawing near its conclusion.

viii. 41–43. *The Prayer of the Stranger.* Cf. Isa. lvi. 6, 7. Verses

concerning the stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, when he shall come out of a far country for thy name's
42 sake; (for they shall hear of thy great name, and of thy mighty hand, and of thy stretched out arm;) when he
43 shall come and pray toward this house; hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that all the peoples of the earth may know thy name, to fear thee, as doth thy people Israel, and that they may know that this house
44 which I have built is called by thy name. [**D^2**] If thy people go out to battle against their enemy, by whatsoever way thou shalt send them, and they pray unto the Lord toward the city which thou hast chosen, and
45 toward the house which I have built for thy name: then hear thou in heaven their prayer and their supplication,
46 and maintain their cause. If they sin against thee, (for there is no man that sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them to the enemy, so that they

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41^b and 42^a are omitted by the LXX, which reads: 'that is not of thy people, but comes and prays.' The result of these answers to prayer will be to extend the knowledge of Yahweh's name to all the peoples of the earth.

43. this house . . . name. Render as in margin.

viii. 44, 45. *Prayers for Success in War.* The verses seem an Exilic parallel to 33 f. It is true that the situation contemplated might be pre-Exilic; but if it had belonged to the original scheme of the prayer it would naturally have stood alongside of 33 ff.; the language, moreover, resembles that of the next section, which is still more likely to be Exilic.

44. toward the city . . . house: *lit.* 'in the direction of the city . . . and of the house.' (Cf. verse 48.) The custom of praying with the face turned toward Jerusalem (the Mohammedan *ḳiblah*, first borrowed by the Prophet from the Jews, though afterwards modified in favour of Mecca) is not known to have existed before the Exile (see Dan. vi. 10).

45. maintain their cause (marg. 'right'): cf. verses 49, 59.

viii. 46–51. *Prayers in Exile.*

carry them away captive unto the land of the enemy, far
off or near; yet if they shall bethink themselves in the 47
land whither they are carried captive, and turn again,
and make supplication unto thee in the land of them
that carried them captive, saying, We have sinned, and
have done perversely, we have dealt wickedly; if they 48
return unto thee with all their heart and with all their
soul in the land of their enemies, which carried them
captive, and pray unto thee toward their land, which thou
gavest unto their fathers, the city which thou hast chosen,
and the house which I have built for thy name: then 49
hear thou their prayer and their supplication in heaven
thy dwelling place, and maintain their cause; and forgive 50
thy people which have sinned against thee, and all their
transgressions wherein they have transgressed against
thee; and give them compassion before those who carried them captive, that they may have compassion on
them: for they be thy people, and thine inheritance, 51
which thou broughtest forth out of Egypt, from the midst
of the furnace of iron: that thine eyes may be open 52

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48. toward their land: 'in the direction of their land' (as verse 44). Kittel quotes a parallel from the late Jewish Midrash *Sifre* 71^{b}: 'Those who dwell outside the land of Israel turn their faces toward the land of Israel and pray; those who dwell in the land of Israel turn their faces toward Jerusalem.'

50. give them compassion before (i. e. 'make them an object of compassion to') **those who carried them captive.** It is remarkable that deliverance from captivity is not expressly mentioned, and if contemplated at all, is looked for only from the generosity of the conqueror. Such a prayer could hardly have originated except under actual experience of exile, without any prospect of immediate relief.

51. the furnace of iron means the furnace in which iron is smelted. The phrase is found in Deut. iv. 20, Jer. xi. 4; the image in Isa. xlviii. 10, &c.

viii. 52, 53. *Conclusion of the Prayer.*

52 is mutilated at the beginning: **that thine eyes may be open** cannot be construed as an independent sentence, and is certainly

unto the supplication of thy servant, and unto the supplication of thy people Israel, to hearken unto them
53 whensoever they cry unto thee. For thou didst separate them from among all the peoples of the earth, to be thine inheritance, as thou spakest by the hand of Moses thy servant, when thou broughtest our fathers out of Egypt, O Lord GOD.

54 And it was so, that when Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the LORD, he arose from before the altar of the LORD, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread forth toward heaven.
55 And he stood, and blessed all the congregation of Israel
56 with a loud voice, saying, Blessed be the LORD, that hath given rest unto his people Israel, according to all that he promised: there hath not failed one word of all

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not the continuation of verse 51. The original introduction must have been lost. LXX, as well as 2 Chron. vi. 40, have a smoother text.

53 is omitted by the chronicler, who substitutes an imperfect version of Ps. cxxxii. 8-10.

viii. 54-61. *The Benediction.* The section is wanting entirely in 2 Chron.; and in LXX (as already explained) is separated from the prayer (24-53) by the intrusion of verses 12, 13 of the Hebrew. There is a discrepancy between verse 54 and verse 22 (see below), which seems to show that it is later than the pre-Exilic parts of the prayer. Possibly it was added along with verses 44 ff., with which it has some linguistic affinities.

54. from kneeling on his knees. Kneeling is the posture of prayer in 1 Kings xix. 18, Isa. xlv. 23, Ezra ix. 5, 2 Chron. vi. 13, Dan. vi. 10, Ps. xcv. 6. There is no evidence that the practice was peculiarly post-Exilic. Standing, however, was a common attitude in early times (Gen. xviii. 22, 1 Sam. i. 26); and when the author of verse 22 says that Solomon 'stood,' he can hardly be supposed to mean the same thing as the writer of this verse.

56. hath given rest unto his people: an allusion to Deut. xii. 10 (see on v. 4). Although the expression in Deuteronomy might readily be taken to refer to the conquest of the land of Canaan, yet the connexion in which it occurs proves that the writer had really in view the peace secured by the efforts of David, and fully enjoyed under the reign of Solomon.

his good promise, which he promised by the hand of
Moses his servant. The LORD our God be with us, as 57
he was with our fathers: let him not leave us, nor forsake
us: that he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in 58
all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his
statutes, and his judgements, which he commanded our
fathers. And let these my words, wherewith I have 59
made supplication before the LORD, be nigh unto the
LORD our God day and night, that he maintain the cause
of his servant, and the cause of his people Israel, as
every day shall require: that all the peoples of the earth 60
may know that the LORD, he is God; there is none else.
Let your heart therefore be perfect with the LORD our 61
God, to walk in his statutes, and to keep his commandments, as at this day. [**S D**] And the king, and all 62
Israel with him, offered sacrifice before the LORD. And 63

57, 58. The blessing which Solomon invokes for the people is the continued presence of God in their midst, inclining their hearts to keep His covenant, and so realize the Deuteronomic ideal of national righteousness.

59, 60. The maintenance of Israel's right (cf. verses 45, 49) is the manifestation of Yahweh's power, and the demonstration to the world of his divinity. The idea is prominent in Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah.

61. Let your heart . . . be perfect: 'undivided,' completely surrendered.

viii. 62-66. *The Dedicatory Sacrifices and Observance of the Feast.* (Cf. 2 Chron. vii. 5-10.) The two events were contemporaneous, but are clearly distinguished in the narrative, the initiatory sacrifices being described in verses 62-64, and the celebration of the feast in 65, 66. Although the section has certainly passed through the hands of the compiler of Kings, its language is not wholly Deuteronomic; and it is on every ground probable that the kernel of it comes from the same ancient source as verses 1-13.

62. offered sacrifice. The word used is the generic term for bloody sacrifices: the various kinds are distinguished afterwards in verses 63, 64.

Solomon offered for the sacrifice of peace offerings, which he offered unto the LORD, two and twenty thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. So the king and all the children of Israel dedicated the
64 house of the LORD. The same day did the king hallow the middle of the court that was before the house of the LORD; for there he offered the burnt offering, and the meal offering, and the fat of the peace offerings: because the brasen altar that was before the LORD was too little

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63. peace offerings: see on next verse. The 120,000 sheep are not mentioned in the LXX.

So the king . . . dedicated. The Hebrew verb rendered 'dedicate' is the rare technical term used of the initiation or formal opening of (e. g.) a new house (Deut. xx. 5): from it comes *Ḥănukkāh* (Ps. xxx, title), the name of the late Feast of Dedication, instituted by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. iv. 52 ff.). Cf. also the initiation of the altar (Num. vii. 10; 2 Chron. vii. 9) and the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 27). The sentence appears to imply that the sacrifices were the essential act of the dedication ceremony; hence they could hardly have been left unmentioned in the original account.

64 explains how it was possible to offer such an enormous quantity of sacrifices in a short time: the altar being too small, the king sanctified the entire area of the middle court in front of the house.

did . . . hallow: 'sanctify,' set apart as holy. The verse hardly implies that the sanctity of the middle area was perpetuated, or that the writer traces back to this temporary emergency a permanent arrangement of his own day (so Kittel).

the burnt-offering (*'ôlāh*) is the holocaust, offered entirely to God, and wholly consumed on the altar (*lit.* that which wholly 'goes up' in sacrificial smoke).

The **meal offering** (*minḥāh*) was originally a present or offering made to God of any kind, whether vegetable or animal; but in post-Exilic usage it became specialized in the sense of *cereal oblation*: this is probably the meaning here. Of the **peace offerings** (*shĕlāmîm*, the exact meaning is not certain) only the fat was offered on the altar, the other parts furnishing the material of a sacrificial meal. Verse 63 shows that (as might be expected) the bulk of the sacrifices offered that day were of this class.

the brasen altar. It is certainly surprising that no mention of this important structure occurs in the account of the temple

to receive the burnt offering, and the meal offering, and
the fat of the peace offerings. So Solomon held the 65
feast at that time, and all Israel with him, a great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath unto the
brook of Egypt, before the LORD our God, seven days
and seven days, even fourteen days. On the eighth day 66

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furniture in ch. vii. Most recent scholars suppose that the description of it has been struck out by a late editor, who imagined that the brasen altar of the tabernacle was still in existence, and that no other was needed. The view of W. R. Smith has already been spoken of (above, p. 126). If the latter hypothesis is too ingenious, the other is much too easy (see the convincing arguments of Burney, p. 102 f.). The question does not greatly concern us here, except in so far as the verse goes to show that whatever the brasen altar was, its function was to receive all sacrifices offered by fire. The brasen pillars could not have been used for that purpose. The truth may be that there was at first no artificial altar in Solomon's temple, the sacrifices being offered on the sacred rock which rises in the middle of the Haram area (see Appendix, p. 441).

65. the feast is the Feast of Tabernacles ; see on verse 2.

from the entering in of Hamath. Hamath is the modern *Hamā* on the Orontes; the 'entering in,' or 'approach,' of Hamath (which is so frequently given as the northern limit of the Holy Land) is probably the pass between Hermon and Lebanon, through which Coele-Syria is entered from the south (Buhl). It does not take us nearly so far north as the city of Hamath itself.

the brook of Egypt is the *Wadi el-Arîsh*, entering the sea nearly fifty miles south-west of Gaza. Towards the end of the verse the LXX has an addition so characteristically Deuteronomic in its view of the annual festivals that it may reasonably be assigned to the pre-Exilic compiler of Kings: 'before the Lord our God, in the house which he had built, eating and drinking and rejoicing before the Lord our God' (cf. Deut. xii. 7, xvi. 14). And the LXX is certainly to be followed in the omission of the last words: **and seven days, even fourteen days,** which are flatly contradicted by the opening of the next verse. How they came to be added we can partly see from 2 Chron. vii. 8, 9. There the duration of the feast is given correctly as seven days; but it is added that the previous seven days had been devoted to the dedication of the altar: the two together make up the fourteen days of our gloss.

66. On the eighth day. In accordance with Deut. xvi. 13, 15 he sent the people away, and they blessed the king, and went unto their tents joyful and glad of heart for all the goodness that the Lord had shewed unto David his servant, and to Israel his people.

9 [D] And it came to pass, when Solomon had finished the building of the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all Solomon's desire which he was pleased to

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the feast lasts seven days, and on the eighth the people are ready to depart to their homes. In 2 Chron., on the other hand, we read that the eighth day was occupied with a 'solemn assembly.' This corresponds with post-Exilic practice (Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxviii. 25); and accordingly the chronicler postpones the dismissal of the people to the twenty-third day of the month, the feast having begun on the fifteenth.

and they blessed the king: or, 'bade farewell to the king.' But LXX (B) says, much more naturally, that the king blessed them. So the joyful and auspicious season comes to an end.

ix. 1-9. *Second Appearance of the Lord to Solomon.* The answer to the prayer of ch. viii comes in the form of a night vision, like that which had been granted to Solomon at the beginning of his reign. The passage is thus on the one hand the immediate sequel to ch. viii, and on the other a Deuteronomic parallel to iii. 5-14. That it comes from the hand of the compiler is clear, not only from its dependence on ch. viii, but also from its style, which is if possible even more strongly marked by Deuteronomic phraseology than viii. 14 ff. (see again, Driver, *Introd.*^{6}, p. 200 f.). The motive for its insertion is most clearly expressed in verses 6-9, which are written from the standpoint of the Exile, and manifestly for the purpose of explaining the great catastrophe of the destruction of the temple. These verses, however, are not quite of a piece with what precedes: they are addressed not to Solomon but to the nation at large; they make no express reference to the prayer; and introduce the specific charge of polytheism, which is not contained in the more general warning of verses 4, 5. It is not improbable that verses 1-5 were written by the pre-Exilic compiler, while verses 6-9 belong to the second redaction.

1. The revelation comes to Solomon just when he is elated by the successful execution of his architectural projects.

desire: an uncommon word, paraphrased in 2 Chron. vii. 11 by 'all that came into his heart.'

do, that the LORD appeared to Solomon the second time, 2
as he had appeared unto him at Gibeon. And the LORD 3
said unto him, I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication, that thou hast made before me: I have hallowed this house, which thou hast built, to put my name there for ever; and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually. And as for thee, if thou wilt 4
walk before me, as David thy father walked, in integrity of heart, and in uprightness, to do according to all that I have commanded thee, and wilt keep my statutes and my judgements; then I will establish the throne of thy 5
kingdom over Israel for ever; according as I promised to David thy father, saying, There shall not fail thee a man upon the throne of Israel. [**D²**] But if ye shall turn 6
away from following me, ye or your children, and not keep my commandments and my statutes which I have set before you, but shall go and serve other gods, and worship them: then will I cut off Israel out of the land 7
which I have given them; and this house, which I have hallowed for my name, will I cast out of my sight; and

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2. as he had appeared . . . Gibeon: i. e. in a dream by night (iii. 5). That Gibeon was also the scene of this second vision is not to be inferred.

3. After **before me** LXX adds: '(Behold) I have done for thee according to all thy prayer.' The clause is probably genuine.

to put. Render, 'by putting' my name, &c. (cf. viii. 16, 29).

4, 5. A promise of the establishment of Solomon's kingdom, on condition of his fidelity to the covenant: the answer to the petition of viii. 25 f. (Cf. ii. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 13).

6–9. A threat of the dispersion of the nation and overthrow of the temple. The abrupt change from the sing. to the plur. is very remarkable (see above).

shall go and serve other gods. Both the expression and the idea—that the Exile was a judgement specially on idolatry—are very characteristic of Deuteronomy.

7. cast out of my sight: *lit.* 'send away'; but 2 Chron. vii. 20 has the stronger word properly rendered 'cast out.'

Israel shall be a proverb and a byword among all peoples:
8 and though this house be so high, yet shall every one
that passeth by it be astonished, and shall hiss; and
they shall say, Why hath the LORD done thus unto this
9 land, and to this house? And they shall answer, Because they forsook the LORD their God, which brought
forth their fathers out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold
on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them:
therefore hath the LORD brought all this evil upon them.

10 [A] And it came to pass at the end of twenty years,

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a byword (*lit.* 'a teethy saying'): very rare; only Deut. xxviii. 37 and Jer. xxiv. 9.

8. and though this house be so high. The Hebrew text (of which the margin gives the correct translation) is quite impossible. We must either substitute for 'high' a word meaning 'ruins[1]'; or (somewhat as 2 Chron. vii. 21) read, 'and as for this high house, every one,' &c.; or (combining both devices, with Thenius), 'and this house which is high shall become a heap of ruins.' The first suggestion is best.

8^b, 9. The astonishment of the heathen finds expression in this question and answer. Note the close resemblance to Deut. xxix. 24–29.

ix. 10–28. *Miscellaneous Notices, mostly relating to Solomon's Public Works.*

Here we come to a second group of fragmentary notices, which (like iv. 1–28) have all the appearance of being based on extracts from the Annals of Solomon (see introductory note, p. 81 f.). It is impossible to tell how far the literary form of the passage (which Driver considers to be less complete than that of any other portion of the book) is due to the compiler, and how far to subsequent rearrangements of the text. In the LXX many of the fragments are placed in quite different connexions; but it cannot be said that, on the whole, its recension is at all superior to the Hebrew. Burney traces a single original document in verses 10, 17, 18, 19, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24^b (in that order). The connexion thus obtained is undoubtedly a good one: after completing the temple and the palace, Solomon built Gezer, Beth-horon, &c.; then follows an account of the forced levy raised to carry out these

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[1] עיין for עליון.

wherein Solomon had built the two houses, the house of
the LORD and the king's house, (now Hiram the king of 11
Tyre had furnished Solomon with cedar trees and fir
trees, and with gold, according to all his desire,) that
then king Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in the land
of Galilee. And Hiram came out from Tyre to see the 12

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works; and then the account of his maritime enterprise (26–28). The passages which interrupt this connexion are not necessarily less authentic than the main narrative; they are, at least in part, genuine excerpts from ancient sources. In the absence of any obvious principle of arrangement, however, we must here be content to take each notice by itself, disentangling as far as possible the original annalistic statement from the editorial accretions. (The attempt to exhibit the analysis by marginal letters has been renounced as too cumbrous.)

ix. 10–14. *Cession of Territory to Hiram.* The real nature of the transaction is disguised by the parenthesis in verse 11, which gives the impression that the twenty cities were handed over in payment of materials supplied for the royal buildings. But we know from v. 11 that this expense was defrayed by an annual tribute of wheat and oil; and there is no reason to suppose either that Hiram had raised his terms or that the tribute had fallen into arrears. The matter appears in its true light when we read verse 14 in connexion with 11^b. Solomon is pressed for want of ready money, and parts with the twenty towns in return for an advance of 120 talents of gold. In later times it seemed incredible that the wealthy and prosperous Solomon should have been reduced to such straits; and the chronicler simply reverses the relations of the two parties, and says that Solomon fortified the cities which Hiram had ceded to him (2 Chron. viii. 2).

10, 11. A clue to the analysis of the section is furnished by the particle 'then' in the middle of verse 11. As the continuation of what precedes, its use would be quite anomalous; on the other hand, it is characteristically employed in one of the primary documents to introduce an entirely new subject (see on iii. 16). We may therefore conclude that the annalistic notice commenced here, **Then king Solomon gave Hiram,** and that the previous clause (11^a) was inserted to supply a connexion. The real continuation of verse 10 is probably found in verse 17.

in the land of Galilee: *lit.* 'the Circuit'; called in Isa. ix. 1 'the Circuit of the nations,' because of its mixed population (cf. the German 'Heidenmark'; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 413). From 2 Kings xv. 29; Joshua xx. 7, xxi. 32; 1 Chron. vi. 76, it

cities which Solomon had given him; and they pleased
13 him not. And he said, What cities are these which thou
hast given me, my brother? And he called them the
14 land of Cabul, unto this day. And Hiram sent to the
king sixscore talents of gold.

15 And this is the reason of the levy which king Solomon

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would appear to have been originally pretty nearly co-extensive with the territory of Naphtali (but see on verse 13 below). Before N. T. times the name had been extended to the whole of the northern district of Palestine, north of the plain of Esdraelon.

12, 13. Hiram expresses his discontent with the transfer; and the circumstance gives rise to a contemptuous epithet for the whole region, which had survived to the writer's own day. The name *Kabūl*, indeed, has survived even to our day as that of a village nine miles south-east of Accho, which is identified with the Cabul mentioned in Joshua xix. 27 as a frontier town of Asher. It is certainly difficult to dissociate the town of Cabul from **the land of Cabul** here referred to; though in that case Galilee must, in the time of the writer, have included the tribe of Asher as well as Naphtali. But what popular etymology underlies the idea of contempt imported into the term cannot be made out; the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 142) that *Chabolon* is Phoenician for 'not pleasing' deserves no credit.

14. See introductory note above, p. 159.

A talent of gold is estimated as equivalent (not in purchasing power, but in weight) to £6,150 sterling (Kennedy, in *DB*, iii. p. 150). This would make the sum raised by Solomon a little under three-quarters of a million sterling; its purchasing power would enormously exceed what these figures represent to us.

ix. 15-23. *The Corvée and the purposes to which it was applied.* Two (or rather, three) fragments are here amalgamated in a somewhat perplexing fashion. (*a*) The account of the levy, promised in 15^a, is given in verses 20-23. Here verses 20-22 are unhistorical and late, so that for the annalistic document there remains at most the isolated verse 23, which must have been followed by a list of officers, now lost. (*b*) Into this notice about the levy has been dovetailed an enumeration of Solomon's buildings and fortifications (15^b-19), in order to explain the necessity for so continuous a drain on the labour resources of the population. (*c*) In the middle of (*b*), again, verses 16, 17^a are a parenthesis, suggested by the mention of Gezer, but plainly breaking the sequence. Since they are omitted by the LXX in this place, and inserted (along with iii. 1) at the end of ch. iv, they evidently raised; for to build the house of the LORD, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor,

formed a detached notice. In the LXX the bulk of the section (verses 15, 17^b–22) is transferred to ch. x; small portions are repeated in the long addition under ii. 35; verse 23 is found only there. (On Burney's rearrangement of the passage, see above, p. 158.)

15^a. the reason (better, 'account') **of the levy.** See on iv. 9.

15^b introduces the enumeration of Solomon's public works, of which the most important (next to the temple and the palace) was doubtless the fortification of Jerusalem.

Millo (read 'the Millo'): cf. verse 24, xi. 27, 2 Sam. v. 9 (with pars. in Chron.). These are all the passages where the structure referred to is *certainly* mentioned: 2 Kings xii. 20 ('the house of Millo') is doubtful. We read also of a 'house of Millo' in Judges ix. 6, 20. From its association with the wall of Jerusalem we may with great probability infer that it was some distinctive feature of the defences of the capital; but of its exact situation, or the kind of structure denoted by the name—whether a 'house,' a 'tower,' or an 'embankment'—nothing is known. The word is probably derived from a verb meaning 'to fill,' and is most naturally understood in the sense supported by the Jewish Targum, of a mound or earthwork. In xi. 27 the Millo appears to be described as 'closing the breach of the city of David.' If it be the case (see Appendix, p. 440) that the city of David was cut off by a small ravine from the temple mount, it would be an important object to connect the two by a line of fortifications; and we might conjecture that the Millo was an embankment with a retaining wall which carried the fortification across the ravine. This would agree with 2 Sam. v. 9, which says that David 'built round about from the Millo and inward'; i. e. built that portion of the later city which lay to the south of the Millo. The verse does not *necessarily* imply that the Millo existed before Solomon.

The determination of the course of **the wall** depends on two points, neither of which has been finally settled: *first*, whether the western hill was included in the fortifications; and *second*, how far the 'old wall' described by Josephus in *Bell. Jud.* v. 146 ff. corresponds with the wall of Solomon. Until these questions have been securely determined it will not be possible to decide with certainty whether the remains of ancient fortifications recently discovered on the south of the city go back to the time of Solomon. (See Benzinger in *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 602 ff.)

We have next a list, continued in 17^b, of cities built (i. e. fortified) by Solomon throughout his dominions.

Hazor was in the extreme north of the country, in Naphtali,

16 and Megiddo, and Gezer. Pharaoh king of Egypt had
gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and
slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it
17 for a portion unto his daughter, Solomon's wife. And
18 Solomon built Gezer, and Beth-horon the nether, and
19 Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness, in the land, and
all the store cities that Solomon had, and the cities for
his chariots, and the cities for his horsemen, and that
which Solomon desired to build for his pleasure in
Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his

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near Kedesh (2 Kings xv. 29; Joshua xix. 36, &c.); the exact site is disputed.

Megiddo: south of the plain of Esdraelon (see on iv. 12).

Gezer (*Tell Jezer*, south-east of Ramleh) occupies a strong position, guarding the chief access to Jerusalem from the coast: see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 215 ff.

16, 17^{a}. An historical notice, explaining how this Canaanitish city came into the possession of Solomon. Of this Egyptian expedition to Palestine nothing further is known; it must surely have had political consequences of a more far-reaching kind than the provision of a dowry for Solomon's wife. The notice is valuable as showing that the Canaanites had in isolated communities preserved their independence against both Hebrews and Philistines down to the age of Solomon.

17^{b}. Beth-horon the nether. The two Beth-horons (*Beit 'Ur et-taḥta*, and *Beit 'Ur el-foḳa*) lie over a mile apart, on the northernmost route from Jerusalem to Joppa, with a difference of elevation of about 500 feet: see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 210 *n*.

18. Baalath (Joshua xix. 44) is not known.

Tamar in the wilderness. 2 Chron. viii. 4 reads, 'Tadmor in the wilderness,' i. e. the famous Palmyra, 150 miles north-east of Damascus. From this comes the alternative reading given in the margin, which is supported by the ancient versions, and by the traditional pronunciation of the synagogue (the so-called *Ḳĕrê*). There can be little doubt, however, that it rests on a mistake of the chronicler, and that the true reading is that of the Hebrew consonants, 'Tamar,'—the 'wilderness' being the wilderness of Judah. The locality cannot be determined.

The words **in the land** must be corrupt.

19. store cities: see Exod. i. 11.

and in Lebanon. The LXX omits the clause, but in another

dominion. As for all the people that were left of the 20
Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and
the Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel;
their children that were left after them in the land, whom 21
the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy,
of them did Solomon raise a levy of bondservants, unto
this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon 22
make no bondservants: but they were the men of war,
and his servants, and his princes, and his captains, and
rulers of his chariots and of his horsemen. These were 23
the chief officers that were over Solomon's work, five

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place (ii. 46^c) contains a reference to the 'opening' of some kind of works in Lebanon by Solomon. Winckler conjectures that iron mines are meant.

20-22. The statement that Solomon imposed the *corvée* on the remnant of the Canaanitish population is no doubt accurate, but the further statement of verse 22 that no Israelites were impressed is directly opposed to v. 13, xi. 28.

The phrase **unto this day** shows that the passage reflects the circumstances of a later time, when perhaps only aliens were subject to forced labour in the public service.

21. utterly to destroy: *lit.* 'to put to the ban.'

raise a levy of bondservants. Render, 'levy for a labour gang.'

22. The high estimate of the military profession here expressed is scarcely in the spirit of Deuteronomy (see especially Deut. xvii. 16), and is strikingly at variance with 1 Sam. viii. 11 f., where the very thing which Solomon here does is represented as part of the curse of monarchy.

captains. The Hebrew word (*shālish*) seems to mean the 'third man' in a chariot, the shield-bearer (in addition to the driver and the warrior): cf. Exod. xiv. 7. It is true that the Egyptian chariots carried only two men; but the Asiatic chariots carried three, and this custom may have been followed by the Hebrews (see P. Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv. 583-587).

23 is evidently the heading of a lost register of the chief officials of the labour bureau (cf. iv. 2, 8).

For **chief officers** read 'chiefs of the officers': the number, 550, can hardly refer to the heads of the department, but only to subordinate officials. 2 Chron. viii. 10 gives the number as 250,

hundred and fifty, which bare rule over the people that
24 wrought in the work. But Pharaoh's daughter came up
out of the city of David unto her house which *Solomon*
25 had built for her: then did he build Millo. And three
times in a year did Solomon offer burnt offerings and
peace offerings upon the altar which he built unto the
LORD, burning incense therewith, *upon the altar* that
was before the LORD. So he finished the house.
26 And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-

LXX (B) as 3,600, in accordance with verse 16, of which (in spite of the confusion in the figures) this verse is probably a variant.

ix. 24. *Removal of Pharaoh's Daughter to her new House.* Another displaced fragment, inserted by the LXX at the end of verse 9, and in ii. 35 [f]. The curious importance that seems attached to the incident makes the loss of the original connexion in this case particularly tantalizing.

then: introducing an entirely independent notice, as in verse 11 [b]. For **Millo** read '*the* Millo.'

ix. 25. *Solomon's yearly Sacrifices.* The verse occurs in the LXX only as ii. 35 [g].

did . . . offer: 'used to offer.'

the altar which he built. This is the only reference to the building of an altar by Solomon; and W. R. Smith contends that a built altar must be an altar of stone (see on viii. 64).

burning incense therewith. Here the text is hopelessly corrupt.

So he finished the house is a very doubtful rendering of the Hebrew, though accepted by most commentators. The form of the verb is frequentative (He used to finish!); and it does not appear to be used in the sense of finish (rather 'restore'). Possibly it may express the effect of the periodical sacrifices: something like 'restored the (ceremonial) integrity of' the house.

ix. 26-28. *The Ophir Expeditions.* With the aid of Phoenician shipwrights and seamen, readily lent by Hiram his ally, Solomon constructed and manned, on the Red Sea, a fleet of ships destined for the long and adventurous voyage to Ophir. This novel enterprise was crowned with complete success; and we learn from x. 22 that it was followed up by a regular series of expeditions, each of which occupied three years. The vessels returned laden with many curious products of tropical lands; and above all with a rich store of the gold for which Ophir was famous.

geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy 27 his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, 28 and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon.

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26. Eloth, or Elath, the *Aelana* of the classical geographers, the modern *'Aḳābā*, is at the head of the north-east arm of the Red Sea, which both in ancient and modern times has derived its name from the town (*Aelanitic* Gulf, Gulf of *Akaba*). A little north of the present village are some ruins, which may be those of the ancient Elath. It is only mentioned here to define the situation of **Ezion-geber,** which appears to be an older port that had been eclipsed by Elath. The exact site is unknown. The conjecture of Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, i. 169 f.), that the sea had once extended further inland, would furnish at once an explanation of the disappearance of Ezion-geber as a harbour and permit of its identification with a place of similar name, *'Ain el-Ghuḍyan*, fifteen miles north of the present head of the gulf.

in the land of Edom. Solomon seems to have lost the suzerainty over Edom at an early period of his reign (ch. xi); but he must have kept control of the caravan route leading through the country to the Red Sea.

27. Hiram sends experienced navigators to take charge of the fleet. In 2 Chron. viii. 18 it is said that he also sent his ships: the mistake probably originated in a misunderstanding of the expression 'ship of Tarshish' (see on x. 22).

28. Ophir. The controversy as to the situation of the biblical Ophir seems hardly nearer a settlement to-day than at any time in the last three centuries. The various theories will be found discussed in the articles of Price in Hastings's *DB*, and Cheyne in *EB*. The discovery in 1871 of remains of ancient gold-diggings around Zimbabwe in Mashonaland has imparted a fresh interest to the opinion that Ophir is to be looked for on the Sofala coast, opposite the island of Madagascar. But the weight of evidence appears to be in favour of the theory of Glaser, who holds that Ophir was the coast of the gold-producing region of Eastern Arabia, on the shore of the Persian Gulf. Starting from Ezion-geber, the ships would thus sail down the Red Sea and through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; then eastward along the Somali coast of Africa as far as Cape Guardafui; thence along the southern coast of Arabia to the entrance of the Persian Gulf; and then up the Gulf to their destination. Glaser has shown that under the

10 [**S**?] And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the name of the LORD, she came to

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most favourable conditions, taking account of the alternations of the south-west and north-east monsoons, the double voyage could not be accomplished in less than three years. See Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geog. Arabiens*, ii. p. 357-383.

x. 1-13. *Visit of the Queen of Sheba.*

The story of the queen of Sheba as here told is obviously meant to illustrate the far-famed wisdom of Solomon. She is perhaps introduced as the most interesting of the royal personages who came from the ends of the earth to hear his discourse (iv. 34); and the purpose of the visit is expressly said to have been 'to prove him with hard questions.' We have no reason to doubt that she was a real personage, or that the visit actually took place; although it may be conjectured that its primary object was political rather than philosophical. A good understanding with Solomon was of the utmost importance for the great trading community which the queen represented, and all the more if there was a historical connexion between her mission and the Ophir expedition described in the preceding verses (cf. Glaser, loc. cit., p. 383 ff.). It is probable, therefore, that the present form of the narrative belongs to a comparatively late time, when the original significance of the event was forgotten, and only the memory of it retained as an exhibition of Solomon's wisdom and magnificence. The story naturally impressed the imagination of the later Arabs, and was worked up into a great variety of legendary and fantastic anecdotes, which it is needless to say contribute nothing to our understanding of the incident.

1. Sheba was known to Strabo and Pliny as the seat of a great commercial empire in the south-west of Arabia, having its capital at Mariaba (*Marib*), six days' journey east of the modern *Sana'a.* Its civilization and political importance are attested by the imposing ruins of Marib (see Hommel, in *Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 697, 705), as well as by numerous contemporary inscriptions and monuments. About the seventh century B. C. it seems to have overthrown an older Minaean kingdom, and stepped into its place as the leading people of Arabia. (Cf. Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 22 ff., xxxviii. 13; Isa. lx. 6; Ps. lxxii. 15: and see Winckler, *KAT*³, p. 148 ff.; Hommel, loc. cit., 728 ff.). Of the earlier history of Sheba, or its position in the days of Solomon, nothing is certainly known; nor have queens so far been discovered among the names of its rulers (Winckler, p. 150).

concerning the name of the LORD: a difficult expression. The best suggestion (though unsupported by external authority) is

prove him with hard questions. And she came to Je- 2
rusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare
spices, and very much gold, and precious stones: and
when she was come to Solomon, she communed with
him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon told her 3
all her questions: there was not any thing hid from the
king which he told her not. And when the queen of 4
Sheba had seen all the wisdom of Solomon, and the
house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and 5
the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his
ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, and his
ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD;
there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the 6
king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land
of thine acts, and of thy wisdom. Howbeit I believed 7
not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it:

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that of Klostermann, who supplements the text and reads: '[and the fame of the house which he had built] to the name of Yahweh.'

with hard questions: strictly, 'with riddles'; cf. Judges xiv. 12. So the Tyrian legend represents the intercourse between Solomon and Hiram as initiated by a similar display of wit (see on v. 1).

2. spices (or 'balsams'), **and very much gold, and precious stones:** all native products of south-west Arabia.

all that was in her heart: i. e. all the riddles she had been able to invent, or all the problems that perplexed her.

4, 5. Having proved the reality of Solomon's wisdom, the queen is now lost in admiration of the luxury and splendour which are its outward reflection. Verse 5 is apparently the description of a state-banquet.

the sitting of his servants may mean their places at table; and **the attendance of his ministers** (rather, 'waiters') the alert attitude of his personal attendants.

his ascent. Read, with marg., 'his burnt-offering . . . offered.'

there was no more spirit in her. In O. T. psychology the word *rûaḥ* (spirit) sometimes denotes the more intense manifestations of mental activity: when these are suspended the *rûaḥ* is said to depart (cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 12, &c.), although the life-principle (*nephesh*) remains. The idea is that she was quite out of herself with amazement (so LXX).

and, behold, the half was not told me: thy wisdom and
8 prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard. Happy
are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand
continually before thee, *and* that hear thy wisdom.
9 Blessed be the LORD thy God, which delighted in thee,
to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the LORD
loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do
10 judgement and justice. And she gave the king an
hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very
great store, and precious stones: there came no more
such abundance of spices as these which the queen of
11 Sheba gave to king Solomon. [**A**] And the navy also of
Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from
Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones.
12 And the king made of the almug trees pillars for the
house of the LORD, and for the king's house, harps also
and psalteries for the singers: there came no such almug
13 trees, nor were seen, unto this day. [**S**?] And king
Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire,

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8. thy men: LXX, &c., read more appropriately, 'thy wives.'

11, 12 are obviously an interpolation (perhaps a continuation of ix. 28) suggested by the last clause of verse 10, calling attention to the fact that Solomon had other means of supplying himself with the costly products of Arabia.

almug trees: better 'almug wood': mentioned only here, and (in the form 'algum') in 2 Chron. ii. 8, ix. 10, 11. It has commonly been identified with the fragrant red sandal wood, but on somewhat uncertain grounds. Glaser contends that the Styrax shrub must be meant (loc. cit., p. 358 ff.); while Cheyne finds a philological equivalent in the Babylonian *elamakku*, a tree used by Sennacherib in building his palaces (*Expository Times*, ix. 470 ff.).

12. The word rendered **pillars** is an obscure technical term, of which no satisfactory explanation has been given. 2 Chron. ix. 11 reads differently (R.V. 'terraces').

harps also and psalteries. On these musical instruments, see the Appendix to Wellhausen's translation of the Psalms, *Polychrome Bible*, p. 222 ff.

13 concludes the narrative.

whatsoever she asked, beside that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty. So she turned, and went to her own land, she and her servants.

[A] Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in 14
one year was six hundred threescore and six talents of
gold, beside *that which* the chapmen *brought*, and the 15
traffic of the merchants, and of all the kings of the
mingled people, and of the governors of the country.
And king Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten 16

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beside that which . . . bounty. The margin shows that there is some irregularity in the text, due perhaps to the intrusion of a gloss. The general sense, however, is correctly expressed by R. V.

x. 14–29. *Further Notices of Solomon's Wealth and Grandeur.* See the note on ix. 15–28 above. The present section resumes the annalistic account of Solomon's affairs, which is interrupted by the episode of the queen of Sheba.

x. 14, 15. *Solomon's Revenue.* (Cf. 2 Chron. ix. 13, 14.) The income of a single year is stated at the almost incredible figure of 666 talents of gold (about £4,100,000 in *weight*), exclusive of certain tolls and other obscurely indicated sources of revenue. The revenue must have fluctuated greatly from year to year; and the figures of verse 14 may be supposed to be taken from the inflated budget of some abnormally prosperous year.

15. beside that which **the chapmen** brought. The sense is hopelessly obscure. The chief difficulty lies in the word rendered 'chapmen' (*tûrîm* = spies ?), of which no acceptable explanation has been suggested. The LXX reads, 'besides the tribute of the subjects,' intelligible enough in itself, but throwing little light on the Hebrew. Leaving the word *tûrîm* untranslated, we might construe as follows: 'besides what came in from the . . . and from the commerce of the merchants and all the kings,' &c. (so virtually Kittel). There is plainly an allusion to a tariff levied on the commerce carried on within Solomon's sphere of influence.

of the mingled people. Read, as in 2 Chron. ix. 14, 'of Arabia.'

governors, *satraps*, is an Assyrian loan-word, rarely (if ever) used by pre-Exilic writers (see xx. 24, 2 Kings xviii. 24). The verse may therefore be of late origin.

x. 16, 17. *The Shields of Gold.* (Cf. 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16.)

gold: six hundred *shekels* of gold went to one target.
17 And *he made* three hundred shields of beaten gold;
three pound of gold went to one shield: and the king
18 put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon. More-
over the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid
19 it with the finest gold. There were six steps to the
throne, and the top of the throne was round behind:
and there were stays on either side by the place of the
20 seat, and two lions standing beside the stays. And twelve

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200 large and 300 small shields are made of beaten gold, and placed in the house of the Forest of Lebanon. From xiv. 26-28 we learn that these costly weapons were borne by the royal body-guard on ceremonial occasions, as when the king visited the temple.

16. targets (Heb. *ẓinnāh*), i. e. large oblong shields, protecting the whole body of the warrior, like the Roman *scutum*. The weight of gold on each shield is about 20 lb.

17. shields. The word here used (*māgēn*) denotes the small round shield, the *clipeus* of the Romans. The **pound** (*maneh*) was equal to either sixty or (more probably) fifty shekels; hence the gold in each small shield was about one-fourth of that in the larger.

x. 18-20. *The Ivory Throne.* (Cf. 2 Chron. ix. 17-19.)

18. A throne of ivory does not mean one made entirely of ivory, any more than an ivory palace (xxii. 39, Amos iii. 15, Ps. xlv. 8) is a house built of that material. Nor need we suppose that the costly ivory was completely covered by the gold. What is meant is no doubt a piece of furniture of which some parts were veneered with ivory and other parts plated with gold.

the finest gold. Some ancient versions read: 'gold from Ophir.' The doubtful word occurs nowhere else; 2 Chron. ix. 17 substitutes the ordinary word for 'pure.'

19. the top of the throne . . .: better, 'the throne had a rounded top behind.' The text has had a curious and instructive history. The LXX read *'āgōl* (round) as *'ēgel* (calf), and rendered 'calves' heads' (which, by the way, is accepted as the true reading by the majority of commentators). Then another scribe took offence at *'ēgel* because it reminded him of Jeroboam's golden calves, and substituted 'lambs' (*kebes*). Ultimately *kebes* was changed to *kebesh* (= footstool), as we have it in 2 Chron. ix. 18, along with other modifications demanded by the new sense.

stays: *lit.* 'hands' (as marg.); i. e. supports for the arms.

lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any kingdom.
[**Z**] And all king Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, 21
and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold: none were of silver; it was nothing
accounted of in the days of Solomon. For the king had 22
at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram: once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing
gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks. So 23
king Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth in
riches and in wisdom. And all the earth sought the 24

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20. there is better omitted, as in the LXX.

x. 21, 22. *Depreciation of Silver caused by Solomon's commercial ventures.* (Cf. 2 Chron. ix. 20, 21.)

22. a navy of Tarshish: i. e. a fleet of large sea-going vessels, such as the Phoenicians employed for the voyage to Tarshish (Tartessus) on the Guadalquivir in Spain. Such ships were the 'East Indiamen' of the ancient world. Although Ophir is not here mentioned as the destination of the ships, there can be no doubt that the reference is to the expedition described in ix. 26–28; cf. xxii. 48. The expression was misunderstood by the chronicler, who not unnaturally thought that the fleet actually sailed to Tarshish.

once every three years. See on ix. 28.

ivory: Heb. *shenḥabbîm*; LXX, 'elephants' tusks' (in 2 Chron. ix. 21). The common word for ivory is simply *shēn* (= tooth); hence it has been conjectured, but without much plausibility, that *ḥabbîm* is a foreign name for elephants.

apes, and peacocks. The names (*ḳôphîm* and *tukkiyyîm*) are supposed to be of Indian origin; and the peacocks, at all events, could only have come from that country. Winckler, however, (*KAT*^{3}, p. 238) proposes to read *sukkiyyîm* (= negroes, as 2 Chron. xii. 3); in which case the 'ivory, apes and negroes' might all be native African products, which the ships could have picked up while waiting for a favourable wind off the Somali coast. The text was too difficult for the LXX translators, who render 'stones wrought and hewn.'

x. 23–25. *Solomon the foremost Monarch of his time.* (Cf. 2 Chron. ix. 22–24.) The idealization of Solomon's power and splendour here reaches its acme. Not only does he excel all the

presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God
25 had put in his heart. And they brought every man his
present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment,
and armour, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year
26 by year. [A] And Solomon gathered together chariots
and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he
bestowed in the chariot cities, and with the king at
27 Jerusalem. [Z] And the king made silver to be in
Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as the
sycomore trees that are in the lowland, for abundance.
28 [A] And the horses which Solomon had were brought

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kings of the earth in wisdom, and wealth, and pomp; but they all acknowledge his superiority, and pay him homage with rich presents year by year. There is something almost Messianic in this conception of a king of Israel ruling the whole world, not by force of arms, but by the spell of his personality and the glamour of a success which marks him out as the favourite of heaven. The description must be of late date; but it is very instructive as showing the manner in which the national consciousness was influenced and uplifted by the Solomonic tradition.

x. 26-29. *Solomon's Horses and Chariots.* (Cf. 2 Chron. i. 14-17, ix. 25-28.) This concluding notice rests on authentic data, although the original connexion has been disturbed by the insertion of verse 27. It gives an account, *first* of the horses and chariots provided by Solomon for his own use, *then* of the manner in which they were procured, and *lastly* of the foreign trade in these articles which sprang up, and was managed by Solomon's agents. There is an evident allusion to this passage in Deut. xvii. 16, where the king of Israel is warned not to go back to Egypt for the purpose of multiplying horses.

26. The text has been very freely handled in the course of transmission, as is seen from a comparison with iv. 26, the two parallels in 2 Chronicles, and the LXX version of the various passages. Lucian's LXX goes so far as to make the verse say that Solomon kept forty thousand mares for breeding (similarly LXX (B) in ii. 46[1]).

27. in the lowland: 'in the Shephēlāh'; see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 201 ff.

28. Read, 'Now the export of Solomon's horses was from out of Egypt; and the king's merchants received them in droves, each drove at a price. And a chariot came 29 up and went out of Egypt for six hundred *shekels* of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means.

[**D**] Now king Solomon loved many strange women, **11**

Muzri and from Ḳuĕ; the king's dealers brought them from Ḳuĕ for cash.' The important emendation—'from Muzri and from Ḳuĕ'—is mainly due to the investigation of Winckler (see *KAT*³, p. 238); although the reading 'from Ḳuĕ' is supported by the Vulgate (*de Coa*) and other authorities, and had been anticipated by Lenormant. The countries named are now identified by Winckler with Cappadocia and Cilicia respectively, lying north and south of the Taurus range between Asia Minor and Syria. From this region the Persians of a later time are said to have obtained their horses; and the neighbouring Togarmah is the only horse-breeding district mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 14) in his elaborate survey of the commerce of Tyre. The name *Muẓri* was easily confounded with *Miẓraim* (= Egypt). From Egypt, on the contrary, there seems never to have been any considerable export of horses.

29. Egypt. Read, as before, *Muẓri.* The prices are given differently by the LXX: viz. a chariot one hundred shekels and a horse fifty shekels. The silver shekel *weighed* a little more than half a crown of our money; but it must again be borne in mind that this conveys absolutely no idea of its purchasing price.

did they bring them out. Render, with LXX, 'were they exported.' The meaning would seem to be that Solomon bought at the same rate as the kings of the Hittites and of Syria. But for the expression **by their means,** which seems to refer to Solomon's dealers, we should hardly gather that this foreign trade passed through Hebrew hands.

xi. *The Troubles of Solomon's Reign.*

The chapter consists of two parts: (1) a recital of Solomon's religious delinquencies, followed by a threat of Divine judgement, verses 1–13; and (2) a record of the political troubles which clouded the prosperity of his reign, and were ominous of greater disasters in the future, verses 14–40. At first sight it might appear as if these two were related as cause and effect, or as sin and penalty; but a closer examination shows that this is neither true together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the

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in fact nor directly asserted by the compiler of the book. For it is expressly said on the one hand that Solomon's apostasy took place in his old age (verse 4), and, on the other, that the evils described in verses 14 ff. affected the whole of his reign (see verses 21 f., 25, 27). It is therefore incredible that the latter should be represented as the consequence of the former. Moreover, the compiler limits the punishment on Solomon's sin to the disruption of the kingdom (verse 11), which was an event still future, although no doubt the quarrel with Jeroboam was a providential preparation for it. Further light is thrown on the matter when we observe that the bulk of verses 14 ff. is taken from ancient historical sources; while verses 1–13 are almost wholly Deuteronomic. The matter thus resolves itself into a question of literary arrangement. The compiler is responsible for the *plan* which leads him to select from his sources the bright features of Solomon's reign and put these in the foreground, and then to crowd all the darker features into a few pages at the close. But he is not to be charged with the absurdity of presenting these disasters as the punishment of an offence not yet committed.

xi. 1–13. *Solomon's Polygamy and Apostasy.* In his old age Solomon allows his heart to be turned aside to idolatry by his too numerous foreign wives, whose impure cults he fosters by erecting sanctuaries to their deities in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The Lord then speaks to him, and announces the dismemberment of the kingdom after his death, as the consequence of his unfaithfulness. Such is the argument of the section in its present form, which, as has been said, it owes to the Deuteronomic compiler. It is possible, with the help of the LXX, to recognize some traces of the original account, which briefly recorded the polygamy of Solomon and the erection of heathen shrines as historical facts, but without the comment of censure by which they are now accompanied. To this earlier document we may perhaps assign verses 1 ^{a} and 7; but to reconstruct it as a consecutive narrative is an utterly hopeless undertaking.

1. The LXX opens more forcibly: 'Now Solomon was fond of women. And he had seven hundred princesses, and three hundred concubines. And he took foreign wives,' &c. Of these sentences, the second appears to be a gloss which has crept into the text in different places in the LXX and the Hebrew. The list of foreign nations which follows is given somewhat differently in the LXX.

together with . . . Pharaoh: referring back to iii. 1; the words are, however, quite possibly an interpolation, since the connexion is peculiar in form.

Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites;
of the nations concerning which the LORD said unto the 2
children of Israel, Ye shall not go among them, neither
shall they come among you: for surely they will turn
away your heart after their gods: Solomon clave unto
these in love. And he had seven hundred wives, prin- 3
cesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives
turned away his heart. For it came to pass, when 4
Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart
after other gods: and his heart was not perfect with the
LORD his God, as was the heart of David his father.
For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the 5
Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the
Ammonites. And Solomon did that which was evil in 6
the sight of the LORD, and went not fully after the LORD,
as did David his father. Then did Solomon build an 7
high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, in
the mount that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech the

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2. come among you: i. e. have intercourse with you; cf. Joshua xxiii. 7 ff.

4. perfect with: cf. viii. 61, xv. 3, 14.

5. Ashtoreth, or Astarte, perhaps the most widely worshipped of the Semitic deities, and the original of the Greek Aphrodite, appears in many characters and in both sexes. As Istar among the Babylonians, and particularly the Assyrians, she appears very prominently as a war-goddess; but among the Phoenicians and Canaanites she was the female consort of Baal, and the goddess of fertility and sexual love. See Driver, in *DB*, i. p. 167 ff. Why she is called here specially **the goddess of the Zidonians** is not quite clear.

Milcom. See on verse 7.

abomination: cf. Deut. xxvii. 15, xxix. 17.

6. went not fully after: as Num. xiv. 24, xxxii. 12; Deut. i. 36.

7. Then. See on iii. 16. The idiom seems to indicate that the verse (apart from glosses), belongs to the primary source, though the word **abomination** has been substituted for the neutral 'god,' which was read by the LXX.

Chemosh and **Molech:** the national gods of the Moabites

8 abomination of the children of Ammon. And so did
he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and
sacrificed unto their gods.

9 And the LORD was angry with Solomon, because his
heart was turned away from the LORD, the God of Israel,
10 which had appeared unto him twice, and had commanded
him concerning this thing, that he should not go after
other gods: but he kept not that which the LORD com-
11 manded. Wherefore the LORD said unto Solomon,
Forasmuch as this is done of thee, and thou hast not
kept my covenant and my statutes, which I have com-
manded thee, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee,
12 and will give it to thy servant. Notwithstanding in thy
days I will not do it, for David thy father's sake: but
13 I will rend it out of the hand of thy son. Howbeit I
will not rend away all the kingdom; but I will give one
tribe to thy son, for David my servant's sake, and for
Jerusalem's sake which I have chosen.

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and Ammonites respectively. The former is named in that capacity on the Moabite Stone; the latter word means 'king,' and should be pronounced *Melek* or *Milk*, of which *Milcom* (verse 5) is a byform.

the mount is the Mount of Olives; and **before** means 'on the east side of.' This clause, however, is wanting in the LXX, and was probably added by a later hand.

8. which burned incense. Read, with LXX (L), 'burning and sacrificing to their gods': the subject of the verbs is Solomon himself.

9. was angry: as Deut. i. 37, iv. 21, ix. 8, 20.

appeared . . . twice: iii. 5-15 and ix. 1-9. But only on the second occasion was the warning against idolatry given, and then not addressed to Solomon personally, but to Israel generally.

12. In the O. T. the postponement of a calamity is always regarded as an exercise of clemency on the part of God: see xxi. 29.

13. one tribe. See on verse 33.

[S] And the Lord raised up an adversary unto 14
Solomon, Hadad the Edomite: he was of the king's seed
in Edom. For it came to pass, when David was in 15
Edom, and Joab the captain of the host was gone up to
bury the slain, and had smitten every male in Edom;

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xi. 14-22 (+ 25^{b}). *The Adventures of Hadad the Edomite.* An examination of this passage by Winckler (*Alttest. Unters.*, pp. 1–15) has made it highly probable that two ancient and independent narratives are here interwoven. (*a*) In one account Hadad is a member of the royal family of Edom, who when a little child was saved from a great massacre of Edomites by David, and brought to Egypt. There he was adopted by Tahpenes, the wife of Pharaoh, who brought him up with her own children. When he had reached manhood he heard of the death of David, and obtained permission to return to his own land, where he became king (verses 14, $15^{a}\alpha$, ${}^{b}\beta$, 17^{b}, ${}^{a}\beta$, 19, $20^{a}\beta$, ${}^{b}\beta$, 21, 22, 25^{b}). (*b*) In the other account Adad is a grown man who with a band of Edomites flees from an invading army under Joab, first to Midian, then to Paran, and ultimately to Egypt. Pharaoh there receives him with every mark of honour, and marries him to the sister of the queen Tahpenes; and the son she bears to him, Genubath, is reared in the palace (verses $15^{a}\beta$, 16^{a}, $17^{a}\alpha\gamma$, 18, 19^{b}, $20^{a}\alpha$, ${}^{b}\alpha\beta$). The relation of the two narratives to one another is uncertain. Winckler's view is that the Adad of (*b*), as distinct from the Hadad of (*a*), was a Midianite; and that his son Genubath afterwards reigned in Midian, as Hadad did in Edom. It is not impossible, however, that they are but two versions of the same incident, the escape and return of the Edomite prince. Although we believe the above analysis to be essentially sound, we must forgo the attempt to vindicate it within the narrow compass of the notes. (See Burney, p. 157 ff.)

14. The introductory verse may have been written by the compiler of Kings.

an adversary: Heb. *sātān*, a name frequently applied in the O. T. to a human opponent, and only in three passages to the great enemy and tempter of mankind (Job i, ii; Zech. iii. 1, 2; 1 Chron. xxi. 1).

15, 16. On David's subjugation of Edom see 2 Sam. viii. 13 (R. V. marg.). For **was in Edom** read 'smote Edom'; or (with LXX) 'extirpated Edom.' The expression **to bury the slain** presupposes some great defeat of the Israelites, the record of which has been entirely lost. In revenge for this an army under Joab occupied the country for six months, until they had extirpated the male population.

16 (for Joab and all Israel remained there six months, until
17 he had cut off every male in Edom;) that Hadad fled,
he and certain Edomites of his father's servants with him,
18 to go into Egypt; Hadad being yet a little child. And
they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran: and they
took men with them out of Paran, and they came to
Egypt, unto Pharaoh king of Egypt; which gave him
an house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him
19 land. And Hadad found great favour in the sight of
Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his
20 own wife, the sister of Tahpenes the queen. And the
sister of Tahpenes bare him Genubath his son, whom
Tahpenes weaned in Pharaoh's house: and Genubath

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17. Hadad. In this instance alone the Hebrew text reads *'Adad.* This might, of course, be a scribal error; but it may also be an indication of diversity of authorship. For **to go into Egypt** LXX has 'and came to Egypt.'

a little child. The incongruity of this notice with what follows in verse 18 f. is apparent.

18. they arose out of Midian. Midian is quite off the route from Edom to Egypt; to save the consistency of the narrative it would be almost necessary to substitute Midian for Egypt in verse 17. But the real explanation doubtless lies in the composite structure of the passage.

Paran is the name of the great wilderness lying between the Sinaitic peninsula, Edom and Palestine. The reason for these devious wanderings of the fugitives is left unexplained.

19. The awkward style of the latter part of the verse is surprising on any view of the origin of the passage. It is probable that the proper name of the princess married to Hadad is disguised in the first occurrence of the word for **sister,** and has been preserved in a similar notice inserted by the LXX in the history of Jeroboam (xii. 24^e). Many commentators accordingly read *'Anôth* for *'ăhôth* (sister); and Kittel, who defends the integrity of the narrative, renders: 'gave him Anoth the elder (so LXX) sister of his wife Tahpenes.' But the real source of the confusion probably lies again in the dual narrative.

20. weaned. Read, with LXX, 'reared.' Note the double statement in the verse as to the education of a boy with the royal family. In the original documents the first of them presumably referred to the infant Hadad and the second to Genubath.

was in Pharaoh's house among the sons of Pharaoh.
And when Hadad heard in Egypt that David slept with 21
his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host was
dead, Hadad said to Pharaoh, Let me depart, that I may
go to mine own country. Then Pharaoh said unto him, 22
But what hast thou lacked with me, that, behold, thou
seekest to go to thine own country? And he answered,
Nothing: howbeit let me depart in any wise.

And God raised up *another* adversary unto him, Rezon 23
the son of Eliada, which had fled from his lord Hadadezer
king of Zobah: and he gathered men unto him, and 24
became captain over a troop, when David slew them

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22. The abrupt ending of the Hebrew misses the whole point of the story. Fortunately, the original conclusion has been preserved intact by the LXX. After verse 22 we have to read: 'And Hadad returned to his country. This is the evil that Hadad did; and he oppressed Israel, and reigned over Edom.' The last sentence is found in the Hebrew at the close of the Rezon story, where it is entirely out of place (see verse 25); and in order to adjust it to its new connexion Edom was changed to 'Aram' (Syria). In the LXX the Rezon episode is thrust into the middle of verse 14. It looks as if it had been a later addition to the chapter, which in both recensions has violently disturbed the context.

xi. 23–25ª. *Rezon the Aramaean.* The career of this northern adventurer is more briefly narrated, but was of even more fatal import for the future of Israel than that of Hadad. Rezon was a servant of Hadadezer of Zobah, and found his opportunity when David crushed that petty Syrian state. He became for a time a captain of banditti; but eventually captured Damascus and established himself there as king. What is here recorded appears to be nothing less than the foundation of the powerful Aramaean kingdom of Damascus, which was destined to be the most formidable rival and enemy of Israel during the next two centuries, till it was crushed by the advance of the Assyrians.

23. Zobah. On David's conquest of this kingdom, and its previous relations with Damascus and Ammon, see 2 Sam. viii. 3 ff., x. 1–14: cf. Winckler's *Gesch. Israels*, i. p. 138 ff.

24. captain over a troop: or 'roving band' (cf. 2 Sam. iv. 2), i. e. a bandit chieftain, as David had once been.

of Zobah: and they went to Damascus, and dwelt therein,
25 and reigned in Damascus. And he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon, beside the mischief that Hadad *did*: and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Syria.

26 [KI] And Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephraimite of Zeredah, a servant of Solomon, whose mother's name

when David . . . Zobah. These words are wanting in the LXX, and are probably a gloss to verse 23.

they went to Damascus: better, as LXX, 'he captured Damascus' (by surprise), with the two following verbs in sing. (LXX (L)).

25. an adversary to . . . Solomon: the natural conclusion of the narrative. Thus a second large tract of territory was detached from the Davidic empire.

On the remainder of the verse see above on verse 22. **beside** is a slight corruption of the original 'This[1].'

xi. 26–40. *The Antecedents of Jeroboam.* Jeroboam, the future leader of the northern tribes, comes on the scene as a young Ephraimite of lowly origin who had entered the royal service. During the building of the Millo Solomon observed his ability, and promoted him to the difficult post of overseer of the labour-bands of Ephraim. Soon afterwards the prophet Ahijah came across his path, and forecast his future eminence, doubtless implanting the seeds of disaffection in his ambitious mind. The affair came to the knowledge of Solomon, who sought to put him out of the way; but Jeroboam found protection with Shishak, king of Egypt, till Solomon's death. The first portion of the narrative and its conclusion (verses 26–31, 40) belong to an ancient source, of which xii. 1–20 is probably the continuation. Verses 32–39, on the other hand, are full of Deuteronomic phraseology, and are in the main from the hand of the compiler. This has caused a lacuna in the original version of the narrative, which may perhaps partly be supplied from a parallel history of Jeroboam preserved by the LXX in xii. 24^{a-z}. But the treatment of the story of Jeroboam in the LXX is very peculiar, and raises a literary problem of great perplexity; see Appendix, Note II.

26. Zeredah, the birthplace of Jeroboam, is mentioned only

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[1] *Read* זֹאת *for* וְאֵת.

was Zeruah, a widow woman, he also lifted up his hand
against the king. And this was the cause that he lifted 27
up his hand against the king: Solomon built Millo, and
repaired the breach of the city of David his father. And 28
the man Jeroboam was a mighty man of valour: and
Solomon saw the young man that he was industrious,
and he gave him charge over all the labour of the house
of Joseph. And it came to pass at that time, when 29
Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem, that the prophet Ahijah
the Shilonite found him in the way; now *Ahijah* had clad
himself with a new garment; and they two were alone
in the field. And Ahijah laid hold of the new garment 30
that was on him, and rent it in twelve pieces. And he 31

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here in the Hebrew: LXX always reads *Sareira*, and says it was 'in the mountain of Ephraim.' The locality has not been identified.

whose mother's name . . . woman. Read, with LXX, 'the son of a widow woman.' *Zerû'ah* means 'leprous,' and was no doubt invented to express the hatred of the later Jews towards the maker of the golden calves. For the same reason she is called a harlot in the duplicate narrative of the LXX (xii. 24^b).

27. this was the cause that: or, 'these were the circumstances under which,' &c.

built the Millo: see on ix. 15.

and repaired: better, 'closing up the breach,' &c.

28. a mighty man: a capable man; see on i. 42.

industrious: *lit.* 'a doer of work,' a man of push and intelligence who got things carried through.

the labour: or, 'burden.' The word undoubtedly denotes the forced labour of v. 13, ix. 15, 23; though the technical term (*mas*) of the annalistic sources is not employed.

29. Ahijah the Shilonite: a native of Shiloh, the modern *Seilun*, north of Beth-el, which was therefore still at this time an inhabited place: cf. Jer. xli. 5 with vii. 12 ff.

found him in the way: LXX adds rightly, 'and took him aside from the way'; see the last clause of the verse, and cf. 1 Sam. ix. 27.

a new garment: put on by the prophet for the purpose of the symbolical act about to be performed.

30. rent it in twelve pieces: symbolizing the twelve tribes of Israel. Twelve was the ideal fixed number of the tribes, which

said to Jeroboam, Take thee ten pieces: for thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold, I will rend the
32 kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee: [**D**] (but he shall have one tribe, for my servant David's sake, and for Jerusalem's sake, the city which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel:)
33 because that they have forsaken me, and have worshipped Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, Chemosh the god of Moab, and Milcom the god of the children of Ammon; and they have not walked in my ways, to do that which is right in mine eyes, and *to keep* my statutes
34 and my judgements, as did David his father. Howbeit I will not take the whole kingdom out of his hand: but

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expressed the unity of the nation. The enumeration varied according as Ephraim and Manasseh were reckoned as one tribe (Joseph) or two: in the latter case, the landless tribe of Levi was excluded from the number. Here the old document assigns ten tribes to Jeroboam, and therefore (apparently) leaves to Solomon's son the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin. In verses 32, 36, however, only one tribe (Judah) is left to the house of David; and this view is shown to be historically accurate by xii. 20. The difficulty cannot be quite satisfactorily explained. It would be easy to imagine an enumeration which gave only ten tribes to Jeroboam and left one to David; but no ingenuity can make out that 10 + 1 = 12.

32. See verse 13. The Deuteronomic addition commences here: cf. the last clause with Deut. xii. 5, 11, xiv. 23, xv. 20, &c.; and 1 Kings viii. 16, xiv. 21; 2 Kings xxi. 7. The compiler's hand is manifest in the phrases **for my servant David's sake** (verses 12 f., xv. 4; 2 Kings viii. 19, xix. 34, xx. 6) and **chosen out of all the tribes of Israel** (see the passages just cited).

33. On **Ashtoreth, Chemosh,** and **Milcom,** see verses 5, 7.

34. the whole kingdom. The proper antithesis to this is the 'one tribe' of verse 36. The mitigation of Solomon's punishment is twofold: (*a*) I will not take the kingdom out of *his* hand, but out of the hand of his son; and (*b*) I will not take away the *whole* kingdom, but will leave one tribe. In the text the two points are somewhat awkwardly confused, but it is scarcely advisable to smooth away the irregularity by omitting the word 'whole.'

I will make him prince all the days of his life, for David my servant's sake, whom I chose, because he kept my commandments and my statutes: but I will take the 35
kingdom out of his son's hand, and will give it unto thee, even ten tribes. And unto his son will I give one tribe, 36
that David my servant may have a lamp alway before me in Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen me to put my name there. And I will take thee, and thou 37
shalt reign according to all that thy soul desireth, and shalt be king over Israel. And it shall be, if thou wilt 38
hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my ways, and do that which is right in mine eyes, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as David my servant did; that I will be with thee, and will build thee a sure house, as I built for David, and will give Israel unto thee. And I will for this afflict the seed of David, 39

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35. even ten tribes. Read, 'the ten tribes.' The definite article suggests that the expression had come to be used as a standing designation of the northern kingdom.

36. may have a lamp alway: cf. xv. 4; 2 Kings viii. 19; 2 Chron. xxi. 7: and for the figure, Job xviii. 6; Prov. xiii. 9, xx. 20; Jer. xxv. 10. The image is taken from the custom of keeping a lamp constantly burning in the tent or house, a custom said to be observed by the Fellaheen of Palestine at the present day. The extinction of the light signifies the breaking up of the home and the destruction of the family.

37. king over Israel: in the narrower (and older) sense, as contrasted with Judah.

38. will build thee a sure house. Jeroboam has the making or marring of the dynasty in his hands; if he emulates the piety of David his kingdom may be equally permanent. The words are written, however, from the standpoint of an age which looks back on the establishment of David's house as an accomplished fact, and knows that the religious conditions had not been fulfilled by Jeroboam. The last words, **and will give Israel unto thee,** are to be deleted, along with the whole of verse 39, as the interpolation of a later reader. The clauses are wanting in the LXX.

40 but not for ever. [**KI**] Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam: but Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon.

41 [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book
42 of the acts of Solomon? And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years.
43 And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.

12 [**KI**] And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel

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40 concludes the original account of Jeroboam's rupture with Solomon. On the additional particulars recorded in the parallel of the LXX, see Appendix, Note II.

Shishak king of Egypt: see on xiv. 25 ff.

xi. 41–43. *Editorial Notice of Solomon's Death.* An instalment of the 'framework' of the compiler: see Introd., p. 10 ff.

41. On **the book of the acts of Solomon** see Introd., p. 25; and the note on ch. iii–xi, p. 82.

42. The notice of the duration of reign belongs properly to the introductory formula; but that was in the case of Solomon incomplete.

43. See on ii. 10. Between the mention of Solomon's burial and Rehoboam's accession the LXX inserts a notice of Jeroboam's return from Egypt to his native town of Sareira, in the following terms: 'And when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard it—he being still in Egypt, whither he had fled from the face of Solomon, and had dwelt in Egypt—he returned and went to his city Sareira, which is in Mount Ephraim; and king Solomon slept with his fathers.' See further on xii. 2, and Appendix, Note II.

HISTORY OF THE DIVIDED MONARCHY.

1 Kings xii—2 Kings xvii.

xii. 1—xiv. 20. *Jeroboam I of Israel.*

xii. 1–20. *The Revolt of the Northern Tribes.* The narrative opens abruptly with the mention of Rehoboam's visit to Shechem, where a national assembly had been convened, under circumstances which are not related, for the purpose of confirming his succession.

were come to Shechem to make him king. And it came 2
to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard of it,

A deputation waits on the new monarch, and tenders him the allegiance of the people, but only on condition that the oppressive yoke of Solomon's government is lightened; and Rehoboam promises an answer at the end of three days. Having meanwhile taken counsel, first with the experienced statesmen who had stood round the throne of his father, and then with his own juvenile and foolish companions, he decides to follow the reckless advice of the latter: he accordingly meets the people on the third day with an arrogant and contemptuous refusal of their demands. The insolent bearing of the king rouses the spirit of the tribesmen, who renounce allegiance to the house of David; and give an earnest of the temper they are in by stoning to death the hated minister of the *corvée.* Rehoboam flees in hot haste to Jerusalem; and the assembly proceeds to the election of a king, its choice naturally falling on Jeroboam who has just returned from Egypt. At this point, however, the ancient cleavage between north and south declares itself: the tribe of Judah remains faithful to the Davidic dynasty, while Jeroboam establishes his dominion over the more independent and vigorous tribes of the north.

The first impression produced by this narrative is that its author was in sympathy with the revolt, and therefore presumably a native of north Israel. That impression is confirmed by the fact that the writer acquiesces, as a Judaean chronicler would scarcely have done, in the idea that the nation had still the right to elect its own sovereign (see p. 57 f.). The conclusion may not be absolutely certain; the passage displays something of the same neutral and dispassionate treatment of events which we have observed in ch. i, ii. There are, indeed, some unmistakable literary affinities with 2 Sam. ix–xx, which have led Wellhausen and others to attribute it, if not to the same author, at least to one who, like him, belonged to the southern kingdom. We have no assurance, however, that 2 Sam. ix–xx, 1 Kings i, ii was written by a Judaean; and, on the whole, it seems probable that both here and in xi. 26 ff. we have an extract from the chronicles of the Kings of Israel, whose author was acquainted with the 'Court History' of 2 Sam. ix ff. The phrase 'unto this day' in verse 19 shows that it is not contemporary with the incidents related. See further, Appendix, p. 446.

1. Shechem: now *Nābulus*, at the north-east foot of Mount Gerizim. From the days of the patriarchs downwards Shechem was both religiously and politically one of the most important cities in O. T. history, and was afterwards selected by Jeroboam as the capital of his kingdom (verse 25).

(for he was yet in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of king Solomon, and Jeroboam dwelt in Egypt,
3 and they sent and called him;) that Jeroboam and all the congregation of Israel came, and spake unto Re-
4 hoboam, saying, Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter,
5 and we will serve thee. And he said unto them, Depart yet for three days, then come again to me. And the people
6 departed. And king Rehoboam took counsel with the old men, that had stood before Solomon his father while he yet lived, saying, What counsel give ye me to return

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all . . . Israel: including Judah. The idea seems to be that the demand for the redress of grievances came from the whole nation; it was only when they came to the election of a king that the schism between Israel and Judah appeared (verse 20). The original document must have contained some explanation of the reasons which led to this extraordinary convention. The parallel account of the LXX (xx. 24 ^{n}) says the assembly was convened by Jeroboam, who had returned from Egypt and fortified himself in his native town of Sareira (24 ^{f}). The explanation is in itself intelligible; but it is irreconcileable with the presuppositions of this narrative (see on verse 20).

2, 3 ^{a} (to 'came') ought to be omitted, with LXX. Verse 2 is inserted by the LXX in a still more unsuitable place (see on xi. 43); but the truth is that the notice does not belong to the present narrative at all. The fact of Jeroboam's return is, of course, assumed; but he takes no part in the proceedings.

3 ^{b}. Read, accordingly, 'and they spake'; or, as LXX, 'and the people spake.'

4. made our yoke grievous. The yoke is a natural emblem of servitude, which may be easy and reasonable (as Jer. v. 5, Matt. xi. 30), or (more commonly) galling and intolerable (Deut. xxviii. 48; Isa. ix. 4; Jer. xxviii. 14, and often). The people do not here ask for an entire remission of their burdens, but only for a relaxation of the more oppressive imposts and services—the taxation and forced labour that were crushing the life out of them.

5. yet for three days: better, as LXX, 'until (the end of) three days.'

answer to this people? And they spake unto him, saying, 7
If thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and
wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words
to them, then they will be thy servants for ever. But he 8
forsook the counsel of the old men which they had given
him, and took counsel with the young men that were
grown up with him, that stood before him. And he said 9
unto them, What counsel give ye, that we may return
answer to this people, who have spoken to me, saying,
Make the yoke that thy father did put upon us lighter?
And the young men that were grown up with him spake 10
unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou say unto this people
that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke
heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou
speak unto them, My little finger is thicker than my
father's loins. And now whereas my father did lade you 11
with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father
chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with
scorpions. So Jeroboam and all the people came to 12
Rehoboam the third day, as the king bade, saying, Come

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7. wilt be a servant . . . they will be thy servants. The counsel of the old men does not seem to look beyond the exigencies of the moment; they recommend a politic and conciliatory answer, but not necessarily a considerate administration.

8. the young men: *lit.* 'boys'—a contemptuous and hyperbolical expression, which is surprising if Rehoboam was at the time forty-one years of age (xiv. 21). The parallel in LXX (B) (xii. 24 a) makes him, however, only sixteen at his accession.

10, 11. The two metaphors—the little finger thicker than the loins, and scorpions as contrasted with whips—were of a kind to live in the memory of a high-spirited and liberty-loving people.

scorpions. The same name is said to have been given by the Romans to an implement of flagellation. It is described by Ephrem Syrus as a long bag of leather, stuffed with sand, and provided with spikes (Thenius).

12. Omit **Jeroboam,** and read with LXX, 'And all Israel came' (see above on verses 2, 3).

13 to me again the third day. And the king answered the people roughly, and forsook the counsel of the old men
14 which they had given him; and spake to them after the counsel of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.
15 So the king hearkened not unto the people; for it was a thing brought about of the LORD, that he might establish his word, which the LORD spake by the hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the son of Nebat.
16 And when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their
17 tents. [**Z**] But as for the children of Israel which dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned over them.
18 [**KI**] Then king Rehoboam sent Adoram, who was over

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15. a thing brought about: Heb. 'a turn'—of Providence; as we speak of 'a turn of fortune.'

16. What portion have we? Cf. 2 Sam. xx. 1, where the war-cry is sounded in almost identical terms by Sheba the Benjamite, when he headed the last great revolt of Israelites against the Davidic monarchy. The expression **to your tents, O Israel** is doubtless a reminiscence of the nomadic life; and it is tempting to suppose that it means to take the field in readiness for a campaign. But no evidence can be found in support of this interpretation; the tent is always simply a synonym for the private dwelling, and therefore we must understand the phrase here as a signal for dispersion, and refusal to obey the call to united action. Hence the last clause, **So Israel departed unto their tents,** is either a gloss, or it describes the final upshot of the proceedings.

17 is a late interpolation which is wanting in the LXX: it is perhaps based on the representation of 2 Chron. xi. 16 f., where we read that pious Israelites from the north became naturalized in Judah, in order to worship God according to the law.

18. Adoram (= Adoniram), **who was over the levy.** See on iv. 6, and v. 14. The sending of this unpopular official to quell the levy; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. And king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem. So Israel rebelled 19 against the house of David, unto this day. And it came 20 to pass, when all Israel heard that Jeroboam was returned, that they sent and called him unto the congregation, and made him king over all Israel: there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only.

[**D**?] And when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, 21

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the revolt shows how little Rehoboam and his youthful advisers understood the gravity of the situation. Only a speedy flight saves Rehoboam from the infuriated people.

19. unto this day. The event was long remembered as the greatest disaster that had ever befallen the house of David: Isa. vii. 17.

20. Jeroboam may have been pulling the wires behind the scenes, but it is only now, and probably after some little interval, that he steps on to the stage and attains the goal of his ambition.

the tribe of Judah only. The LXX adds, 'and Benjamin,' in accordance with verses 21, 23; but there can be no doubt that the Hebrew represents the older and more accurate tradition. Jerusalem was in the territory of Benjamin, and some Benjamite families must have been incorporated in the southern kingdom; but the *tribe* of Benjamin as a whole went with the north. See on xi. 30.

xii. 21-24. *Civil War averted by a Prophet's Message.* Rehoboam's first concern is to recover by force what his ill-advised action had lost. On his return to Jerusalem he sets about raising a great army in order to subdue his rebellious subjects. But the enterprise is at once abandoned at the instance of the prophet Shemaiah, who shows that it is contrary to the will of Yahweh. The verses are clearly not homogeneous with the preceding section—contrast the inclusion of Benjamin in Rehoboam's kingdom with the explicit statement of verse 20; and they present a view of things hardly consistent with the annalistic notice in xiv. 30, which says there was constant warfare between Jeroboam and Rehoboam. The passage belongs to a series of prophetic narratives, which illustrate the influence of the prophets on the policy of the kings. There is nothing to show whether it was inserted by the compiler.

he assembled all the house of Judah, and the tribe of Benjamin, an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against the house of Israel, to bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam the son
22 of Solomon. But the word of God came unto Shemaiah
23 the man of God, saying, Speak unto Rehoboam the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto all the house of Judah and Benjamin, and to the rest of the people,
24 saying, Thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren the children of Israel: return every man to his house; for this thing is of me. So they hearkened unto the word of the LORD, and returned and went their way, according to the word of the LORD.

25 [**KI D**] Then Jeroboam built Shechem in the hill

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22. Shemaiah is otherwise unknown, although in the parallel narrative of the LXX (xii. 24°) he is the prophet who figures in the mantle-rending incident instead of Ahijah the Shilonite.

the man of God: the most general O. T. designation of the prophet. It appears never to be applied to any but prophets, or men regarded as prophets. In Judges xiii. 6, 8 we may suppose that the angel appeared in the guise of a prophet.

[Between verse 24 and verse 25 the LXX has a long addition (xii. 24^{a-z}, in Swete), on which see Appendix, Note II.]

xii. 25-33. *Incidents of Jeroboam's Reign.* (1) The fortification of Shechem on the west, and Penuel on the east, of the Jordan, verse 25; (2) the institution of the calf-worship of Beth-el and Dan, a measure prompted by fear lest the superior prestige of the temple at Jerusalem should maintain the religious unity of Israel, and thereby undo the political effects of the revolution, verses 26-30; (3) the appointment of a non-Levitical priesthood for the northern sanctuaries, verse 31; and (4) the fixing of the autumn festival in the eighth month, verse 32. The section is of mixed origin: the notices are mostly such as might have come ultimately from the annals of the northern kingdom; but they have been partly recast in the process of compilation.

25. Shechem (see on verse 1) was a natural place to choose as a capital, both from its historic importance and because of the part it had played in the revolt.

country of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; and he went out
from thence, and built Penuel. And Jeroboam said in 26
his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of
David: if this people go up to offer sacrifices in the 27
house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of
this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam
king of Judah; and they shall kill me, and return
to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the king took 28
counsel, and made two calves of gold; and he said unto

Penuel was on the east of the Jordan, near the Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 31 f.; Judges viii. 8 f.); but its site has not been discovered. The clause **he went out from thence** can only refer to a transference of the seat of government to the trans-Jordanic region, a change which must have been due to some unrecorded troubles of Jeroboam's reign. It has been plausibly conjectured that it was a consequence of Shishak's invasion (see on xiv. 25); but the hypothesis loses much of its attractiveness if it be the case that Penuel itself was one of the cities conquered by Shishak.

26, 27 are assigned by some critics to one of the compilers, but without adequate reason. It is quite credible that even at this early period the temple at Jerusalem had come to be regarded as the chief centre of national worship, and had begun to attract pilgrims from all parts of the country. In such circumstances Jeroboam would have good reason to view with misgiving its rivalry with the ancient sanctuaries of the north, and its influence over the minds of his subjects.

27. and return . . . Judah: may be omitted with the LXX.

28. two calves of gold. The images were probably in the form of a young ox; the name 'calves' seems to have been an epithet of derision coined by opponents of this species of idolatry, suggested by the diminutive size of the images. The origin of this symbol of Yahweh is still somewhat obscure. That it was an imitation of the Apis- or Mnevis-cult introduced by Jeroboam from Egypt, or surviving among the people since the time of the Exodus (Exod. xxxii), is little probable, the difference being too fundamental between the worship of a living animal as the incarnation of the Deity and the use of an image as His symbol. There is most to be said for the view that the ox was an ancient Semitic emblem of divinity, known to the Israelites especially through the Canaanites, whose Baal is associated with the figure of the ox. In the Babylonian religion the ox was the sacred animal of the Syrian and Babylonian thunder-god Ramman,

them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of
29 the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Beth-el, and
30 the other put he in Dan. And this thing became a sin: for the people went *to worship* before the one, even unto
31 Dan. And he made houses of high places, and made priests from among all the people, which were not of the
32 sons of Levi. [Z] And Jeroboam ordained a feast in the

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and might easily have been transferred to the worship of Yahweh (*KAT*³, p. 449 f.). It is in keeping with the conservative tendency of Jeroboam's religious policy to suppose that his innovation consisted in giving legal sanction to a type of worship already known and practised in certain sanctuaries of his realm.

he said unto them. Read, with LXX, 'to the people.'

It is too much. Rather, 'Ye need no longer go up,' &c. (see margin).

behold thy gods. Cf. the words of Aaron in Exod. xxxii. 4, 8. The formula has evidently been borrowed in the one passage from the other; but which of the two is original it is difficult to decide. If any stress could be laid on the plural, the decision must be in favour of this verse (since only one calf was made by Aaron); but the construction of the word God (plural of eminence) with a plural verb, though unusual, is not without parallel.

29. Beth-el (*Beitīn*, ten miles north of Jerusalem) and **Dan** (in the extreme north, near one of the sources of the Jordan, see on xv. 20) were two sanctuaries of immemorial antiquity.

30. the people went . . . Dan. The text is evidently incomplete. We should probably read, 'And the people went before the one to Beth-el, and before the other to Dan' (so Burney). Kittel, on the other hand, omits the first half of the verse as a gloss, and takes the rest as a continuation of verse 29, rendering: 'And the people marched before the one as far as Dan;' i.e. conducted the image, in a solemn procession, to its future resting-place.

31. houses of high places: i.e. probably, temples in the already existing high places (see on iii. 2).

from among all the people: 'from the masses of the people.' This was in accordance with early usage (cf. 1 Sam. i. 1 ff., 2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 26). But the preference of Levites for priests, implied in the second half of the verse, is also in accordance with early ideas (Judges xvii. 13).

32. The feast referred to is the Feast of Ingathering or of

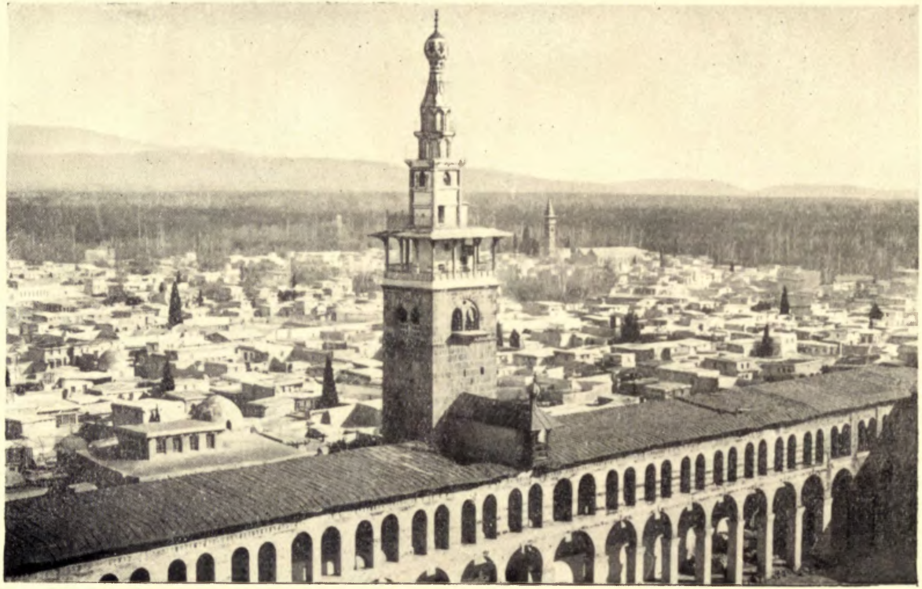

Photo: Photochrom Co.

SITE OF TEMPLE OF RIMMON (GREAT MOSQUE, DAMASCUS)

eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah, and he went up unto the altar; so did he in Beth-el, sacrificing unto the calves that he had made: and he placed in Beth-el the priests of the high places which he had made. And he went 33 up unto the altar which he had made in Beth-el on the fifteenth day in the eighth month, even in the month which he had devised of his own heart: and he ordained a feast for the children of Israel, and went up unto the altar, to burn incense.

And, behold, there came a man of God out of Judah 13

Tabernacles: see on viii. 2. The expression **like unto the feast that is in Judah** shows that a general regulation, and not a single observance, is meant. The fixing of this festival in the eighth month probably stereotyped the local custom of the north: whether it be correctly attributed to Jeroboam is another question. The writer has in view the divergence between the Israelitish and (later) Judaean practice; and traces it to the schismatic policy of Jeroboam.

and he went up. The text here is in some confusion. Since this clause is resumed at the beginning of verse 33 it is probable that the intervening words have been interpolated, under the mistaken impression that the reference is to Jeroboam's habitual practice, and not to a particular occasion. The truth is, however, that verse 33 is a transition verse, added to introduce the episode of the next chapter, and describing with much circumlocution the precise situation in which the message of the prophet was delivered.

xiii. 1–34. *The Man of God from Judah.* The narrative consists of two parts: (1) The scene before the altar at Beth-el, where the king's illegal sacrifice is interrupted by the oracle of an unnamed man of God from Judah, which is accompanied by a miraculous sign: Jeroboam's arm being paralysed, but healed immediately on the intercession of the prophet. The latter refuses a reward, on the ground that he is under a strict injunction neither to eat bread nor drink water in the land, but to return to his own country by another way, verses 1–10. (2) Then follows the account of how he was induced to violate his instructions by an old prophet of Beth-el, who persuaded him to accept his hospitality on the pretext that the invitation was inspired by the word of the Lord. For this act of disobedience the man of God is slain by a lion on the

by the word of the LORD unto Beth-el: and Jeroboam
2 was standing by the altar to burn incense. And he cried
against the altar by the word of the LORD, and said,

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way home, and is afterwards buried in the grave of the prophet who had led him astray, verses 11–32.

The whole story, but especially the latter part, is amongst the strangest in the O. T. As indications of a comparatively late date the following facts are pointed out: (*a*) the anonymity of the principal personages; (*b*) the anachronism of the reference to Samaria as a *province* (verse 32), whereas in the time of Jeroboam the *city* itself was not yet built (see xvi. 34); (*c*) the specific and detailed prognostication of an unimportant incident 350 years before fulfilment (verse 2), which is without analogy in the authentic records of Hebrew prophecy; (*d*) the mechanical conception of revelation implied in the hypostatizing of the 'word of the Lord' (verses 1, 2, 5, 9, 17, 18, 32); and (*e*) the non-ethical view of the prophet's relation to his own message, which is so conspicuous in the latter part of the chapter. These features, together with traces of decadence in the style, point to the conclusion that the passage is of late composition, and has been inserted in the book at a time long subsequent to the Deuteronomic redaction. What kernel of historic fact lies beneath the narrative it is quite impossible to determine. Wellhausen's conjecture that it arose out of the mission of Amos to Beth-el under the second Jeroboam has little to recommend it except its ingenuity. More probably it is based on some local tradition which came to light at the time when Josiah destroyed the sanctuary of Beth-el (2 Kings xxiii. 16–18).

1. by the word of the LORD. The idea that the word of Yahweh as uttered by a prophet possesses a self-fulfilling energy is a genuine element of the prophetic theology (see Isa. ix. 8, &c.); but the representation throughout this chapter goes much further. The 'word' is conceived as a real mediating agency in the prophet's own intercourse with God. It is hardly too much to say that we have here an anticipation of the later doctrine of the *Logos* (*Mêmrâ*), as a being intermediate between God and the world.

2. See on 2 Kings xxiii. 15–20. Even the most conservative commentators feel the difficulty that lies in the announcement of Josiah so many centuries before his birth, and endeavour to get rid of it by deleting the proper name, or resolving it into something more general (Köhler, Keil, Klostermann). But the naming of Josiah is quite in keeping with the character of the prediction as a whole, and nothing is gained by attempting to minimize so marked a feature.

O altar, altar, thus saith the Lord: Behold, a child shall
be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and
upon thee shall he sacrifice the priests of the high places
that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall they
burn upon thee. And he gave a sign the same day, 3
saying, This is the sign which the Lord hath spoken:
Behold, the altar shall be rent, and the ashes that are
upon it shall be poured out. And it came to pass, when 4
the king heard the saying of the man of God, which he
cried against the altar in Beth-el, that Jeroboam put forth
his hand from the altar, saying, Lay hold on him. And
his hand, which he put forth against him, dried up, so
that he could not draw it back again to him. The altar 5
also was rent, and the ashes poured out from the altar,
according to the sign which the man of God had given
by the word of the Lord. And the king answered and 6
said unto the man of God, Intreat now the favour of
the Lord thy God, and pray for me, that my hand may
be restored me again. And the man of God intreated
the Lord, and the king's hand was restored him again,
and became as it was before. And the king said unto 7
the man of God, Come home with me, and refresh thyself, and I will give thee a reward. And the man of God 8

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3. the ashes. The Hebrew word (*dĕshen* = 'fatness') denotes technically the products of combustion of the fat and flesh of animals (Jer. xxxi. 40). These had to be carefully collected from the altar, and deposited in a clean place (Lev. vi. 10, 11, &c.); and the neglect of this precaution would seem to have been equivalent to the desecration of the altar.

4. The withering of Jeroboam's arm is an absolute miracle, which is not to be explained away as merely a natural consequence of the other miracle—the rending of the altar.

6. Intreat now the favour: *lit.* 'soften (*or*, make placid) the face,' i. e. 'propitiate' (Job xi. 19; 1 Sam. xiii. 12, and often).

7 ff. illustrate the fidelity of the man of God to his commission, which is proof against everything but downright deception.

said unto the king, If thou wilt give me half thine house,
I will not go in with thee, neither will I eat bread nor
9 drink water in this place: for so was it charged me by
the word of the LORD, saying, Thou shalt eat no bread,
nor drink water, neither return by the way that thou
10 camest. So he went another way, and returned not by
the way that he came to Beth-el.

11 Now there dwelt an old prophet in Beth-el; and one
of his sons came and told him all the works that the man
of God had done that day in Beth-el: the words which
he had spoken unto the king, them also they told unto
12 their father. And their father said unto them, What
way went he? Now his sons had seen what way the
13 man of God went, which came from Judah. And he
said unto his sons, Saddle me the ass. So they saddled
14 him the ass: and he rode thereon. And he went after

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8. If thou wilt give: cf. the words of Balaam, Num. xxii. 18, xxiv. 13.

10. another way: probably in order to evade pursuit: at any rate, in scrupulous compliance with his directions.

11. an old prophet. The distinction between 'man of God' and 'prophet' (see on xii. 22) is consistently maintained in the remainder of the chapter, the former designation being regularly used of the Judaean prophet, and the latter of the Samaritan. 'Man of God' is obviously regarded as the higher title, and 'prophet' as the lower; but wherein precisely the difference lies does not appear. It might conceivably be a reminiscence of what was in the mind of Amos when he repudiated the professional name of *nābî'* (prophet, see Amos vii. 14). The passage is written to inculcate the duty of unswerving literal obedience to a Divine command; and there is no doubt that the lesson is conveyed with some psychological insight, though the motive of the diabolical conduct of the aged prophet remains mysterious.

one of his sons. The text has simply 'his son' (as marg.), but it is necessary to read the plural, as LXX, &c.

12. Now his sons had seen: marg. 'And his sons shewed him.' This reading involves only the change of a single vowel-point, and is undoubtedly to be preferred.

the man of God, and found him sitting under an oak:
and he said unto him, Art thou the man of God that
camest from Judah? And he said, I am. Then he 15
said unto him, Come home with me, and eat bread.
And he said, I may not return with thee, nor go in with 16
thee: neither will I eat bread nor drink water with thee
in this place: for it was said to me by the word of the 17
LORD, Thou shalt eat no bread nor drink water there,
nor turn again to go by the way that thou camest. And 18
he said unto him, I also am a prophet as thou art; and
an angel spake unto me by the word of the LORD, saying,
Bring him back with thee into thine house, that he may
eat bread and drink water. *But* he lied unto him. So 19
he went back with him, and did eat bread in his house,
and drank water. And it came to pass, as they sat at 20
the table, that the word of the LORD came unto the
prophet that brought him back: and he cried unto the 21
man of God that came from Judah, saying, Thus saith
the LORD, Forasmuch as thou hast been disobedient
unto the mouth of the LORD, and hast not kept the commandment

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14. an oak: 'the terebinth' (see marg.), possibly the one that marked the grave of Deborah (Gen. xxxv. 8).

16. The words **nor go in with thee,** and again **with thee,** are wanting in the LXX.

18. a prophet as thou art. The speaker is naturally ignorant of the distinction referred to above (verse 11).

an angel spake unto me. Angels first appear as intermediaries of *prophetic* announcements in Ezekiel and Zechariah.

he lied unto him. The only fault of the man of God was believing the lie, i. e. trusting the second-hand revelation of another man rather than that which had come directly to himself.

20. At table the deceitful prophet receives a genuine revelation, which he is compelled to declare, it is to be hoped with sincere compunction.

21. hast been disobedient unto ('hast rebelled against') **the mouth of the LORD.** The strong expression is similarly used of the formal breach of a positive command in the case of Moses and Aaron at Meribah (Num. xx. 24, xxvii. 14).

mandment which the Lord thy God commanded thee,
22 but camest back, and hast eaten bread and drunk water
in the place of the which he said to thee, Eat no bread,
and drink no water; thy carcase shall not come unto the
23 sepulchre of thy fathers. And it came to pass, after he
had eaten bread, and after he had drunk, that he saddled
for him the ass, *to wit*, for the prophet whom he had
24 brought back. And when he was gone, a lion met him
by the way, and slew him: and his carcase was cast in the
way, and the ass stood by it; the lion also stood by the
25 carcase. And, behold, men passed by, and saw the carcase
cast in the way, and the lion standing by the carcase:
and they came and told it in the city where the
26 old prophet dwelt. And when the prophet that brought
him back from the way heard thereof, he said, It is the
man of God, who was disobedient unto the mouth of the
Lord: therefore the Lord hath delivered him unto the

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22. On the disgrace of being buried apart from the family sepulchre, see the instance of Uriah (Jer. xxvi. 23): cf. Gen. xlvii. 30, l. 25; Isa. xiv. 18 ff.

23. to wit, **for the prophet.** Here alone the man of God from Judah is called a prophet; but the word is shown to be a gloss by the awkward construction, and by its omission in the LXX, which of the whole clause retains but the single phrase 'and he returned.' This, along with the first word of the next verse, means: 'and he departed again, [and a lion, &c.].'

24. The effect of the lesson is heightened by another miracle: the lion and the ass stand peaceably together for some hours over the body of the dead man. Klostermann completely misunderstands the spirit of the passage when he tries to eliminate the supernatural, and makes the verse say merely that the ass remained and grazed and plucked herbs beside the corpse!

25. in the city where. The vagueness is remarkable; it has been already said that the old prophet dwelt in Beth-el. Klostermann ingeniously proposes to read: 'in the gate where the old prophet was sitting,' the gate being the place of public resort, where news was discussed.

26 ^{b}, **27** are wanting in the original LXX.

lion, which hath torn him, and slain him, according to
the word of the LORD, which he spake unto him. And 27
he spake to his sons, saying, Saddle me the ass. And
they saddled it. And he went and found his carcase 28
cast in the way, and the ass and the lion standing by the
carcase: the lion had not eaten the carcase, nor torn the
ass. And the prophet took up the carcase of the man of 29
God, and laid it upon the ass, and brought it back: and
he came to the city of the old prophet, to mourn, and to
bury him. And he laid his carcase in his own grave; 30
and they mourned over him, *saying*, Alas, my brother!
And it came to pass, after he had buried him, that he 31
spake to his sons, saying, When I am dead, then bury
me in the sepulchre wherein the man of God is buried;
lay my bones beside his bones. For the saying which he 32
cried by the word of the LORD against the altar in Bethel, and against all the houses of the high places which are
in the cities of Samaria, shall surely come to pass.

After this thing Jeroboam returned not from his evil 33
way, but made again from among all the people priests
of the high places: [D] whosoever would, he consecrated
him, that there might be priests of the high places. And 34

29^{b}, 30^{a}. The LXX here reads more tersely, and probably more correctly: 'and the prophet brought him back to the city to bury him in his own sepulchre.'

30^{b}. Alas, my brother! the customary wail for the dead: cf. Jer. xxii. 18.

31, 32. For the fulfilment, see 2 Kings xxiii. 16-18.

the cities of Samaria. See above, p. 194.

33^{a} is a repetition of the statement of xii. 31, inserted by the author of the long interpolation, in order to resume the main narrative.

33^{b}, 34 are the original continuation of xii. 31, and are from the hand of the compiler.

consecrated him: *lit.* 'filled his hand,' the technical expression for the installation of a priest (Exod. xxviii. 41; Judges xvii. 5, 12, &c.). The same phrase occurs in Assyrian (*mûllû ḳâtâ*),

this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even
to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the earth.

14 [**KI**] At that time Abijah the son of Jeroboam fell
2 sick. And Jeroboam said to his wife, Arise, I pray thee,
and disguise thyself, that thou be not known to be the
wife of Jeroboam: and get thee to Shiloh; behold, there
is Ahijah the prophet, which spake concerning me that
3 I should be king over this people. And take with thee
ten loaves, and cracknels, and a cruse of honey, and go

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with the figurative sense of 'putting one in charge of something' (Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*).

that there might be priests: better, as LXX, 'and he' (whosoever would) 'became a priest,' &c.

xiv. 1-18. *Sickness and Death of Abijah the Son of Jeroboam.* Jeroboam sends his wife, disguised as a common woman, to consult Ahijah the Shilonite regarding the fate of their sick child. The prophet, now an old blind man, penetrates her disguise, and anticipates her question by foretelling the death of the child. But this is prefaced by a denunciation of the sin of Jeroboam and a prophecy of the extinction of his whole house; and followed by an announcement of the final overthrow of the kingdom he had founded. The section closes with an account of the death of the child, in accordance with the prediction.

The passage in its present form consists of an ancient narrative (verses 1-6, 12, 17), recast and amplified by the compiler, whose hand is clearly discernible in the phraseology and standpoint of verses 7-16 (the answer of Ahijah). See the notes below; and observe the anachronism in verse 9, 'above all that were before thee.' On the literary coincidences with other prophetic oracles incorporated in the book, cf. Driver, *Introd.*^{6}, p. 194. On the LXX version of the incident (in xii. 24 $^{g-n}$), see Appendix, p. 443 f.

1. At that time: a standing phrase, either of the compiler or of one of his authorities, in introducing a new subject; 2 Kings xvi. 6, xviii. 16, xx. 12, xxiv. 10.

The name **Abijah,** being compounded with Yahweh, proves that Jeroboam was not consciously an apostate from the national religion.

2. which spake concerning me: xi. 29 ff. Verse 4 shows that a considerable time had elapsed since then.

3. For the custom of offering a present to a prophet, cf. 1 Sam. ix. 7 f.; 2 Kings v. 15, viii. 8.

to him: he shall tell thee what shall become of the child.
And Jeroboam's wife did so, and arose, and went to 4
Shiloh, and came to the house of Ahijah. Now Ahijah
could not see; for his eyes were set by reason of his age.
And the LORD said unto Ahijah, Behold, the wife of 5
Jeroboam cometh to inquire of thee concerning her son;
for he is sick: thus and thus shalt thou say unto her:
for it shall be, when she cometh in, that she shall feign
herself to be another woman. And it was so, when 6
Ahijah heard the sound of her feet, as she came in at
the door, that he said, Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam;
why feignest thou thyself to be another? for I am sent
to thee with heavy tidings. [**D**] Go, tell Jeroboam, 7
Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: Forasmuch
as I exalted thee from among the people, and made thee
prince over my people Israel, and rent the kingdom 8
away from the house of David, and gave it thee: and yet
thou hast not been as my servant David, who kept my
commandments, and who followed me with all his heart,

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cracknels: probably small cakes. The LXX (xii. 24^{h}) adds here the homely touch 'for his children.'

4. his eyes were set: 'fixed'; cf. 1 Sam. iv. 15.

5. For **said** read 'had said.' As in 1 Sam. ix. 15 ff. the prophet had been prepared for the arrival of his visitor by a Divine premonition.

for it shall be. A better construction is supported by the LXX, which at this point resumes the narrative: 'And when she came in, disguising herself, and when Ahijah heard,' &c.

6. why feignest thou. The LXX has a reading more appropriate in the connexion: 'why dost thou bring me bread?'

for I am sent. Render, 'seeing I am sent to thee with hard tidings.'

7-11 are wholly the work of the compiler; the original answer of the prophet is contained in verse 12, which in the LXX (xii. 24^{l}) follows immediately the question of verse 6.

8. For David as the ideal of piety, see iii. 3, 6, ix. 4, xi. 4, 6, and often.

9 to do that only which was right in mine eyes; but hast
done evil above all that were before thee, and hast gone
and made thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke
me to anger, and hast cast me behind thy back:
10 therefore, behold, I will bring evil upon the house of
Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam every man
child, him that is shut up and him that is left at large in
Israel, and will utterly sweep away the house of Jeroboam,
11 as a man sweepeth away dung, till it be all gone. Him
that dieth of Jeroboam in the city shall the dogs eat;
and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air
12 eat: for the LORD hath spoken it. [**KI**] Arise thou
therefore, get thee to thine house: *and* when thy feet
13 enter into the city, the child shall die. [**D**] And all
Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him; for he only
of Jeroboam shall come to the grave: because in him

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right in mine eyes: as xi. 33, 38, xv. 5, 11, &c.; cf. Deut. xii. 25, xiii. 18, &c.

9. Cf. Deut. iv. 25, ix. 18, xxxi. 29.

all that were before thee: cf. xvi. 25, 30. The stereotyped phrase has little force as applied to Jeroboam, who had no predecessors, and was the originator of the chief sin denounced.

10. every man child: avoiding the coarseness of the original proverbial expression, preserved in the A. V. (cf. xvi. 11, xxi. 21; 2 Kings ix. 8; 1 Sam. xxv. 22, 34).

him that is shut up . . . large: 'the fettered and the free,' an alliterative expression, as xxi. 21; 2 Kings ix. 8, xiv. 26; Deut. xxxii. 36. The primary sense of the categories is obscure. Some take the 'fettered' to be children *in statu pupillari*; others, those who are married; Ewald and W. R. Smith (*Rel. of Sem.*², p. 456) consider it to be a ritual term denoting those debarred from religious privileges: on any view the 'free' will include all other males. (A more recent interpretation by Yahuda in *ZA*, 1902, 240 ff.)

11. the dogs: the scavengers of oriental cities: 2 Kings ix. 35 ff.

fowls of the air: carrion-eating birds, like the vulture.

12. More graphically in the LXX (xii. 24[1]): 'Behold thou shalt depart from me, and as thou enterest the gate of Sareira thy maidens shall come out to meet thee, and shall say to thee, The little boy is dead.'

there is found some good thing toward the Lord, the
God of Israel, in the house of Jeroboam. Moreover the 14
Lord shall raise him up a king over Israel, who shall cut
off the house of Jeroboam that day: but what? even now.
For the Lord shall smite Israel, as a reed is shaken in 15
the water; and he shall root up Israel out of this good
land, which he gave to their fathers, and shall scatter
them beyond the River; because they have made their
Asherim, provoking the Lord to anger. And he shall 16
give Israel up because of the sins of Jeroboam, which he
hath sinned, and wherewith he hath made Israel to sin.
[KI] And Jeroboam's wife arose, and departed, and came 17
to Tirzah: *and* as she came to the threshold of the house,

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13. some good thing: some promise of early piety. The Rabbis, after their manner, clothe the statement in a legend: Abijah was ordered by his father to keep watch for any who might go up to the feasts to Jerusalem, and he not only did not do this but tore down a barrier which Jeroboam had set up to prevent such pilgrimages! (quoted by Thenius).

14. See xv. 29.

that day: but what? even now. The Hebrew is quite untranslatable. There is also some defect in the beginning of the following verse. Kittel gives a conjectural reconstruction which meets both difficulties: 'in that day. And even then (15) will Yahweh smite Israel, so that it sways as the reed,' &c.; an allusion to the repeated changes of dynasty that marked the history of the northern kingdom down to the Exile, which is foretold in what follows. The grammar is not quite satisfactory; but the sense is certainly attractive.

15. For the threat of exile, see Deut. iv. 26 ff., vi. 15, xxix. 28, &c.

Asherim. See on verse 23.

16. wherewith he hath made Israel to sin: a constantly recurring formula of the compiler: xv. 26, 30, 34, &c.

17. Tirzah was for the next few reigns the residence of the kings of Israel; xv. 21, xvi. 15 ff., &c. The indications seem to point to its being in the neighbourhood of Shechem, but the site is not known. Some have sought it in the ruins of *Tallūza*, a few miles north-east of Nabulus; others at *eṭ-Ṭire* on the west side of Gerizim (Buhl, *Geog.* p. 203).

to the threshold . . . died. LXX (xii. 24^{n}) makes the death

18 the child died. [**D**] And all Israel buried him, and mourned for him; according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of his servant Ahijah the
19 prophet. And the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, how he warred, and how he reigned, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
20 And the days which Jeroboam reigned were two and twenty years: and he slept with his fathers, and Nadab his son reigned in his stead.

21 And Rehoboam the son of Solomon reigned in Judah. Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there: and his mother's
22 name was Naamah the Ammonitess. And Judah did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD; and they provoked him to jealousy with their sins which they
23 committed, above all that their fathers had done. For they also built them high places, and pillars, and Asherim,

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synchronize with her entrance into the city, adding: 'and the wail came out to meet her.'

xiv. 19, 20. *Concluding Notice on Jeroboam.*

19. how he warred. See verse 30, xv. 7.

the book of the chronicles: see Introd. p. 23.

xiv. 21-31. *Rehoboam of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xi. 5—xii. 16.)

xiv. 21-24. *Editorial Introduction.*

21. The LXX (B) of xii. 24^a gives the age of Rehoboam at his accession as sixteen, and the length of his reign as twelve years.

his mother's name. The naming of the queen-mother is a regular feature of the notices of the kings of Judah, due to her dignity and influence at the court (see on ii. 13, and cf. xv. 13).

23. pillars (Heb. *maẓẓēbôth*). The Maẓẓebah was a sacred stone, and seems to have been an indispensable adjunct of the primitive Semitic sanctuary. Originally it was regarded as the abode of the Deity, and at the same time (before the introduction

on every high hill, and under every green tree; and 24
there were also sodomites in the land: they did according
to all the abominations of the nations which the LORD
drave out before the children of Israel. [KJ] And it 25

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of fire sacrifices) served the purpose of an altar; afterwards, when a separate altar became necessary, the stone was retained as a symbol of the God (W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*², p. 203 ff.). The use of the emblem was tolerated in Israel in early times (Gen. xxviii. 18, 22, xxxi. 13, xxxv. 14, 20, &c.), but prohibited by the later legislation on account of its ineradicable associations with heathenism (Deut. vii. 5, xii. 13; Lev. xxvi. 1, &c.).

Asherim: plur. of *ăsherāh*, which seems to have been a survival of the sacred tree, as the maẓẓebah was of the sacred stone (for another view see Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 106, 248). It was a wooden pole (Judges vi. 26), the trunk of a tree stripped of its branches (Deut. xvi. 21), erected by the side of the altar (Jer. xvii. 2). It would seem that from very ancient times (Tel-Amarna tablets) the object had been personified, and the word used as the name of a *goddess* (xv. 13, xviii. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 4, &c.), who is apparently in the O. T. sometimes identified with Ashtoreth (cf. Judges ii. 13 with iii. 7). This marked association of the symbol with a female deity made it at all times repugnant to the true religion of Israel.

on every high hill . . . tree: cf. 2 Kings xvi. 4, xvii. 10; Deut. xii. 2; Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6, xvii. 2.

24. sodomites (Heb. *ḳādēsh*, holy persons): temple prostitutes, attached to heathen sanctuaries, of Ashtoreth especially, but introduced in Israel into the worship of Yahweh (Deut. xxiii. 17, 18, &c.). The word is here used collectively, including persons of both sexes.

drave out: xxi. 26; 2 Kings xvi. 3, xvii. 8, xxi. 2; Deut. ix. 4, 5, &c.

xiv. 25-28. *The Expedition of Shishak.* The account is taken from the annals of the kingdom of Judah; and the prominence given to the incident is perhaps due less to its political importance than to the fact that it was the first step in the gradual impoverishment of the temple, the successive stages of which are carefully noted throughout the book (see xv. 18; 2 Kings xii. 18, xiv. 14, xvi. 8, 17, xviii. 15 f., xxiv. 13, xxv. 9, 13 ff.). The former friendship between Jeroboam and Shishak naturally suggests that the raid was undertaken for the benefit of Jeroboam, and affected only Judah. It is true that the Egyptian lists in the temple of Amon at Karnak contain the names of more than sixty Ephraimitic cities that paid tribute to Shishak, along with a still greater number of Judaean.

came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that
26 Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem: and
he took away the treasures of the house of the LORD,
and the treasures of the king's house; he even took
away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which
27 Solomon had made. And king Rehoboam made in their
stead shields of brass, and committed them to the hands
of the captains of the guard, which kept the door of the
28 king's house. And it was so, that as oft as the king
went into the house of the LORD, the guard bare them,
and brought them back into the guard chamber.
29 [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam, and all that

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Amongst the former are Taanach, Megiddo, and Shunem on the Plain of Esdraelon, and perhaps Penuel on the east of the Jordan (cf. xii. 25). It is pointed out, however, by Maspero and W. Max Müller that 'it is only the second half of the list which contains details pointing to actual conquest, and these seem to belong to Judah'; the inference being that 'the tribute which the Pharaoh claimed everywhere was promptly given by Jeroboam . . . ; in Judah it had to be exacted by force.' It is not improbable that for a time both Judah and Israel became tributary to Egypt. (See further, Driver, *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 87 f.; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 166; and *EB*, iv. c. 4485 ff.)

25. Shishak. The consonantal text has the form *Shôshak*, in closer correspondence with the Egyptian *Shoshenq*. He was the founder of the twenty-second (Bubastite) dynasty, and is supposed to have reigned *c.* 950 B.C.

26. the treasures of the house of the LORD. See vii. 51.

the shields of gold: x. 17. Instead of these the LXX mentions the shields taken by David from the Syrians, whose removal by Shishak it also notices by anticipation in 2 Sam. viii. 7.

27. the guard: *lit.* 'the runners' (marg.), i.e. footguards. Their duty is to guard the palace and the king's person (i. 5; 2 Kings x. 25, xi. 4, 11, 19).

28. The use of the new shields was no doubt the same as that of those they had replaced, although the former are kept in the **guard chamber** instead of the house of the forest of Lebanon (x. 17).

xv. 29–31. *Concluding Notice*, in which, however, is imbedded a fragment from the annals of the kingdom (verse 30). See on

he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles
of the kings of Judah? And there was war between 30
Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually. And Rehoboam 31
slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers
in the city of David: and his mother's name was Naamah
the Ammonitess. And Abijam his son reigned in his
stead.

Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam the son **15**
of Nebat began Abijam to reign over Judah. Three 2
years reigned he in Jerusalem: and his mother's name
was Maacah the daughter of Abishalom. And he walked 3
in all the sins of his father, which he had done before
him: and his heart was not perfect with the LORD his
God, as the heart of David his father. Nevertheless for 4
David's sake did the LORD his God give him a lamp in
Jerusalem, to set up his son after him, and to establish
Jerusalem: because David did that which was right in the 5

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xii. 21 ff. The mention of the queen-mother is here out of place, and is rightly omitted in 2 Chron. xii. 16, and by the LXX.

xv. 1–8. *Abijam of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xiii.)

The account of the three years' reign is wholly from the pen of the compiler, verses 1–5 being the introductory formula (slightly expanded), and verses 7, 8 the concluding formula. Verse 6 is an interpolation.

1. Abijam: so always in Kings (xiv. 31), while Chronicles (2 Chron. xiii. 1 ff., &c.) and the LXX give the name as 'Abijah.' The ending *-âm* or *-ôm* is not uncommon in proper names; and it is possible that the two are distinct, the chronicler having inadvertently substituted the more familiar form.

2. Three years: according to the LXX, six years (see on verse 9).

Maacah the daughter of Abishalom. Abishalom is the same as Absalom (2 Chron. xi. 20 ff.), and it is most natural to suppose that the third son of David is meant. A daughter of Absalom must certainly have been older than Rehoboam; and Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 249) makes Maacah the daughter of Tamar (2 Sam. xiv. 27), taking daughter here in the sense of 'granddaughter.'

4. See on xi. 36.

eyes of the LORD, and turned not aside from any thing
that he commanded him all the days of his life, [Z] save
6 only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite. Now there was
war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of
7 his life. [D] And the rest of the acts of Abijam, and all
that he did, are they not written in the book of the
chronicles of the kings of Judah? And there was war
8 between Abijam and Jeroboam. And Abijam slept with
his fathers; and they buried him in the city of David:
and Asa his son reigned in his stead.

9 And in the twentieth year of Jeroboam king of Israel
10 began Asa to reign over Judah. And forty and one
years reigned he in Jerusalem: and his mother's name
11 was Maacah the daughter of Abishalom. And Asa did

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5. save only in the matter. The eulogy of David is never thus qualified by the compiler; and since the clause is wanting in the LXX, it ought probably to be deleted as the note of an over-scrupulous reader.

6, also omitted by the LXX, is a mistaken repetition of xiv. 30.

7. there was war. The notice would have come properly in the place of verse 6, since as a matter of fact no 'acts' of Abijam have been recorded at all.

xv. 9-24. *Asa of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xiv—xvi.)

xv. 9-15. *Introductory Formula.* Here the compiler has worked into the 'framework' some fragmentary notices of religious reforms carried out by Asa. Asa is one of the few kings of Judah on whom an entirely favourable judgement is passed.

9. the twentieth year: cf. the statement with verses 1, 2 for an illustration of the chronological method followed by the author of the synchronism (see Introd. p. 40). The LXX puts the accession of Asa in the twenty-fourth year of Jeroboam, showing that its reading in verse 2 was not an accidental error, but a systematic correction; note also its peculiar method of calculating the synchronism.

10. Maacah. See on verse 2. If the statement be strictly accurate in both places, Asa must have been the brother and not the son of Abijam; and so Wellhausen proposes to read in verse 8. But it is perhaps an easier explanation to suppose that Maacah, though not literally the mother of Asa, continued to occupy the

that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, as did
David his father. And he put away the sodomites out of 12
the land, and removed all the idols that his fathers had
made. And also Maacah his mother he removed from 13
being queen, because she had made an abominable image
for an Asherah; and Asa cut down her image, and burnt
it at the brook Kidron. But the high places were not 14
taken away: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect
with the LORD all his days. And he brought into the 15
house of the LORD the things that his father had dedicated, and the things that himself had dedicated, silver,
and gold, and vessels. [KJ] And there was war between 16

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official position of queen-mother after the short reign of her son Abijam.

12. See on xiv. 24.

13. For **queen** read 'queen-mother' (as marg.).

an abominable image. The root of the Hebrew word expresses the idea of horror; but what kind of object is indicated cannot be determined. That it was a mere covering or adornment for the sacred pole (see on xiv. 23) is hardly conceivable. The Vulg. takes it to have been a phallic emblem; and this, though unsupported by the other versions, is perhaps the best conjecture that can be hazarded, so long as we adhere to the common sense of Asherah as the name of the sacred pole. If, however, we take Asherah as a proper name, it is possible to explain the objectionable thing as an image of the goddess so named, or her equivalent Astarte. (See W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*^{2}, p. 456.)

14. The retention of the **high places** (for which the writer blames not the king but the people) was an offence from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic reformation; but was perfectly consistent with the highest standard of religious conduct in the time of Asa. The centralization of the cultus in Jerusalem was a prophetic ideal which had probably not yet dawned on even the most enlightened worshippers of Yahweh.

15. The statement is unintelligible. It looks like a misplaced duplicate of vii. 51^b.

xv. 16–22. *War with Baasha of Israel.* The protracted hostilities between Judah and Israel reach a crisis, in which Asa is driven to seek assistance from the king of Damascus; and thus lead to a second inroad on the temple treasures (cf. xiv. 26). The passage

17 Asa and Baasha king of Israel all their days. And Baasha
king of Israel went up against Judah, and built Ramah,
that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa
18 king of Judah. Then Asa took all the silver and the
gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the
Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered
them into the hand of his servants: and king Asa sent
them to Ben-hadad, the son of Tabrimmon, the son of
Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying,
19 *There is* a league between me and thee, between my
father and thy father: behold, I have sent unto thee
a present of silver and gold; go, break thy league with
Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me.

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may have been transferred intact from the official annals of Judah.

16. Cf. xiv. 30, xv. 7.

17. built (or 'fortified') **Ramah.** The place here meant is the modern *er-Rām*, five miles due north of Jerusalem. Since we find in verse 22 that Asa made no attempt at the end of the war to push the frontier further north, we may assume that at this time Ramah was just on the border of Baasha's kingdom. It was at the same time near enough to Jerusalem to make its permanent occupation by a hostile army a serious menace to the security of the southern kingdom.

18. Cf. the incident, 2 Kings xvi. 7 ff.

all the silver . . . left: cf. xiv. 26.

Ben-hadad. On different forms of the name, see on xx. 1. The grandfather of Ben-hadad must take us back to near the foundation of the Aramaean kingdom, recorded in xi. 24. Hence it was supposed (by Thenius and others) that *Heziôn* here and *Rezôn* in xi. 23 are the same person, both names being corruptions of an original form *Hezrôn*. Winckler, on the other hand, argues that the correct reading here is Hazael, and that Hezion has arisen from an attempt to combine this with Rezon (*Alttest. Unters.* p. 60 ff.). But neither hypothesis has much plausibility.

19. 'There is': the marg. 'let there be' is manifestly impossible.

a league: 'a covenant.' The kings of Damascus had evidently been playing the usual double game in Palestinian politics, allying themselves now with Judah and now with Israel, according to the passing advantage of the hour.

And Ben-hadad hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the 20
captains of his armies against the cities of Israel, and
smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-beth-maacah, and all
Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali. And it came 21
to pass, when Baasha heard thereof, that he left off
building of Ramah, and dwelt in Tirzah. Then king 22
Asa made a proclamation unto all Judah; none was
exempted: and they carried away the stones of Ramah,
and the timber thereof, wherewith Baasha had builded;
and king Asa built therewith Geba of Benjamin, and
Mizpah. [**D**] Now the rest of all the acts of Asa, and 23
all his might, and all that he did, and the cities which

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20. The district ravaged by the Syrians is in the extreme north of Western Palestine.

Dan, the best-known of the cities, is generally identified with *Tell el-Ḳāḍī*, at the source of the *Leddān*, the middle confluent of the Jordan.

Abel-beth-maacah is recognized in the name *'Abil*, a few miles further west; while **Ijon** is supposed to have been situated further north in the *Merj 'Ayūn*, a narrow plain between the valleys of the Litani and the upper Jordan.

Chinneroth is the old name of the Sea of Galilee (Num. xxxiv. 11, &c.), and also of a town on its western shore (Joshua xix. 35); here **all Chinneroth** seems to denote the fertile plain now called *el-Ghuwēr*.

On **Naphtali,** cf. iv. 15.

21. dwelt in Tirzah: LXX, 'returned to Tirzah.' See on xiv. 17.

22. exempted: the same word as Num. xxxii. 22 (E. V. 'guiltless') and Deut. xxiv. 5 (R. V. 'free'). The places fortified by Asa must be supposed within the territory of Judah.

Geba of Benjamin can hardly be the modern *Jeba*, which is a little further north than Ramah; rather *Tell-el-Fūl* (= Gibeah of Saul, cf. Isa. x. 29), about halfway between Jerusalem and Ramah.

Mizpah is *en-Nebī Samwīl* (the prophet Samuel), a little to the west, the highest point in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

xv. 23, 24. *Concluding Formula* (enclosing another sentence from the annals, referring to a disease of the feet from which the king suffered in his old age).

23. all his might: his heroic achievements. No successes are

he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? But in the time of his old age
24 he was diseased in his feet. And Asa slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead.

25 And Nadab the son of Jeroboam began to reign over Israel in the second year of Asa king of Judah, and he
26 reigned over Israel two years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the way of his father, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to
27 sin. [**KI**] And Baasha the son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar, conspired against him; and Baasha smote him at Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines;

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attributed to Asa in Kings: but 2 Chron. xiv. 9 ff. narrates a sensational victory over a certain Zerah, king of Ethiopia.

24. Jehoshaphat. See xxii. 41.

xv. 25-32. *Nadab of Israel.*

Having reached the last king of Judah who came to the throne during the life of Jeroboam, the writer now turns to the northern kingdom, and brings its history up to the end of the reign within which the death of Asa fell. Within this period two revolutions took place, each ending in the establishment of a new dynasty. In the reign of Nadab the only event thought worthy of record is the conspiracy of Baasha, which resulted in the extinction of the house of Jeroboam. The narrative is partly in the words of the annalistic document (verses 27-29^a), partly in those of the compiler himself (29^b, 30). The introductory (verses 25, 26) and concluding (verse 31) formulas are as bare and curt as possible.

25. the second year. Here the mode of reckoning differs from that usually employed by the Hebrew synchronist (see Introd. p. 41), the years of Asa's reign being evidently reckoned from his first *complete* year, which was the twenty-first of Jeroboam: cf. verses 1, 2 and verse 9.

27. Gibbethon appears from Joshua xix. 44, xxi. 23 to have been a frontier town of Dan, held at this time by the Philistines. Since we find it still uncaptured twenty-four years later (xvi. 15), it must have played as great a part in the wars with the Philistines as Ramoth-Gilead afterwards did in those with Damascus. The

for Nadab and all Israel were laying siege to Gibbethon.
Even in the third year of Asa king of Judah did Baasha 28
slay him, and reigned in his stead. And it came to pass 29
that, as soon as he was king, he smote all the house of
Jeroboam; he left not to Jeroboam any that breathed,
until he had destroyed him; [**D**] according unto the
saying of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of his
servant Ahijah the Shilonite: for the sins of Jeroboam 30
which he sinned, and wherewith he made Israel to sin;
because of his provocation wherewith he provoked the
LORD, the God of Israel, to anger. Now the rest of the 31
acts of Nadab, and all that he did, are they not written
in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
[**Z**] And there was war between Asa and Baasha king 32
of Israel all their days.

[**D**] In the third year of Asa king of Judah began 33
Baasha the son of Ahijah to reign over all Israel in Tir-

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fact that the rebellion broke out in the camp suggests that Baasha, like Omri, may have been the commander of the army; but this is not directly affirmed.

29, 30. The usurper puts to death the whole family of his predecessor; and in this the compiler recognizes the fulfilment of the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, xiv. 14.

32 repeats verse 16, but is clearly out of place in the account of Nadab's reign, and should probably be omitted, as by the LXX.

xv. 33—xvi. 7. *Baasha of Israel.*

In this section the usual framework is supplemented by an oracle uttered against Baasha and his house by a prophet named Jehu, which obviously could not have found a place in the annals of the kingdom. It occurs, in fact, in two forms: the first (xvi. 1–4) is in the style of the compiler himself; while the second (verse 7) shows no trace of having passed through his hands, and must be regarded as a later addition to the book.

33. the third year. Referring back to verse 25, we see that the two years of Nadab's reign are both fractional parts of a year; his first being that *in* which he became king, and his second that in which he was slain.

began to . . . reign, and reigned: a *zeugma*, the one

34 zah, *and reigned* twenty and four years. And he did that
which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in
the way of Jeroboam, and in his sin wherewith he made
16 Israel to sin. And the word of the LORD came to Jehu
2 the son of Hanani against Baasha, saying, Forasmuch
as I exalted thee out of the dust, and made thee prince
over my people Israel; and thou hast walked in the way
of Jeroboam, and hast made my people Israel to sin, to
3 provoke me to anger with their sins; behold, I will
utterly sweep away Baasha and his house; and I will
make thy house like the house of Jeroboam the son of
4 Nebat. Him that dieth of Baasha in the city shall the
dogs eat; and him that dieth of his in the field shall the
5 fowls of the air eat. Now the rest of the acts of Baasha,
and what he did, and his might, are they not written in
6 the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? And
Baasha slept with his fathers, and was buried in Tirzah;

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verb expressing the double sense, 'became king' and 'reigned.' So xvi. 8, 15, 23, 2 Kings xiii. 1, 10, xiv. 23, xv. 8, 17, 23, 27, xvii. 1. The construction, though intelligible, is harsh, and probably arises from the fact that the synchronisms were inserted at a secondary stage of the redaction (Introd. p. 39). Two of them are actually wanting in the LXX (xvi. 8, 15).

xvi. **1. Jehu the son of Hanani** is named by the chronicler as the author of a history which in his time had been incorporated in the book of the kings of Israel (2 Chron. xx. 34). He is also mentioned as meeting Jehoshaphat with a stern rebuke, after the death of Ahab (2 Chron. xix. 2), which is no doubt chronologically possible, though scarcely probable.

2-4. For the phraseology, cf. xiv. 7, 9-11, and other parallels cited by Driver, *Introd.*^{6}, p. 194.

6. Like Jeroboam, Baasha dies a peaceful death, transmitting the prophetic doom to his son.

buried in Tirzah. See on xiv. 17. Baasha is the first king who is certainly known to have made Tirzah his capital (xv. 21). At the end of the verse the LXX adds, 'in the twentieth (in some MSS., the twenty-eighth) year of king Asa.' It is possible that this is the misplaced synchronism of the accession of Elah, which is wanting in verse 8.

and Elah his son reigned in his stead. [D^2] And more- 7
over by the hand of the prophet Jehu the son of Hanani
came the word of the LORD against Baasha, and against
his house, both because of all the evil that he did in the
sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger with the work
of his hands, in being like the house of Jeroboam, and
because he smote him.

[D] In the twenty and sixth year of Asa king of Judah 8
began Elah the son of Baasha to reign over Israel in
Tirzah, *and reigned* two years. [KI] And his servant 9
Zimri, captain of half his chariots, conspired against him:
now he was in Tirzah, drinking himself drunk in the
house of Arza, which was over the household in Tirzah:
and Zimri went in and smote him, and killed him, in 10
the twenty and seventh year of Asa king of Judah, and

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7. The position of the verse, *after* the concluding formula, would of itself create doubts of its genuineness. It is clearly a parallel to verses 1-4; and the only motive that can be assigned for its insertion is in the last clause: the interpolator wished to make it clear that the doom of Baasha's house was due not merely to his following in the footsteps of Jeroboam, but also to his ruthless cruelty to the offspring of his predecessor (cf. the similar judgement on the house of Jehu, in Hos. i. 4).

xvi. 8-14. *Elah of Israel.*

The introduction (verse 8) is abbreviated by the omission of the religious judgement; and in the LXX by the omission of the synchronism (but see on verse 6 above). In the narrative of Zimri's conspiracy, verses 9-11 are from the chronicles of the kingdom, while verses 12, 13 are an editorial supplement. Verse 14 is the usual concluding formula.

9. he was in Tirzah. While the army was in the field against the Philistines, the king was giving himself up to dissipation in the capital.

Arza, the major-domo, was probably an accomplice of the arch-conspirator Zimri, who held an important, though subordinate, military command.

10. in the twenty and seventh year . . . Judah: omitted by the LXX, but undoubtedly genuine (see xv. 28).

11. Cf. xv. 29.

11 reigned in his stead. And it came to pass, when he began to reign, as soon as he sat on his throne, that he smote all the house of Baasha: he left him not a single man child, neither of his kinsfolks, nor of his friends.
12 [**D**] Thus did Zimri destroy all the house of Baasha, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake against
13 Baasha by Jehu the prophet, for all the sins of Baasha, and the sins of Elah his son, which they sinned, and wherewith they made Israel to sin, to provoke the LORD,
14 the God of Israel, to anger with their vanities. Now the rest of the acts of Elah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

15 In the twenty and seventh year of Asa king of Judah did Zimri reign seven days in Tirzah. [**KI**] Now the people were encamped against Gibbethon, which belonged

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man child: see xiv. 10.

his kinsfolks: *lit.* 'his redeemers,' i.e. those near enough of kin to fall under the various obligations of the *gôʾēl* (see Ruth ii. 20, iii. 13, iv. 4 ff).

12, 13 are the reflection of the compiler on the incident.

their vanities: a common designation of false gods: Deut. xxxii. 21; Jer. viii. 19, xiv. 22, &c.

xvi. 15–20. *Zimri of Israel.*

The usurper did not in this case reap the fruit of his crime. On hearing of the event the army at Gibbethon immediately elected their general Omri as king and marched against Tirzah. Zimri in despair set fire to the palace and perished in the flames. The narrative part of the section (verses 15^b–18) is the continuation of verses 9–11 in the primary document; the compiler has supplied verse 19, besides the introduction (verse 15^a) and the conclusion (20).

15^a. The synchronism is omitted by LXX (B); the Lucianic text has 'In the twenty-second year of Asa,' &c. LXX (B) is again peculiar in assigning to Zimri a reign of seven years, instead of seven days.

15^b. the people: i.e. the army, as often (2 Sam. i. 4, &c., &c.).

Gibbethon: see on xv. 27.

to the Philistines. And the people that were encamped 16
heard say, Zimri hath conspired, and hath also smitten
the king: wherefore all Israel made Omri, the captain of
the host, king over Israel that day in the camp. And 17
Omri went up from Gibbethon, and all Israel with him,
and they besieged Tirzah. And it came to pass, when 18
Zimri saw that the city was taken, that he went into the
castle of the king's house, and burnt the king's house
over him with fire, and died, [**D**] for his sins which he 19
sinned in doing that which was evil in the sight of the
LORD, in walking in the way of Jeroboam, and in his sin
which he did, to make Israel to sin. Now the rest of 20
the acts of Zimri, and his treason that he wrought, are
they not written in the book of the chronicles of the
kings of Israel?

[**KI**] Then were the people of Israel divided into two 21
parts: half of the people followed Tibni the son of Ginath,

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16. In those troublous and anarchic times, election by the elders or the assembly (xii. 20) naturally gave place to election by the army, when the ablest general had the best chance. In this case it resulted in the founding of the strongest dynasty the northern kingdom ever had: see below.

18. the castle of the king's house: 'the citadel of the royal palace.' The word for **castle** is usually rendered 'palace'; here it can only mean the best defended of a complex of royal buildings.

19. for his sins. The judgement is surprising in the case of one who reigned only seven days, who certainly had crimes enough to answer for, but could hardly have been the means of causing Israel to sin after the fashion of Jeroboam.

20. and his treason. It is difficult to see on what grounds Benzinger and many others assert that such statements could not have stood in the official annals. See Introd. p. 24.

xvi. 21, 22. *Rival Claimants for the Crown.* After the death of Zimri his faction appears to have found a new leader in a certain Tibni, the son of Ginath, who must have kept the allegiance of a section of the people for a considerable time (see on verse 23). The verses are taken from the same source as verses 16-18, and are untouched by the compiler.

22 to make him king; and half followed Omri. But the
people that followed Omri prevailed against the people
that followed Tibni the son of Ginath: so Tibni died,
23 and Omri reigned. [**D**] In the thirty and first year of
Asa king of Judah began Omri to reign over Israel, *and
reigned* twelve years: [**KI**] six years reigned he in Tirzah.
24 And he bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents

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22. so Tibni died. The LXX has: 'And Tibni and Joram his brother died at that time, and Omri reigned instead of Tibni.' The additions (which can scarcely be mere inventions) show that Tibni's resistance was of a much more formidable character than we should gather from the Hebrew.

xvi. 23–28. *Omri of Israel.*

With the exception of verse 24 (which is an ancient notice thrust into the introduction) the whole passage is written by the compiler, who tells little beyond the fact that Omri reigned wickedly for twelve years. It is a meagre record of an eventful and powerful reign. To the Assyrians Omri was known as the founder of the kingdom of Israel; and for all effective purposes he is fairly entitled to that distinction. In the Inscriptions, Jehu, the destroyer of his dynasty, is called by Shalmaneser II 'the son of Humri'; and down to the time of Sargon the country is described as 'the land of the house of Humri.' From another quarter, the Stone of Mesha testifies to his prowess as the subjugator of the land of Moab, which remained under the dominion of Israel for forty years. His choice of Samaria as the capital, which is the one thing here related to his credit, was itself an evidence of political sagacity, comparable to David's selection of Jerusalem. The compiler's silence with regard to the more brilliant aspects of the reign is an evidence of his indifference to purely secular interests.

23. In the thirty and first year. This allows an interregnum of four years between the election of Omri (verse 16) and his acknowledgement as undisputed sovereign. The twelve years of his reign, however, are reckoned from the death of Elah (see verse 29), a clear indication that the synchronistic notice has been superimposed on the original introduction. That, at least, is the view that has prevailed in the Hebrew text; on the divergent scheme of the LXX, see on verse 29.

24. The site of the ancient Samaria is now occupied by the village of *Sebusṭiyeh*, six miles north-west of Nabulus. It stood on the crest of an isolated conical hill, rising more than 300 feet of silver; and he built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of Shemer, the owner of the hill, Samaria. [D] And Omri did that 25 which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and dealt wickedly above all that were before him. For he walked 26 in all the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and in his sins wherewith he made Israel to sin, to provoke the LORD, the God of Israel, to anger with their vanities. Now the rest of the acts of Omri which he did, and his 27 might that he shewed, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? So Omri slept 28 with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria: and Ahab his son reigned in his stead.

And in the thirty and eighth year of Asa king of Judah 29

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above the level of the broad valley from which it springs (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 346). Its strikingly beautiful situation suggested to Isaiah the image of a wreath on the brow of a drunken reveller (Isa. xxviii. 1).

Samaria, the Greek form of the name, is akin to the Assyrian *Samirina* and Aramaic *Shāmerain*, and probably more ancient than the Hebrew *Shōmerôn*: it is certainly more easily derivable from **Shemer,** the name of the owner of the hill.

25. above all that were before him. Wherein his exceptional wickedness consisted is not told either in verse 26 or anywhere else. Mic. vi. 16 ('statutes of Omri') might show that some religious innovations of a reprehensible kind were attributed to him in later times.

[After verse 28 the LXX inserts the account of Jehoshaphat's reign; see on verse 29.]

xvi. 29–34. *Ahab of Israel. Introduction.*

These verses are the editorial introduction (interspersed with a few annalistic notices) to the reign of Ahab. It is separated from the concluding notice in xxii. 39, 40 by a series of narratives of the highest historical and religious interest. The most important fact of the reign was the introduction of the Phoenician Baal-worship, which is here described as a consequence of the marriage alliance with the king of Tyre, and rightly characterized as a menace to the national religion which threw the cult of Jeroboam's golden calves completely into the shade. The re-

began Ahab the son of Omri to reign over Israel: and Ahab the son of Omri reigned over Israel in Samaria
30 twenty and two years. And Ahab the son of Omri did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD above all
31 that were before him. And it came to pass, as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, that he took to wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, and went and
32 served Baal, and worshipped him. And he reared up

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building of Jericho (verse 34) is presumably recorded as a glaring illustration of the impiety and indifference to spiritual considerations that marked the age.

29. in the thirty and eighth year: LXX, 'in the second year of Jehoshaphat.' We have here a good example of the freedom with which the text was handled in early times, and also a proof of the secondary character of the whole synchronistic scheme. The explanation of the difference is probably as follows. The LXX reckons the twelve years of Omri from the suppression of Tibni (verse 23), which brings the end of the reign down to the forty-third of Asa. Since Asa reigned only forty-one years, the death of Omri thus falls in the reign of Jehoshaphat. Then the plan of the book required that the account of Jehoshaphat should come between Omri and Ahab; and accordingly the LXX actually inserts it between verses 28 and 29 (28^{a-h}, in Swete), dating his accession in the eleventh year of Omri. Otherwise, the verse is given by the LXX in a simpler and probably more original form than in the Hebrew.

31. And it came . . . walk: better, perhaps, 'And it was the lightest (of his offences) that he walked,' &c.

Ethbaal: Ithobal I ('with him is Baal') of Tyre is mentioned by Menander (Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 131 f.); his reign is dated by Winckler 887-876 B.C. (*KAT*^{3}, p. 129). The name **Jezebel** (*'Izebel*) is of uncertain etymology. The marriage, which proved so disastrous to Ahab's dynasty and the peace of the nation, was in itself a clever stroke of statecraft. Ahab, like Solomon before him, perceived the advantage of an alliance with Tyre; and he secured it in the usual way by taking the Tyrian princess as his consort. The inevitable practical corollary was the recognition of the foreign deity, out of which arose the great religious struggle of the reign.

32, 33. International courtesy demanded that the foreign queen should have a sanctuary of her own religion in her adopted

an altar for Baal in the house of Baal, which he had
built in Samaria. And Ahab made the Asherah; and 33
Ahab did yet more to provoke the LORD, the God of
Israel, to anger than all the kings of Israel that were
before him. [**KI**] In his days did Hiel the Beth-elite 34
build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof with the
loss of Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof
with the loss of his youngest son Segub; according to
the word of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of
Joshua the son of Nun.

[**Ej**] And Elijah the Tishbite, who was of the sojourners **17**

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country; and accordingly Ahab, still following in the footsteps of Solomon (xi. 7), erects in Samaria a temple to Baal, with its indispensable adjuncts, the asherah and (as we learn from 2 Kings iii. 2) the maẓẓebah (see on xiv. 23).

Baal is here evidently the Baal or chief god of Tyre, Melḳarth. On the religious significance of the innovation, see the introductory note to next chapter.

34 is wanting in LXX (L), and presents some difficulties.

Jericho: now *Erīḥa*, not far from the mouth of the Jordan; but the O. T. city is thought to have been at *'Ain es-Sulṭān*, about one and a half miles to the north-west, and six miles from the river. The place had not lain waste since its destruction by Joshua (see 2 Sam. x. 5, Judges iii. 13); hence the word **build** must be understood in the frequent sense of 'extend' or 'fortify': how this task fell to a private individual does not appear. The expression **with the loss of** (*lit.* 'at the cost of'—the so-called *Bêth pretii*) is variously interpreted. Some think of an immolation of the two sons by the father, in order to extinguish the curse that lay on the rebuilding of the city; others (as Winckler) of the primitive custom of burying human victims alive under foundations or thresholds, to avert the wrath of the earth-demons (cf. Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 46 ff.). These theories are perhaps uncalled for; the best explanation may, after all, be that some tragic fate actually overtook Hiel's sons, and that the common opinion recognized in this the operation of the ancient curse pronounced by Joshua (Joshua vi. 26).

xvii–xix. *Elijah and Ahab.*

Although these chapters cover only about three years of Elijah's life they present an epitome of his whole career, and constitute of Gilead, said unto Ahab, As the LORD, the God of Israel,

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the chief document for our interpretation of the religious crisis of the ninth century. The nature of that crisis must be briefly indicated. The worship of the Baals—the local deities of the old Canaanitish sanctuaries—had been practised by the Israelites ever since the Conquest, and had resulted in an amalgamation of the two types of religion, and a confusion of the ethical character of Yahweh with the attributes proper to a mere nature-deity. It is probable that by the time of Elijah this process had gone so far as no longer to excite any effectual protest on behalf of the purity of the national faith. But the introduction of the cult of the Tyrian Baal under the patronage of Jezebel was recognized as a new departure in the life of the people, and it raised anew the whole issue between true and false religion in Israel. At this juncture Elijah appeared. He saw, if no one else did, that the conflict between Yahweh and Baal was no mere affair of politics or patriotism, but a conflict between two opposite religious principles, of which one could not exist alongside of the other; on the one hand the immoral nature-religion of Canaan, and on the other the ethical religion of Israel. 'To him,' as Wellhausen has finely said, 'Baal and Yahweh represented, so to speak, a contrast of principles, of profound and ultimate practical convictions; both could not be right, nor could they exist side by side. For him there existed no plurality of Divine Powers, operating with equal authority in different spheres, but everywhere One Holy and Mighty Being, who revealed Himself, not in the life of nature, but in those laws by which alone human society is held together, in the ethical demands of the spirit.' (*Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*^{3}, p. 74.) The perception of that fundamental antagonism, and the rigorous enforcement of its practical consequences, are the key to the significance of Elijah's ministry. As the precursor of the prophetic movement of the following century, he is to be ranked as the greatest religious personality that had been raised up in Israel since Moses.

Critics are unanimous in assigning the narrative to a Biography of Elijah, written from the prophetic point of view, and distinct from all the other documents incorporated in the book (see Introd. p. 28). On two points some difference of opinion exists: (*a*) as to whether ch. xxi belongs to the same source as xvii–xix (on this something will be said in the introduction to ch. xxi); and (*b*) as to the date of the composition. It is noteworthy that the section (in contrast to ch. xxi) shows no decided trace of Deuteronomic revision; hence, so far as literary evidence goes, the possibility is left open that it might have been embodied in the history after the compilation of Kings. And there are perhaps some features which by themselves might suggest a late liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word. And the 2

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composition. But there are other and more essential characteristics which can only be explained on the assumption of a relatively early date (the beginning of the eighth century). Thus (1) the absence of any polemic against the worship of the golden calves is in marked contrast to the compiler's persistent criticism of that offence, and makes it probable that the narrative is older than Amos and Hosea; (2) the complaint of the destruction of the northern altars (xix. 14) could hardly have been recorded by any writer influenced by the Deuteronomic legislation; and (3) the manner in which the judgement on Israel is represented (see the note on xix. 17) could not possibly originate after the historical tradition had once been fixed by the Book of Kings. It seems a reasonable conclusion that while the history may be idealized in a way that precludes the assumption of strictly contemporary authorship, yet the biography must have taken shape in an age to which the work of Elijah was a living memory.

xvii. 1. *Elijah's Message to Ahab.* With the eagle-like suddenness which characterizes all his movements Elijah appears abruptly before Ahab with the announcement of a drought which is to continue for some years, and not to be removed except in accordance with his prophetic word. The threat raises in the most effective way the religious question which Elijah wished to force on the minds of his contemporaries: Who is the truly Divine Being—Yahweh or Baal? In nothing did the ancient world recognize the hand of God more directly than in the giving and withholding of rain; and the chief purpose of this prediction is to demonstrate that the God whose servant Elijah is is the sole ruler of nature, against whose will no power in heaven or earth can prevail. It is generally supposed that the beginning of the history has been omitted in the compilation; but the considerations that point in that direction have no great weight; and it is doubtful if any introduction would not weaken the dramatic effect of the great prophet's advent on the scene.

1. of the sojourners of Gilead. There is little doubt that the correct reading is that of the LXX: 'from Tishbe of Gilead'—so defined to distinguish it from another Tishbe in Galilee (Tobit i. 2). A place *Istib*, a few miles north-west from *Mahne* (see on iv. 14), where a ruined shrine still bears the name *Mār Elyās*, has been plausibly identified with the birthplace of Elijah.

before whom I stand: expresses the prophet's lofty consciousness of his personal relation to Yahweh (cf. xviii. 15).

xvii. 2-7. *Elijah at the Brook Cherith.* The intensity of the calamity is delineated, not in vague general statements, but

3 word of the LORD came unto him, saying, Get thee hence,
and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook
4 Cherith, that is before Jordan. And it shall be, that
thou shalt drink of the brook; and I have commanded
5 the ravens to feed thee there. So he went and did
according unto the word of the LORD: for he went and
6 dwelt by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan. And
the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning,
and bread and flesh in the evening; and he drank of the
7 brook. And it came to pass after a while, that the brook
dried up, because there was no rain in the land.

8 And the word of the LORD came unto him, saying,
9 Arise, get thee to Zarephath, which belongeth to Zidon,

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concretely and vividly through the experiences of the prophet himself. He is sent first to a desolate wadi east of the Jordan, where, fed morning and evening by the ravens, he watches the gradual dwindling of the stream from which he drank.

3. Get thee hence. The want of any previous determination of locality is one of the reasons assigned for thinking the narrative has been curtailed at the beginning.

the brook Cherith (*Krîth*) is traditionally associated with the *Wadi el-Ḳelt* in the neighbourhood of Jericho. But the word **before** in a geographical designation can hardly be understood otherwise than as 'eastward,' so that the place must be sought in one of the watercourses flowing into the Jordan from the east, where in fact it is put by the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (Lagarde's edition, pp. 113, 302).

6. the ravens. The attempt to minimize the miracle by reading 'the Arabs' (*'ărābîm* for *'ōrĕbîm*) is a rationalistic absurdity. For **bread and flesh** the LXX reads 'bread in the morning and flesh in the evening,' which looks better, but may have been suggested by Exod. xvi. 8.

xvii. 8-16. *Elijah with the Widow of Zarephath.* The prophet is next sent to Zarephath in Phoenicia, where he lodges in the house of a widow, sustained by the miraculous barrel of meal and cruse of oil, which failed not while the famine lasted. It is impossible to conceive a more terribly realistic picture of mute abject human suffering than the account of Elijah's first interview with the woman at the gate.

9. Zarephath (Sarepta, Luke iv. 26), on the sea-coast, nine or ten miles south of Sidon, near the modern village of *Ṣarafend.*

and dwell there: behold, I have commanded a widow
woman there to sustain thee. So he arose and went to 10
Zarephath; and when he came to the gate of the city,
behold, a widow woman was there gathering sticks: and
he called to her, and said, Fetch me, I pray thee, a little
water in a vessel, that I may drink. And as she was 11
going to fetch it, he called to her, and said, Bring me,
I pray thee, a morsel of bread in thine hand. And she 12
said, As the LORD thy God liveth, I have not a cake, but
an handful of meal in the barrel, and a little oil in the
cruse: and, behold, I am gathering two sticks, that
I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we
may eat it, and die. And Elijah said unto her, Fear 13
not; go and do as thou hast said: but make me thereof
a little cake first, and bring it forth unto me, and after-
ward make for thee and for thy son. For thus saith the 14
LORD, the God of Israel, The barrel of meal shall not
waste, neither shall the cruse of oil fail, until the day
that the LORD sendeth rain upon the earth. And she 15
went and did according to the saying of Elijah: and she,
and he, and her house, did eat *many* days. The barrel 16
of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail,
according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by

10, 11. The woman complies readily with the request for water, but when asked for bread is forced to declare the absolute destitution to which she is reduced.

12. the LORD thy God. The woman is a heathen, but recognizes Elijah as a worshipper of Yahweh, and swears by his God. For **son** the LXX, here and in verse 13, reads 'sons.'

13. make me . . . first: a severe trial of her faith.

15. The woman trusts the prophet, and is rewarded by the fulfilment of his promise.

For **her house** read 'her son' (LXX 'sons,' as before).

many **days:** strictly, 'for some time.' The word is not found in the LXX, and is apparently interpolated.

17 Elijah. And it came to pass after these things, that the
son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick;
and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath
18 left in him. And she said unto Elijah, What have I to
do with thee, O thou man of God? thou art come unto
me to bring my sin to remembrance, and to slay my
19 son! And he said unto her, Give me thy son. And he
took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into the
chamber, where he abode, and laid him upon his own
20 bed. And he cried unto the LORD, and said, O LORD
my God, hast thou also brought evil upon the widow
21 with whom I sojourn, by slaying her son? And he
stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried
unto the LORD, and said, O LORD my God, I pray thee,
22 let this child's soul come into him again. And the

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xvii. 17–24. *The Widow's Son restored to Life.* After some time the widow's son falls sick and dies, but through the intercession of Elijah is restored to life. The mother makes avowal of her faith in the God of Elijah.

17. no breath left in him: no sign of life. Though the writer seems to avoid the direct assertion that the child died, Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 325) is mistaken in suggesting that he describes the case as one of apparent death merely. Such a view is not consistent with the language of verse 21.

18. to bring my sin to remembrance. The idea seems to be that the presence of the man of God has called the attention of the Deity to guilt which would otherwise have been overlooked, and of which she herself had been unconscious. As in the O. T. generally, the sense of sin is awakened by calamity, and the mind is carried back behind conscious transgressions to the deep-seated moral defect which is inherent in human nature.

19. the chamber: 'the upper chamber' (see 2 Kings iv. 10), not usually found in the houses of the poor.

20. hast thou also brought: or rather, with a change of emphasis, 'hast thou brought evil upon the very widow with whom . . . ?' i. e. in addition to the universal misery caused by the drought.

21. stretched himself upon: cf. 2 Kings iv. 34 f. and Acts xx. 10. The LXX reads 'breathed into the child.'

let this child's soul. The soul (*nephesh*) is the principle of

Lord hearkened unto the voice of Elijah; and the soul
of the child came into him again, and he revived. And 23
Elijah took the child, and brought him down out of the
chamber into the house, and delivered him unto his
mother: and Elijah said, See, thy son liveth. And the 24
woman said to Elijah, Now I know that thou art a man
of God, and that the word of the Lord in thy mouth
is truth.

And it came to pass after many days, that the word of **18**
the Lord came to Elijah, in the third year, saying, Go,
shew thyself unto Ahab; and I will send rain upon the
earth. And Elijah went to shew himself unto Ahab. 2
And the famine was sore in Samaria. And Ahab called 3
Obadiah, which was over the household. (Now Obadiah

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life, and cannot be conceived as having left the body except at death (contrast x. 5). Whether it was believed to survive the death of the body as an independent entity is a disputed point of O. T. psychology.

24. Now I know: by experience; not that she had doubted it before (verse 18).

that the word . . . truth: or, 'that the word of Yahweh is truly in thy mouth.' (Ps. cxxxii. 11.)

xviii. 1–19. *Elijah's Meeting with Ahab.* In the third year (of the drought) Elijah is commanded to emerge from his seclusion and bring the controversy between Yahweh and Israel to a decision. He first appears to Obadiah, the God-fearing minister of the palace, who has just parted from Ahab to search the country for pasture to the royal riding-beasts; and Obadiah, after being reassured as to Elijah's intention, goes to seek his master. Ahab soon appears—the LXX says he 'ran out' in his eagerness to confront the 'troubler of Israel'—but he is overawed by the stern dignity of the prophet's answer, who rolls back the blame of Israel's troubles on the idolatries of the ruling house. Elijah demands a convocation of all Israel, with the representatives of the foreign religion, at Carmel; and the king complies.

3^b, 4 interrupt the narrative by the recital of an episode in which Obadiah had given proof of his fidelity to the cause of Yahweh. It is generally supposed that this is a condensation of a fuller report of Jezebel's persecution, which stood originally

4 feared the LORD greatly: for it was so, when Jezebel cut
off the prophets of the LORD, that Obadiah took an hundred prophets, and hid them by fifty in a cave, and fed
5 them with bread and water.) And Ahab said unto Obadiah, Go through the land, unto all the fountains of water, and unto all the brooks: peradventure we may find grass and save the horses and mules alive, that we
6 lose not all the beasts. So they divided the land between them to pass throughout it: Ahab went one way by him-
7 self, and Obadiah went another way by himself. And as Obadiah was in the way, behold, Elijah met him: and he knew him, and fell on his face, and said, Is it thou,
8 my lord Elijah? And he answered him, It is I: go, tell
9 thy lord, Behold, Elijah *is here.* And he said, Wherein have I sinned, that thou wouldest deliver thy servant into
10 the hand of Ahab, to slay me? As the LORD thy God liveth, there is no nation or kingdom, whither my lord

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in an earlier part of the document. That is possible; but what is here given is taken directly from verse 13, and a fuller account was perhaps unnecessary in a biography of Elijah.

4. The activity of the prophetic schools (see on xx. 35) was a marked feature of the time, and a symptom of the rising opposition to Jezebel's influence. Of her persecution of the prophets we know nothing; but we cannot suppose that it was part of an organized scheme to suppress the worship of Yahweh in favour of that of Baal (see ch. xxii.).

5. Go through: better, as LXX, 'Come and let us go through.'

that we lose not: read with LXX (L), 'that cattle be not cut off from us.'

7. The appearance of Elijah is unexpected and mysterious, as in xvii. 1, xxi. 20.

9. Obadiah fears that the prophet may vanish as suddenly as he came, leaving him to bear the brunt of Ahab's exasperation.

10. the LORD thy God: cf. xvii. 12. The expression in the mouth of an Israelite is a recognition of the special relation of the prophet to God; so Isa. vii. 13. There is an obvious but not unnatural exaggeration in the description of Ahab's efforts to discover Elijah.

hath not sent to seek thee: and when they said, He is
not here, he took an oath of the kingdom and nation,
that they found thee not. And now thou sayest, Go, 11
tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah *is here*. And it shall come 12
to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the spirit
of the Lord shall carry thee whither I know not; and so
when I come and tell Ahab, and he cannot find thee,
he shall slay me: but I thy servant fear the Lord from
my youth. Was it not told my lord what I did when 13
Jezebel slew the prophets of the Lord, how I hid an
hundred men of the Lord's prophets by fifty in a cave,
and fed them with bread and water? And now thou 14
sayest, Go, tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah *is here*: and he
shall slay me. And Elijah said, As the Lord of hosts 15
liveth, before whom I stand, I will surely shew myself
unto him to-day. So Obadiah went to meet Ahab, and 16
told him: and Ahab went to meet Elijah. And it came 17
to pass, when Ahab saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him,

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12. Obadiah shares the popular belief that the prophet's mysterious movements are caused by the supernatural power of the spirit of Yahweh (cf. 2 Kings ii. 16); but there seems no trace of this idea in the mind of the writer. The conception appears in Ezekiel (iii. 12, viii. 3, xliii. 5), but it is of course not to be inferred that it originated with him.

13. See above on verse 4.

15. the LORD of hosts: Heb. *Yahweh Ẓĕbā'ōth*—a peculiarly solemn title of the God of Israel, designating Him usually as the Lord of the universe, or its cosmical forces. It is held by some scholars (Wellhausen, Smend, &c.) that it was first introduced into the language of religion by the prophet Amos, and that all occurrences of it in the older history are due to literary revision. Another and more probable view is that it originated in the period of the Philistine wars, as a name of the battle-God of the Hebrew hosts (1 Sam xvii. 45). That it acquired a larger, and in some sense an opposite, connotation in the hands of the prophets is undoubtedly true; but Elijah is in many respects the forerunner of the literary prophets, and it is not incredible that in its more exalted acceptation it was first used by him.

18 Is it thou, thou troubler of Israel? And he answered,
I have not troubled Israel; but thou, and thy father's
house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of
19 the LORD, and thou hast followed the Baalim. Now
therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto mount
Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty,
and the prophets of the Asherah four hundred, which eat
20 at Jezebel's table. So Ahab sent unto all the children of
Israel, and gathered the prophets together unto mount

17, 18. troubler . . . troubled: a strong word, meaning 'to bring disaster upon' (Gen. xxxiv. 30; Joshua vi. 18, vii. 25).

the Baalim: 'the Baals'—referring to the local forms under which the Canaanitish Baal was worshipped.

19. Carmel: see below on verse 20.

and the prophets of the Asherah four hundred. If the words be genuine Asherah must here be the proper name of a goddess (see on xiv. 23). But since these prophets are not mentioned in verses 22 and 40 it is not unlikely that the clause is a late gloss, which the LXX has repeated in verse 22, though not in verse 40.

eat at Jezebel's table: see on ii. 7.

That the Phoenician and Canaanite religion had its prophets (*nĕbî'îm*) is an important historical notice, whose interest is enhanced by the description of their frenzied demeanour in verse 28.

xviii. 20-40. *The Sacrifice on Carmel.* The scene chosen for this great vindication of the divinity of Yahweh is Mount Carmel, 'sacred above all mountains, and forbidden of access to the vulgar.' There is some reason to believe that the mountain was held sacred by the Phoenicians, and had an altar to Baal as well as one to Yahweh (verse 30). (For the classical testimonies, see W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*^{2}, p. 156.) Hence it was the fittest place imaginable for a contest such as Elijah contemplated, between the rival claims to divinity of Yahweh and Baal. The incident is described with all the impressiveness and circumstance which befitted the crowning act of Elijah's prophetic career. The issue of the trial by fire demonstrated, as completely as physical miracle could ever do, the impotence and non-entity of Baal and the presence of true godhead behind the word of Elijah. The assembled people were for the moment overawed and convinced; and the extermination of the Baal-prophets seemed to seal for ever the victory of the true religion over the false.

20. unto mount Carmel. The precise spot on the long range

Carmel. And Elijah came near unto all the people, and 21
said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the
Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him.
And the people answered him not a word. Then said 22
Elijah unto the people, I, even I only, am left a prophet
of the Lord; but Baal's prophets are four hundred and
fifty men. Let them therefore give us two bullocks; 23
and let them choose one bullock for themselves, and cut
it in pieces, and lay it on the wood, and put no fire under: and I will dress the other bullock, and lay it on the
wood, and put no fire under. And call ye on the name 24
of your god, and I will call on the name of the Lord:
and the God that answereth by fire, let him be God.
And all the people answered and said, It is well spoken.
And Elijah said unto the prophets of Baal, Choose you 25
one bullock for yourselves, and dress it first; for ye are
many; and call on the name of your god, but put no fire
under. And they took the bullock which was given 26

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of Carmel where the sacrifices took place cannot, of course, be determined with certainty; but none can be found more suitable than *el-Muḥrāḳā* (the place of burning), at the foot of which is *Tell el-Ḳasîs* (the priests' mound), the place traditionally associated with the massacre of the prophets of Baal. *El-Muḥrāḳā* stands nearly 1,600 feet above sea-level, nearly four miles south of the highest summit; it has no view of the sea, which, however, can readily be obtained by a few minutes' ascent (see verse 43). Hard by is a spring, from which the water might have been drawn for the drenching of the altar (33 ff.).

21. halt ye between two opinions: LXX, 'go lame on both knee joints.' The literal sense of the Hebrew is obscure, but the idea of the question is clear from what immediately follows. It satirizes the attempt to combine two religions so incongruous as those of Baal and Yahweh.

22. I, even I only, am left: cf. xix. 14; but see, on the other hand, verse 13, xx. 13, xxii. 6 ff.

24. the God that answereth by fire: cf. 2 Chron. vii. 1.

26. The words **which was given them** (strictly, 'which he

them, and they dressed it, and called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, O Baal, hear us. But there was no voice, nor any that answered.
27 And they leaped about the altar which was made. And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is musing, or he is gone aside, or he is in a journey, or peradventure
28 he sleepeth, and must be awaked. And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and
29 lances, till the blood gushed out upon them. And it was so, when midday was past, that they prophesied until

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had given them') are to be omitted, with the LXX, as inconsistent with verses 23, 25.

leaped is the same word as is rendered 'halt' in verse 21. It seems to denote a religious dance round the altar, accompanied with contortions of the body, as was usual in such ceremonies.

which was made: LXX, 'which they had made.'

27. It is unreasonable to doubt that Elijah's irony is conceived in the spirit of absolute monotheism, as distinguished from mere monolatry. He could not have used such language if the question in his mind had been merely whether Baal was the proper god for Israel to worship: he plainly implies that Baal is no god at all.

he is musing: LXX, 'is engaged in conversation.'

gone aside is explained as a euphemistic expression. The sentence as a whole is awkward in style.

28. The taunt of Elijah stimulates the devotees of Baal to still higher frenzy. The cutting of the flesh, so that the blood gushes out on the altar, is an instance of a widely diffused piece of primitive ritual, based originally, as W. R. Smith has argued, on the idea of a blood-bond thus established between the god and the worshipper (loc. cit. p. 321 ff.). Here it is perhaps sufficiently explained as a substitute for human sacrifice, or an attempt to excite the pity of the god.

29. they prophesied: i. e. they had worked themselves up to the condition of wild convulsive frenzy in which they were no longer capable of self-control, but were supposed to be taken possession of by a supernatural power. Such manifestations were characteristic of the earlier and lower forms of prophecy even in Israel (1 Sam. x. 10, xix. 20-24), and were always associated with the name *nābî'* (prophet), so that in popular speech 'prophet' and 'madman' were almost convertible terms (1 Sam. xviii. 10; 2 Kings the time of the offering of the *evening* oblation; but there was neither voice, nor any to answer, nor any that regarded. And Elijah said unto all the people, Come 30 near unto me; and all the people came near unto him. And he repaired the altar of the LORD that was thrown down. [**P**] And Elijah took twelve stones, according to 31 the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the LORD came, saying, Israel shall be thy name. And with the stones he built an altar in the 32 name of the LORD; [**Ej**] and he made a trench about the altar, as great as would contain two measures of seed. And he put the wood in order, and cut the bullock in 33 pieces, and laid it on the wood. And he said, Fill four

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ix. 11; Jer. xxix. 26). This exhibition lasted till **the time of the offering of the** evening **oblation,** which must therefore have been an established custom in the northern sanctuaries, and must evidently have been observed long before nightfall. Whether this time corresponded with that prescribed by the Priestly Code ('between the two evenings,' Exod. xxix. 39 R. V. marg.) is uncertain. Between verses 29 and 30 the LXX has another address of Elijah to the prophets of Baal, which is possibly genuine: 'Cease forthwith, and I will offer my burnt-offering. And they ceased and withdrew.'

30. And he repaired . . . thrown down: clearly showing that a local sanctuary of Yahweh had stood on the spot. The statement appears inconsistent with what immediately follows; for if the old altar was repaired, there was no need to build a new one. Hence those critics are probably right who consider verses 31, 32^a to be an interpolation by a reader who took exception to the idea of Elijah tacitly sanctioning the use of a provincial altar by restoring it so reverently; and who reveals his standpoint by a direct quotation from the Priestly Code (Gen. xxxv. 10). This view is confirmed by the fact that in the LXX verses 31, 32^a stand *before* the last sentence of verse 30.

32^b. as great as would contain: rather, 'about as much as would be sown with two seahs.' The *seah* is a third of an ephah (see on v. 11). In the Mishnah the expression here used (*bêth seăh*) is said to be a definite area, about 900 sq. yards (Benzinger); twice that would be the size of Elijah's 'trench.' The measurement may apply to the area enclosed by the trench.

33-35. Such elaborate precautions against the suspicion of fraud

barrels with water, and pour it on the burnt offering, and
34 on the wood. And he said, Do it the second time; and
they did it the second time. And he said, Do it the
35 third time; and they did it the third time. And the
water ran round about the altar; and he filled the trench
36 also with water. And it came to pass at the time of the
offering of the *evening* oblation, that Elijah the prophet
came near, and said, O LORD, the God of Abraham, of
Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art
God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have
37 done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O LORD,
hear me, that this people may know that thou, LORD, art
God, and *that* thou hast turned their heart back again.
38 Then the fire of the LORD fell, and consumed the burnt
offering, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and
39 licked up the water that was in the trench. And when
all the people saw it, they fell on their faces: and they
40 said, The LORD, he is God; the LORD, he is God. And
Elijah said unto them, Take the prophets of Baal; let
not one of them escape. And they took them: and

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read very strangely in the O. T. To the mind of one commentator they have actually suggested the grotesque idea that naphtha was used!

36, 37. The prayer of Elijah contains two petitions: first, for the vindication of his own prophetic authority, a final proof that he had all along acted in accordance with the will of God; and second, for the bringing back of the nation to faith in the one true God. On the answer he feels that he has staked the whole future of Israel's religion. That 36^b and 37 are duplicates (Benzinger) is not probable.

38. The Divine answer takes of necessity the form of a miracle, an event which cannot be explained by any known laws of nature. And without assuming the reality of this miracle it would be difficult to avoid dissolving the whole history of Elijah into legend. **the fire of the LORD** is the lightning (Gen. xix. 24, &c.).

40. The slaughter of the false prophets took place, not on the scene of the sacrifice, but at the **brook Kishon** (*Nahr el-Muḳaṭṭa*), at the foot of the hill (see on verse 20).

Elijah brought them down to the brook Kishon, and slew
them there. And Elijah said unto Ahab, Get thee up, 41
eat and drink; for there is the sound of abundance of
rain. So Ahab went up to eat and to drink. And Elijah 42
went up to the top of Carmel; and he bowed himself
down upon the earth, and put his face between his knees.
And he said to his servant, Go up now, look toward the 43
sea. And he went up, and looked, and said, There is
nothing. And he said, Go again seven times. And it 44
came to pass at the seventh time, that he said, Behold,
there ariseth a cloud out of the sea, as small as a man's
hand. And he said, Go up, say unto Ahab, Make ready

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xviii. 41-46. *The coming of the Rain.* Having, as it seemed, made an end for ever of idolatry in Israel, Elijah now turns to Ahab with an assurance that the sorely-needed rain will be no longer withheld. While the king eats and drinks in his tent, the prophet ascends the mountain to wait and pray for the first sign of the promised blessing. At last his attendant reports a speck of cloud on the horizon, and speedily the whole sky is overcast, and before Ahab's chariot can reach the gate of Jezreel the rain has begun to fall.

41. Get thee up: from the banks of the river, where he had witnessed the massacre of his queen's satellites, to some point not indicated on the mountain-side. It is impossible to form a distinct picture of the situation.

there is the sound. The prophet means that he already hears (in spirit) the noise of the coming rain.

42. he bowed himself down. The verb occurs again only in 2 Kings iv. 34 f. Neither the attitude itself nor its significance can be fully explained. It seems, however, to express intense concentration of thought on an invisible object, since Elijah cannot relax his attention to observe the signs of the weather, but sends his servant to look.

43. Go again seven times: add with the LXX, 'And the servant went again seven times.' (See further, Burney's *Notes*, p. 228.)

44, 45. With the appearing of the cloud, **as small as a man's hand,** Elijah knows that his prayer is answered, and he has hardly time to send warning to Ahab before the heaven is black with storm-clouds, and a rain that must speedily make the roads impassable has begun to fall.

thy chariot, and get thee down, that the rain stop thee
45 not. And it came to pass in a little while, that the
heaven grew black with clouds and wind, and there was
a great rain. And Ahab rode, and went to Jezreel.
46 And the hand of the LORD was on Elijah; and he
girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance
of Jezreel.

19 And Ahab told Jezebel all that Elijah had done, and
withal how he had slain all the prophets with the sword.
2 Then Jezebel sent a messenger unto Elijah, saying, So
let the gods do to me, and more also, if I make not thy

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46. From the nearest end of Carmel to Jezreel (*Zer'in*) would be a ride of seventeen or eighteen miles. The object of Elijah's great feat is not stated, and conjecture is useless. It is not even said that he made himself a runner to Ahab's chariot, but only that he reached Jezreel before it. The incident is recorded chiefly as a proof of the supernatural power by which the prophet was sustained.

xix. 1–9^a. *Elijah's Flight and Despair.* Threatened with the vengeance of Jezebel, Elijah flees first to Beer-sheba in the extreme south of Judah; and then goes a day's journey into the wilderness, where, in utter prostration of body and spirit, he throws himself down under a shrub and prays for death. He is twice wakened from sleep by an angel, and finds food and drink miraculously provided for him; thus refreshed and strengthened he proceeds on his long pilgrimage to Horeb, the mount of God. Although many features of the narrative are obscure, its main conceptions convey an irresistible impression of truth. The psychological reaction following on the disappointment of his grand ambition, his temporary loss of faith in his own mission, his craving for some nearer contact with the historic God of Israel, his sudden perception of how little a man can accomplish, and his consequent weariness of life—all these things are portrayed with marvellous insight and delicacy, and invest the character of Elijah with a singular naturalness and charm.

1. withal had better be omitted: it is an attempt to reproduce an ungrammatical expression of the Hebrew text, which is found in no ancient version.

2. Jezebel's threat is in reality a confession of impotence; if she had dared to kill Elijah she would not have sent him this warning. Her object is to frighten him out of the country. The

life as the life of one of them by to-morrow about this
time. And when he saw that, he arose, and went for his 3
life, and came to Beer-sheba, which belongeth to Judah,
and left his servant there. But he himself went a day's 4
journey into the wilderness, and came and sat down
under a juniper tree: and he requested for himself that
he might die; and said, It is enough; now, O LORD,
take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers.

LXX prefaces her asseveration with the words: 'As sure as you are Elijah, and I am Jezebel.'

3. Read, as margin (with LXX, &c.), 'And he was afraid.' The scribes shrank from speaking of Elijah and fear in one breath.

Beer-sheba ('Well of the Oath,' see Gen. xxvi. 33) is still called *Bir es-Seba'*, and marks the southern limit of cultivation at a point midway between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea: hence the common O. T. phrase 'from Dan to Beer-sheba' (iv. 25, &c.).

which belongeth to Judah, and was therefore beyond the jurisdiction of Ahab and Jezebel. The expression is commonly regarded as a proof that the writer belonged to the northern kingdom; though what else he could have said if he *had* been a Judaean is not apparent. It is important to note that Beer-sheba was an ancient sacred place much frequented by pilgrims from North Israel even after the severance of the two kingdoms (see Amos v. 5, viii. 14). This may have had something to do in determining the direction of Elijah's flight.

4. The craving for complete solitude leads him a day's journey into the wilderness; and there, unseen by any human eye, he abandons himself to the bitterness of disenchantment and failure.

a juniper tree: strictly, 'a certain broom bush.' (The indefinite expression is repeated in verse 5, showing that there is some irregularity in the text. It is, however, unnecessary to delete the clause here as a gloss (Benzinger).) The Hebrew name *rōtem* is the same as the Arabic *retem*, which includes several species of *genista*. The shrub grows plentifully along the desert wadis between Palestine and Sinai, and its scanty shelter is taken advantage of, for want of better, by the Bedouin in pitching their tents.

for I am not better than my fathers. His strength is but a man's strength after all, and he has reached the limit of human endurance: life has become a useless burden, because he feels he can never again rise to the height of the effort that has failed.

5 And he lay down and slept under a juniper tree; and,
behold, an angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise
6 and eat. And he looked, and, behold, there was at his
head a cake baken on the coals, and a cruse of water.
And he did eat and drink, and laid him down again.
7 And the angel of the LORD came again the second time,
and touched him, and said, Arise and eat; because the
8 journey is too great for thee. And he arose, and did eat
and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty
days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God.

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5. an angel: LXX, 'some one.' On angels as intermediaries between God and the prophets, see xiii. 18; the idea is one of the indications that have been thought to point to late composition of the passage.

6. a cake . . . coals means simply a cake such as is baked on glowing stones (as we might speak of a griddle-cake).

7. the angel of the LORD may be the angel of verse 5, not necessarily the unique and mysterious being who is associated with the theophany in the earlier history (Gen. xvi. 7 ff., xxi. 17 ff., xxii. 11 ff.; Judges vi. 11 ff., xiii. 3, &c.).

8. unto Horeb the mount of God (Exod. iii. 1). On the whole, the narrative gives the impression that this was the goal of Elijah's pilgrimage from the first, though his strength failed him on the way (see verse 7). The source of the impulse might be twofold: (1) on the one hand, a desire to meet the God of Israel at the very place where the national covenant—now abrogated by national apostasy—had been formed. (2) On the other hand, there may be the idea, appearing elsewhere in the O. T., that Horeb continued to be the true dwelling-place of Yahweh even after the people had entered Canaan (Judges v. 4 f., Hab. iii. 3, &c.). In protesting against the popular identification of Yahweh with the local Baals, Elijah may have repudiated the notion that he was actually present in every Israelitish sanctuary, and have clung to the thought that he dwelt in awful majesty amid the thunder-clouds of Sinai. On either view his impulse was to get back to the historic origins of the national religion, and renew his faith by personal contact with the God he served. The name **Horeb** for the mount of the Law is characteristic of the Elohistic document of the Pentateuch (which is supposed to have been written in North Israel) and the Book of Deuteronomy. The writer appears to have vague ideas of its situation; the Sinai of

And he came thither unto a cave, and lodged there; 9
[Z] and, behold, the word of the LORD came to him, and
he said unto him, What doest thou here, Elijah? And 10
he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD, the God
of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy
covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword: and I, even I only, am left; and
they seek my life, to take it away. And he said, Go 11
forth, and stand upon the mount before the LORD.

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tradition could easily be reached from Beer-sheba in eight or ten days.

9^b–11^a. The verses seem out of place here, and spoil by anticipation the dramatic effect of the vision which follows. Verse 11^a would lead us to expect that Elijah stood on the mountain while the theophany took place; verse 13 shows that, on the contrary, he was still in the cave, and only came out when the more violent manifestations of the Divine presence had ceased. The contradiction is not removed by the LXX's addition of 'to-morrow.' The verses are perhaps a duplication of 13^b, 14 by a later hand (Wellhausen).

xix. 11^b–18. *The Theophany at Horeb.* Elijah is made to realize the presence of God in a spectacle and an experience which for grandeur and depth of conception could hardly be surpassed in literature. The Lord passes by arrayed in the terrors of storm, earthquake, and fire; but none of these bring home to the prophet the immediate sense of God. It is only in the audible stillness which succeeds the fire that he feels the mysterious attraction of the Divine, and, wrapping his face in his mantle, comes forth to the entrance of the cave. Then in answer to the heart-searching question, What doest thou here? he pours forth his complaint against his people; and after being commissioned to appoint the ministers of Divine vengeance, he is assured of the triumph, through fearful judgements, of the cause for which he had lived. The lesson of the theophany must be gathered from the revelation which accompanies it It is commonly conceived as a rebuke to the impetuous and fiery zeal of the prophet, and his reliance on violent methods for advancing the cause of God: he is supposed to learn here that not fire and storm but the still small voice is the fit emblem of the patient and gentle and silent operation of the spiritual forces by which the kingdom of God is built up. (See A. B. Davidson, *The Called of God*, ch. vi). But that interpretation, however attractive in itself, does not agree with the con-

[**Ej**] And, behold, the LORD passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the LORD; but the LORD was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the LORD
12 was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the LORD was not in the fire: and after the
13 fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou
14 here, Elijah? And he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD, the God of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away.
15 And the LORD said unto him, Go, return on thy way to

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cluding message, which unfolds a vision of judgement more terrible than even Elijah could have wished. The significance of the theophany lies rather in its effort to express through the least sensuous of material symbols the spirituality of Yahweh. As compared with older representations, in which thunderstorm and earthquake appear as adequate vehicles of the Divine presence, this certainly indicates an advance in the conception of Yahweh's nature.

11. The narrative is resumed after the interpolation with the words: **And, behold, the LORD**.

12. a still small voice: *lit.* 'a sound of thin silence.' The expressive *oxymoron* finds a parallel in the *hendiadys* of Job iv. 16 ('silence and a voice').

13. wrapped his face: that he might not look on God and die (Gen. xxxii. 30; Exod. iii. 6, xxxiii. 20, &c.).

14. I have been very jealous. The words express the spirit of Elijah's ministry, consuming zeal for Yahweh and uncompromising opposition to every object of worship which sought to share with Him the honours of godhead. What the prophet complains of is the entire suppression of the religion of Yahweh, which is, historically considered, an exaggeration, though one that is natural in an emotional outburst.

15, 16. In answer to his complaint, Elijah is commanded to

the wilderness of Damascus: and when thou comest,
thou shalt anoint Hazael to be king over Syria: and 16
Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over
Israel: and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah
shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room. And it 17
shall come to pass, that him that escapeth from the
sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay: and him that escapeth
from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay. Yet will I 18
leave *me* seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which
have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath

'anoint' the three men who in different ways are to complete his reformation by the extirpation of Baal-worship—Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha. Such a commission clearly implies that his own life-work is practically over, and that his remaining time on earth will be short. The word 'anoint' is strictly applicable to the two kings; but there is no instance of the anointing of a prophet, and even in the case of Elisha the ceremony was not actually performed.

Abel-meholah (see iv. 12) is said by Eusebius (*Onomasticon*) to be in the Jordan valley, ten Roman miles south of Scythopolis (Beth-shan).

17. the sword of Hazael symbolizes the Syrian wars (cf. 2 Kings viii. 12), whose disastrous course is fully recorded in the subsequent narratives; that of **Jehu** refers to the massacres described in 2 Kings ix, x; but what is meant by the sword of **Elisha** the history does not reveal. There may have been a tradition of some stern measures directed by Elisha against the devotees of Baal, similar to Elijah's execution of the prophets at Carmel, although no trace of it appears in the documents preserved by the compiler. The whole course of events, indeed, was different from the forecast given in this verse. The sword of Hazael did not precede but followed the sword of Jehu; and the brunt of the Syrian wars fell most heavily on the house of Jehu himself, champion of Yahweh's cause though he was. The discrepancy illustrates the freedom and idealism of O.T. prediction, and proves beyond a doubt that the passage before us is no invention of a late writer with an eye on the fulfilment.

18. seven thousand is a round number for the faithful minority who will be spared in the judgement. It is an anticipation of the later prophetic doctrine of the Remnant, the pious kernel, the Israel within Israel, to whom belongs the promise of the future.

19 not kissed him. So he departed thence, and found Elisha the son of Shaphat, who was plowing, with twelve yoke *of oxen* before him, and he with the twelfth: and Elijah passed over unto him, and cast his mantle upon
20 him. And he left the oxen, and ran after Elijah, and said, Let me, I pray thee, kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow thee. And he said unto him, Go

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hath not kissed him: cf. Hos. xiii. 2. The rite is also illustrated by the Mohammedan custom of kissing the Kaaba.

xix. 19–21. *The Call of Elisha.* Of the three commissions entrusted to Elijah in verses 15, 16, only one, and that the last of the three, is reported to have been actually carried out by him. We have, in fact, no record of the anointing of Hazael at all (see on 2 Kings viii. 7–15); the account of the anointing of Jehu by an emissary of Elisha (2 Kings ix) is taken from an independent source, which represents an older tradition than that presupposed by this narrative. The history of Elijah must have related these incidents in a form corresponding to verses 15, 16, and presumably in the order there prescribed. This points to the conclusion that there is a lacuna in the Elijah-document between verses 18 and 19; and the inference is strengthened by the observation that verse 19 is not the natural continuation of verses 15–18. The explicit command to go straight to Damascus by the desert (verse 15) could not without explanation be followed by the statement that the prophet went straight to the middle Jordan valley instead. We may assume, therefore, that in the original document verse 19 was preceded immediately by the account of the anointing of Jehu, and that 'thence' (wherever it may have been) Elijah went to Abel-meholah, where he found Elisha, and threw his mantle over him. The symbolic action was correctly interpreted by Elisha, and after a farewell feast with his parents and friends he followed Elijah as his personal attendant.

19. he departed thence: see above. The **mantle** of Elijah appears again in 2 Kings ii. 13, 14 as the symbol (and vehicle) of his prophetic gift (cf. 2 Kings i. 8, marg.). The garment of skin covered with the hair seems then, as in later times (Zech. xiii. 4; Matt. iii. 4), to have been the distinctive garb of the prophet.

20. Cf. Luke ix. 61. While Elisha's request is natural and intelligible, the answer of Elijah is perplexing. The easiest explanation (though not quite convincing) is that Elijah grants his request, and adds that he has done nothing to him that need interfere with such an expression of human affection. Other senses suggested are: 'Go by all means, yet [consider] what I

back again; for what have I done to thee? And he 21
returned from following him, and took the yoke of oxen,
and slew them, and boiled their flesh with the instruments
of the oxen, and gave unto the people, and they did eat.
Then he arose, and went after Elijah, and ministered
unto him.

[**N**] And Ben-hadad the king of Syria gathered all his **20**

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have done to thee'; or, 'Go, and come back [to me], for [understand] what I have.'

21. from following him: better, 'from behind him,' or simply, 'from him.'

the yoke of oxen: the pair which he himself had been guiding (verse 19). The act signifies for Elisha the breaking up of the old life and associations. That he bade farewell also to his parents, though not stated, is to be understood.

xx. *Ahab's Victories over the Syrians.*

The chapter records a phase of the long conflict between Israel and Syria, which had commenced in the reign of Baasha (xv. 18 ff.), and lasted with intermissions till the time of Jeroboam II (see verse 34). Owing to the imperfection of the record (see below) it is impossible to say for certain to what period of Ahab's reign the incidents are to be assigned. The probability is that ch. xxii was the immediate sequel of ch. xx in the original document to which both belong; and that consequently the events here related took place about three years before the death of Ahab. A still more interesting question is whether they preceded or followed the battle of Ḳarḳar, which was fought in 854 B. C., and is one of the leading synchronisms between Hebrew and Assyrian history. An inscription of Shalmaneser II tells how in that year he met and defeated at Ḳarḳar, in the vicinity of Hamath, a strong coalition of Syrian princes; and amongst the names of the confederates are those of Bir'idri (or Dad'idri) of Damascus (evidently the head of the league) and Ahab of Israel, who is said to have furnished a contingent of 2,000 chariots and 10,000 men (see *COT*, p. 196). The identity of Ben-hadad with the Bir'idri of the inscription cannot be doubted: see on verse 1. Here then we find Ahab and Ben-hadad fighting side by side against a common enemy, and the question is how their co-operation is to be explained in the light of the narrative before us. Two constructions suggest themselves: (1) Ahab may have been the friendly but independent ally of Ben-hadad at Ḳarḳar; in which case it is natural to host together: and there were thirty and two kings with him, and horses and chariots: and he went up and

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suppose that the fighting of ch. xx was over before that event, and that the alliance was the result of Ahab's singular generosity in the hour of victory, as related in verses 32-34. (2) Ahab may have been the vassal of Ben-hadad, and compelled to fight in the ranks of the anti-Assyrian league. Such a relation between the two sovereigns seems implied in verses 3 f.; hence the most probable inference would be that *after* the battle of Ḳarḳar Ahab made an effort to recover his independence, with the results narrated in this chapter. Recent historians seem pretty equally divided between these two views, and the point remains for the present in suspense. But if the Hebrew chronology is to be strictly followed, the death of Ahab must have taken place in the same year as the battle of Ḳarḳar (see Introd. p. 46).

The source from which the narrative (along with xxii. 1-38) is taken seems to be a popular history of the northern kingdom, written from a political rather than a religious standpoint, and exhibiting the character and policy of Ahab in a much more favourable light than is the case in ch. xvii-xix or xxi. The author's admiration for the gallantry and chivalry of his hero is apparent throughout; it compels the sympathy of the reader in spite of the darker features emphasized in the other sections of the history. It is evident that such a delineation of Ahab's personality cannot come from the same pen as the biography of Elijah in ch. xvii-xix; and that conclusion is confirmed by other points of difference, such as the attitude of Ahab towards the prophets, the absence of any allusion to the worship of Baal or the work of Elijah, and the introduction of Micaiah the son of Imlah as the solitary representative of true prophecy. Since the narrative is too copious and graphic for the official annals, we must regard it as an extract from a larger independent work, in which the earlier history of the Syrian wars was probably related with the fullness of historical knowledge which characterizes the chapters before us. Whether the passages have literary affinities with any of the other documents used by the compiler is a matter which can be considered later (see on 2 Kings iii, vi. 25 ff., and ix-x): for the reign of Ahab at least they stand entirely by themselves.

xx. 1-22. *The Siege and Relief of Samaria.* The narrative presupposes (*a*) an attempt by Ahab to escape from the relation of vassalage in which he had hitherto stood to Damascus; and probably (*b*) a series of reverses in the field, which had laid open the capital to the Syrian army. Of these circumstances some account was no doubt contained in the part of the document which has been omitted (see above). The story is taken up at the point

besieged Samaria, and fought against it. And he sent 2
messengers to Ahab king of Israel, into the city, and
said unto him, Thus saith Ben-hadad, Thy silver and 3
thy gold is mine; thy wives also and thy children, even

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where Ben-hadad, having invested Samaria, proposes to Ahab humiliating terms of surrender. It is difficult to see wherein the second proposal (verses 5 f.) differs from the first (verse 3); but at all events Ahab was ready to accept the first, but flings back the second with a spirited and memorable defiance. While the drunken Ben-hadad issues orders for an assault on the city, Ahab leads out his forces against him, and (by a stratagem?) secures a complete victory over the Syrians. The description of the battle is very obscure.

1. The verse shows traces of amplification. A comparison of the Hebrew with the LXX suggests that the original may have been: 'And Ben-hadad collected his whole army, and came up and laid siege to Samaria.'

On the **thirty and two kings,** see verse 24.

Ben-hadad ('Son of [the god] Hadad') is the name given to three Syrian kings in the O.T. (cf. xv. 18; 2 Kings xiii. 24). Winckler (and Cheyne) would reduce them to two by identifying the king here mentioned with the Ben-hadad of xv. 18; but that, though chronologically possible, is in contradiction with the allusion of xx. 34. The name in Shalmaneser's inscription is read by some Assyriologists as *Dad'idri*, by others as *Bir'idri.* If the former reading be correct, the real name of the king must have been Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 3, &c.), and he is here called Ben-hadad by confusion with the name of his father Ben-hadad I. It is much more probable, however, that the true form is Bir'idri, and that this has been transformed into Ben-hadad by two easily intelligible processes: (1) the Hebrew *Bēn-* ('son') was substituted for the Aramaic *Bar-* (it would be a mistaken etymology, but that does not matter); and (2) the last consonant *R* was changed to *D.* (Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, p. 68 ff.) This theory is confirmed by the fact that an intermediate stage is represented by the LXX, which invariably reads 'son of Hader.'

3 ff. The negotiations are difficult to understand. Commentators have tried hard to make out a tangible difference between the first and the second demand of Ben-hadad; but their explanations are all unsatisfying, and no single view can be carried through. The best is perhaps Wellhausen's, which is based on the LXX reading of verse 7 (see below) and an emendation in verse 3, which makes the last clause read 'but thy wives and thy children are *thine.*' (The phrase **even the goodliest** is not in the LXX.) On this

4 the goodliest, are mine. And the king of Israel answered and said, It is according to thy saying, my lord, O king;
5 I am thine, and all that I have. And the messengers came again, and said, Thus speaketh Ben-hadad, saying, I sent indeed unto thee, saying, Thou shalt deliver me thy silver, and thy gold, and thy wives, and thy children;
6 but I will send my servants unto thee to-morrow about this time, and they shall search thine house, and the houses of thy servants; and it shall be, that whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put it in their hand,
7 and take it away. Then the king of Israel called all the elders of the land, and said, Mark, I pray you, and see how this man seeketh mischief: for he sent unto me for my wives, and for my children, and for my silver, and

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view Ahab consents to the surrender of his silver and gold, but not of his wives and children, a distinction intelligible enough in itself, but hardly in accordance with the language of verses 4, 5. Others hold that in the first instance Ben-hadad asks only for the sacrifice of Ahab's personal possessions, while in the second he demands the surrender of the city; that, however, lays an emphasis on the words 'and the houses of thy servants' (verse 6) which the construction does not warrant. Another view (which is naturally suggested by the contrast of verses 5 and 6, but finds no support in verse 7) is that Ahab, while ready to yield all that is asked, resents the indignity of having his palace ransacked by the minions of Ben-hadad. It is possible that the confusion was in the mind of the writer himself, who may have reported the circumstances at second-hand, without a clear perception of the precise point at issue.

5, 6. The expression for **but** at the beginning of verse 6 is usually preceded by a *negative* sentence; hence Klostermann amends verse 5 so as to read, 'I did *not* send to thee, saying, Thou shalt *give* me . . . ; *but* to-morrow I will send . . . and they shall *take* it,' bringing out the contrast between a voluntary surrender and a humiliating search.

For **pleasant in thine eyes** it is better to read, with LXX, 'pleasant in their eyes.'

7. The LXX rendering referred to above is: 'for he has sent to me for my wives and for my sons [and for my daughters]; my silver and my gold I have not withheld from him.'

for my gold; and I denied him not. And all the elders 8
and all the people said unto him, Hearken thou not,
neither consent. Wherefore he said unto the messengers 9
of Ben-hadad, Tell my lord the king, All that thou didst
send for to thy servant at the first I will do: but this
thing I may not do. And the messengers departed, and
brought him word again. And Ben-hadad sent unto 10
him, and said, The gods do so unto me, and more also,
if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all
the people that follow me. And the king of Israel 11
answered and said, Tell him, Let not him that girdeth
on *his armour* boast himself as he that putteth it off.
And it came to pass, when *Ben-hadad* heard this message, 12
as he was drinking, he and the kings, in the pavilions,
that he said unto his servants, Set *yourselves in array*.
And they set *themselves in array* against the city. And, 13
behold, a prophet came near unto Ahab king of Israel,
and said, Thus saith the LORD, Hast thou seen all this
great multitude? behold, I will deliver it into thine hand
this day; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD.
And Ahab said, By whom? And he said, Thus saith 14

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10. Ben-hadad boasts that he has men enough to pulverize the city and carry it away in handfuls.

11. Tell him. The LXX reads more forcibly, 'Enough[1]!' Ahab's reply is a pithy proverb, to which parallels can be found in any language; cf. the Latin, *Ne triumphum canas ante victoriam.*

12. in the pavilions: strictly, 'booths,' temporary shelters for soldiers in the field (cf. 2 Sam. xi. 11). The word **Set** is a technical military term, which may be understood either of the formation of storming parties or (as marg.) of the erection of battering engines: the one view is just as likely to be correct as the other (cf. Ezek. xxiii. 24).

13, 14. The intervention of a prophet at this juncture appears to many critics uncalled-for and incredible; but the two verses

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[1] רב לך *for* דברו.

the LORD, By the young men of the princes of the provinces. Then he said, Who shall begin the battle? And
15 he answered, Thou. Then he mustered the young men of the princes of the provinces, and they were two hundred and thirty two: and after them he mustered all the people, even all the children of Israel, being seven
16 thousand. And they went out at noon. But Ben-hadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions, he and the
17 kings, the thirty and two kings that helped him. And the young men of the princes of the provinces went out first; and Ben-hadad sent out, and they told him, saying,
18 There are men come out from Samaria. And he said, Whether they be come out for peace, take them alive; or whether they be come out for war, take them alive.
19 So these went out of the city, the young men of the princes of the provinces, and the army which followed

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seem too closely wrought into the narrative to be treated as an interpolation. Apart from them we have no explanation of the very peculiar mode of attack adopted by Ahab.

15. young men . . . provinces: servants of the provincial governors. The word for **province** (*mĕdînāh*) is used in the O. T. only in its primary sense of 'administrative district,' and always in late books except here. In Syriac and Arabic it is the common word for 'city.' Why these men were chosen to lead the sally does not appear. The view of some commentators, that they were sent out as non-combatants with an army concealed behind them, has little foundation in the text. They seem to have gone out alone (verse 17); and so far as the victory can be explained by natural causes, it was due to the drunken folly of Ben-hadad, in breaking up his battle-line to capture the insignificant band alive (verse 18).

17. and Ben-hadad sent: better, as LXX, 'and they sent and told Ben-hadad.'

19. and the army which followed them. If they had been followed by an army (of 7,000 men) Ben-hadad would have been in no doubt whether they meant peace or war; moreover the army must have been with the king when he issued from the city (verse 21). There are other indications of textual disorder, which might be remedied if (with Doorninck and Kittel) we transpose

them. And they slew every one his man; and the 20
Syrians fled, and Israel pursued them: and Ben-hadad
the king of Syria escaped on an horse with horsemen.
And the king of Israel went out, and smote the horses 21
and chariots, and slew the Syrians with a great slaughter.
And the prophet came near to the king of Israel, and 22
said unto him, Go, strengthen thyself, and mark, and see
what thou doest: for at the return of the year the king
of Syria will come up against thee.

And the servants of the king of Syria said unto him, 23
Their god is a god of the hills; therefore they were
stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the
plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. And 24
do this thing; take the kings away, every man out of his
place, and put captains in their room: and number thee 25

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verses 20 and 21, and render the passage thus: '(19) And when these had gone out from the city . . . (21) the king of Israel went out with the army after them, and captured (so LXX) the horses and chariots . . . (20) And they smote each his man, and the Syrians fled and Israel pursued them, and Ben-hadad the king of Syria escaped on a chariot horse.'

22. The prophet warns Ahab that the Syrians will renew the attack in the following year.

xx. 23-34. *The Syrians defeated at Aphek.* The counsellors of Ben-hadad explain his defeat by the theory that the Hebrew deities, as hill-gods, had naturally proved invincible in the hilly country round Samaria; and advise him to try conclusions with them next time in the plains. Accordingly, in the following year, the two armies meet at Aphek, in the Plain of Sharon, where Ahab, again encouraged by the anonymous prophet, achieves a still more brilliant victory over the Syrian host. Ben-hadad abjectly sues for his life, but is received by Ahab with royal honours and set at liberty, after engaging to restore the cities which his father had conquered, and to grant certain trading rights in Damascus to Israelitish subjects.

24. The idea underlying the verse seems to be that the Syrian army was composed of thirty-two corps (see xxii. 31), that these had originally been commanded by feudatory kings, who are now to be replaced by Syrian officers. But the term rendered **captains** means 'satraps' (*paḥôth*, a loan-word, see on x. 15), which implies

an army, like the army that thou hast lost, horse for horse, and chariot for chariot: and we will fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. And he hearkened unto their voice, and did so.
26 And it came to pass at the return of the year, that Ben-hadad mustered the Syrians, and went up to Aphek,
27 to fight against Israel. And the children of Israel were mustered, and were victualled, and went against them: and the children of Israel encamped before them like two little flocks of kids; but the Syrians filled the
28 country. And a man of God came near and spake unto the king of Israel, and said, Thus saith the LORD, Because the Syrians have said, The LORD is a god of the hills, but he is not a god of the valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye
29 shall know that I am the LORD. And they encamped one over against the other seven days. And so it was, that in the seventh day the battle was joined; and the children of Israel slew of the Syrians an hundred
30 thousand footmen in one day. But the rest fled to

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a rearrangement of civil administration rather than a reorganization of the army. The verse is possibly an interpolation.

26. at the return of the year: cf. 2 Sam. xi. 1, 'the time when kings go out to battle.'

Aphek appears to have regularly served as the base for the Syrian invasions of Israel (see 2 Kings xiii. 17). Its situation is much disputed. Most probably it is to be identified with the Aphek of 1 Sam. xxix. 1, and lay in the northern part of the Plain of Sharon (see on 2 Kings xiii. 22; and cf. G. A. Smith in *EB*, i. c. 191 f.).

27. and were victualled is a somewhat peculiar notice, omitted by the LXX. Benzinger's conjecture that the word is a corruption of a place-name, the rendezvous of the Israelites, deserves consideration. The word rendered 'little flocks' occurs only here, and is of uncertain signification. Nor does it appear why the Israelites are compared to *two* flocks, instead of one.

28. Read, with marg., 'the' man of God, the same individual as in verses 13, 22. See on xii. 22.

Aphek, into the city; and the wall fell upon twenty and seven thousand men that were left. And Ben-hadad fled, and came into the city, into an inner chamber.
And his servants said unto him, Behold now, we have 31
heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings: let us, we pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of
Israel: peradventure he will save thy life. So they 32
girded sackcloth on their loins, and *put* ropes on their heads, and came to the king of Israel, and said, Thy servant Ben-hadad saith, I pray thee, let me live. And
he said, Is he yet alive? he is my brother. Now the 33
men observed diligently, and hasted to catch whether it were his mind; and they said, Thy brother Ben-hadad. Then he said, Go ye, bring him. Then Ben-hadad came forth to him; and he caused him to come up into the

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30. the wall fell upon twenty and seven thousand cannot be understood otherwise than literally: Benzinger's suggestion that it is a figurative way of saying that that number perished when the wall was taken is not admissible. No doubt the numbers, both in this verse and the preceding, excite surprise.

into an inner chamber: *lit.* 'chamber for chamber,' or 'a chamber within a chamber': the expression recurs in xxii. 25, 2 Kings ix. 2.

31. This tribute to the humanity of the Hebrew kings, which is probably a reflection of the national character, is extremely interesting.

ropes upon our heads cannot well mean 'halters round our necks,' like the burghers of Calais before Edward III. Although the custom is not elsewhere mentioned in the O.T., the rope was probably at one time the headgear of the humblest classes (see Nowack, *Archäologie*, i. p. 125); and, like the sackcloth on the loins, was assumed by others as a mark of the deepest humiliation.

33. Render, 'Now the men took it as an omen, and eagerly snatched it from him, and said' (cf. LXX, 'caught up the word from his mouth'); i.e. they seize on the word 'brother,' which had fallen from Ahab's lips, and hold him to it.

34 chariot. And *Ben-hadad* said unto him, The cities which my father took from thy father I will restore; and thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria. And I, *said Ahab*, will let thee go with this covenant. So he made a covenant with him, and let him go.

35 [Z] And a certain man of the sons of the prophets said

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34. We learn here for the first time that Omri had been obliged, not only to cede territory to Damascus, but to grant trading facilities to Aramaean merchants in Samaria. Ahab now secures similar privileges for his subjects in Damascus.

streets, or 'bazaars'; cf. the Arabic *sûk*, which has the same double sense.

And I, said Ahab. There can be no doubt that the words are Ahab's; but something indicating the change of speaker must have fallen out of the text. To change the verb, with Wellhausen, to second person, 'thou shalt let me go,' is less natural.

xx. 35-43. *Ahab's Leniency denounced by a Prophet.* The clemency shown by Ahab to his fallen foe, whether well-advised or fatuous, was no doubt severely criticized by many of his subjects; and in no quarter was dissatisfaction more likely to be felt than in those nurseries of religious and patriotic enthusiasm, the prophetic schools. A member of one of these fraternities gives expression to this feeling by an acted parable, in which he plays the part of a man wounded in the recent fight, who had incurred the forfeit of his life by letting slip a prisoner who had been committed to his charge. Having put this case before the king, and been refused redress, he suddenly throws off his disguise, and (like Nathan on a well-known occasion) shows the astonished Ahab that he has unwittingly passed sentence on himself. For setting free an enemy who had fallen under Yahweh's ban he and his people would have to bear the penalty that ought to have been exacted of the conquered Syrian. The incident, if genuine, throws an important light on the fierce excitement prevailing in the prophetic societies of the time. At the same time, the section embodies a judgement on Ahab's conduct, which is certainly not prepared for by what goes before; and there are striking coincidences with ch. xiii, which, together with the want of any connexion with what precedes or follows, have led several writers (like Wellhausen), to assign the passage to a late period. It is worthy of mention, however, that the verses as a whole made on Kuenen the impression of high antiquity.

35. the sons of the prophets, here mentioned for the first

unto his fellow by the word of the LORD, Smite me, I
pray thee. And the man refused to smite him. Then 36
said he unto him, Because thou hast not obeyed the
voice of the LORD, behold, as soon as thou art departed
from me, a lion shall slay thee. And as soon as he was
departed from him, a lion found him, and slew him.
Then he found another man, and said, Smite me, I pray 37
thee. And the man smote him, smiting and wounding
him. So the prophet departed, and waited for the king 38
by the way, and disguised himself with his headband

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time, frequently appear in the subsequent history (2 Kings ii, *passim*, iv. 1, 38, v. 22, vi. 1, ix. 1), always, except here, in connexion with the work of Elisha. In Semitic idiom the phrase (*bnê hannĕbî'îm*) means no more than 'members of the prophetic guilds' or communities, of which the individual member might be described indifferently as *nābî'* simply (verse 38; 2 Kings ix. 4), or as *ben nābî'* (Amos vii. 14). Prophecy in Israel had been from the first a social phenomenon, gathering men together in companies, and drawing susceptible natures into its circle (1 Sam. x. 10 ff., xix. 20 ff.); and it is not unlikely that between the times of Samuel and Elisha a somewhat stricter organization of these societies had been developed. The little we know of their manner of life is gathered from the passages just referred to. We learn that they had fixed settlements, probably in connexion with local sanctuaries (Beth-el, Gilgal, &c.: 2 Kings ii); that though coenobites (iv. 38 ff., vi. 1 ff.) they were not celibates (iv. 1 ff.); and that they were supported in part by charitable gifts of the laity (iv. 42, v. 22). They appear to have acknowledged Elisha as their head, but that they were the personal disciples of him or any other great prophet is nowhere suggested. It is therefore only in a very loose sense that such communities can be spoken of as 'schools'; and the traditional idea that they were theological seminaries for the training of candidates for the prophetic office is altogether misleading.

by the word of the LORD. See on xiii. 1.

36. Other points of resemblance to ch. xiii are the requirement of mechanical obedience to a prophetic oracle, and the punishment of disobedience by the agency of a lion.

38. his headband: rather, 'a bandage.' The word (*'ăphēr*) occurs only here and verse 41; but the meaning is guaranteed by Assyrian. The A. V. followed the Vulg. in reading *'ēpher*, 'with ashes upon his face.'

39 over his eyes. And as the king passed by, he cried unto the king: and he said, Thy servant went out into the midst of the battle; and, behold, a man turned aside, and brought a man unto me, and said, Keep this man: if by any means he be missing, then shall thy life be for his life, or else thou shalt pay a talent of silver.
40 And as thy servant was busy here and there, he was gone. And the king of Israel said unto him, So shall
41 thy judgement be; thyself hast decided it. And he hasted, and took the headband away from his eyes; and the king of Israel discerned him that he was of the
42 prophets. And he said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand the man whom I had devoted to destruction, therefore thy life shall go
43 for his life, and thy people for his people. And the king of Israel went to his house heavy and displeased, and came to Samaria.

21 [**Ej²**] And it came to pass after these things, that Naboth

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40. busy here and there: *lit.* 'doing those things and those.' But all ancient versions read more appropriately, 'looking here and there.'

41. discerned him that he was of the prophets. It would seem, though there is no other evidence of the fact, that the prophets at this time bore some distinctive mark on their persons, which could be concealed by a bandage over the eyes.

42. the man . . . destruction: *lit.* 'the man of my ban' (cf. Isa. xxxiv. 5). The Hebrew word is *ḥērem*, which is used in its strict and original sense of dedication to utter destruction of the spoils of war (see Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, p. 100 ff.).

43. heavy and displeased: cf. xxi. 4.

xxi. *Naboth's Vineyard.*

The chapter obviously breaks the connexion between ch. xx and xxii; and it is possible that it may have stood originally after ch. xix, as in the LXX. By the majority of critics it is regarded as the continuation of the history of Elijah in ch. xvii–xix. The arguments for that view are not convincing, although they do the Jezreelite had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel, hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria. And Ahab 2

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undoubtedly show that ch. xxi is much more closely akin to ch. xvii–xix than to ch. xx, xxii. The most noticeable points of affinity are the prominence given to Elijah, and the conception of the character of Ahab as a weak man dominated by the strong-willed and unscrupulous Jezebel. The irascible question of verse 20, moreover, presupposes some previous encounter between the king and the prophet, such as that of xviii. 17. On the other side, it has to be observed that (1) there is nothing to indicate that the central interest of the writer of ch. xxi is the personality of Elijah. (2) The career of Elijah finds its natural termination in the appointment of his successor, and it is not just probable that the same author should after that introduce him again on the stage of public affairs. The only natural place for the incident in the life of Elijah would be between verses 18 and 19 of ch. xix. But (3) it has been remarked by Ewald that the murder of Naboth probably did more to bring about the revolution in which the house of Omri perished than the religious policy of Ahab; and it may be added that the contest on Carmel becomes much more intelligible on the supposition that the heart of the people had been already stirred by the knowledge of this hideous crime: that, however, is impossible if ch. xxi be the sequel to ch. xix. (4) Ch. xxi, unlike ch. xvii–xix, has been manipulated by the compiler, whose hand is clearly recognizable in the style of verses 20^b–24. The narrative is in fact closely parallel to xiv. 1–16 (cf. xvi. 1–4): it gives the usual prophetic announcement of the downfall of the dynasty, and the rôle ascribed to Elijah is not more prominent than that of Ahijah the Shilonite, or Jehu the son of Hanani in the earlier incidents. If, therefore, the passage was extracted from a history of Elijah, it would appear to have been a different document from ch. xvii–xix, as well as from ch. xx, xxii. Burney tries to prove that ch. xxi belongs to the same source as 2 Kings ix. 1—x. 28; but his reasoning appears one-sided and inconclusive (see his *Notes*, p. 210 ff.).

xxi. 1–4. *Naboth's Refusal to sell his Vineyard.* The tragic incident originates in a perfectly reasonable and just proposal of Ahab to his humble neighbour Naboth for the purchase of a vineyard closely adjoining the palace at Jezreel. Naboth, however, true to the conservative instincts of his class, refuses on religious grounds to alienate his patrimony. The king takes this unexpected thwarting of his wish so much to heart that he retires to his couch, refusing to eat till Jezebel comes to his assistance.

1. The LXX does not contain the words, **after these things,** nor the superfluous clause, **which was in Jezreel.** Jezreel was

spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I
may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto
my house; and I will give thee for it a better vineyard
than it: or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the
3 worth of it in money. And Naboth said to Ahab, The
Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of
4 my fathers unto thee. And Ahab came into his house
heavy and displeased because of the word which Naboth
the Jezreelite had spoken to him: for he had said, I will
not give thee the inheritance of my fathers. And he
laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face,
5 and would eat no bread. But Jezebel his wife came to
him, and said unto him, Why is thy spirit so sad, that
6 thou eatest no bread? And he said unto her, Because
I spake unto Naboth the Jezreelite, and said unto him,
Give me thy vineyard for money; or else, if it please

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apparently the summer residence of Ahab—a second capital where some of the most thrilling events of the time were transacted (xviii. 46; 2 Kings ix. 16 ff., 30 ff.). It is the modern *Zer'în*, at the head of the valley of the same name, which descends eastward towards the Jordan. Naboth is here a Jezreelite, as in 2 Kings ix. 21, 25 f.; the writer of xxii. 38 seems to have followed a different tradition which transferred the incident to Samaria.

3. See Lev. xxv. 23 ff., Num. xxxvi. 7 ff.

4. The first half of the verse (down to **fathers**) is wanting in the LXX, which reads instead, 'And the spirit of Ahab was troubled.' With this change the linguistic resemblance to xx. 43 disappears.

turned away his face—to the wall; cf. 2 Kings xx. 2. The LXX has, 'covered his face.'

xxi. 5–16. *Jezebel compasses the Death of Naboth and the Confiscation of his Property.* The queen, having ascertained the cause of her lord's disquietude, affects surprise at his pusillanimity, and undertakes to put him in secure possession of Naboth's vineyard. She issues an order to the elders of Jezreel to have Naboth put on his trial on a trumped-up charge of treason. Her directions are carried out to the letter by the obsequious elders, Naboth and his sons being publicly stoned to death outside the city. Ahab

thee, I will give thee *another* vineyard for it: and he
answered, I will not give thee my vineyard. And 7
Jezebel his wife said unto him, Dost thou now govern
the kingdom of Israel? arise, and eat bread, and let
thine heart be merry: I will give thee the vineyard of
Naboth the Jezreelite. So she wrote letters in Ahab's 8
name, and sealed them with his seal, and sent the letters
unto the elders and to the nobles that were in his city,
and that dwelt with Naboth. And she wrote in the 9
letters, saying, Proclaim a fast, and set Naboth on high
among the people: and set two men, sons of Belial, 10
before him, and let them bear witness against him,
saying, Thou didst curse God and the king. And then

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then goes down (from Samaria?) to take formal possession of the vineyard.

7. Dost thou . . . ? Better, 'Dost thou now exercise royal authority over Israel?' In other words, 'What is the good of being a king, if you cannot have your way in so trifling a matter?'

8. Ahab and Jezebel would seem to have been living at the time in Samaria.

nobles, or 'freemen': an Aramaic word, elsewhere found only in late passages (especially Nehemiah). It may be here a gloss on 'elders.' On the latter, see on viii. 2. The LXX omits 'that were in his city.'

9. Proclaim a fast. Fasting is everywhere in the O. T. a sign of humiliation before God. The idea here seems to be that the community lies under the anger of the Deity, on account of a grave crime committed by one of its members, which is to be exposed and punished. The place 'at the head of' **the people** (marg.) which Naboth is to occupy can hardly be the seat of honour; it must be the place commonly assigned to the accused and the witnesses in the judicial assembly.

10. two men: as witnesses, in accordance with law and usage (Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15; Matt. xxvi. 60).

sons of Belial: worthless fellows (see marg.), with no character to lose, and easily bribed for any ill purpose.

Thou didst curse: cf. Exod. xxii. 28. The word for **curse** is a euphemism = 'bless' (as Job i. 5, &c.), used perhaps in the sense of 'bid farewell to,' hence 'renounce' or 'disown' (Davidson, *Camb. Bible*, on Job).

11 carry him out, and stone him, that he die. And the men of his city, even the elders and the nobles who dwelt in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto them, according as it was written in the letters which she had
12 sent unto them. They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth
13 on high among the people. And the two men, sons of Belial, came in and sat before him: and the men of Belial bare witness against him, even against Naboth, in the presence of the people, saying, Naboth did curse God and the king. Then they carried him forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones, that he died.
14 Then they sent to Jezebel, saying, Naboth is stoned,
15 and is dead. And it came to pass, when Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned, and was dead, that Jezebel said to Ahab, Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money:
16 for Naboth is not alive, but dead. And it came to pass, when Ahab heard that Naboth was dead, that Ahab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, to take possession of it.

17 And the word of the LORD came to Elijah the Tishbite,

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15. From 2 Kings ix. 26 we learn that Naboth's sons were also slain, as was perhaps necessary for the success of Jezebel's scheme. The freehold, being left without an heir, is confiscated to the crown.

16. to go down. Samaria stands over 1,000 feet higher than Jezreel. An unnatural refinement of hypocrisy is attributed to Ahab by the LXX, which says that on hearing of the death of Naboth he 'rent his garments and put on sackcloth.' Cf. verse 27.

xxi. 17-29. *Elijah's Encounter with Ahab.* The suddenness of the prophet's appearance, in the very flush of Ahab's guilty satisfaction, is represented with great power in the opening verses. Unfortunately, the original narrative is broken off in the middle of verse 20, and replaced by a speech whose phrases betray the hand of the compiler. In this oracle there is no reference either to Ahab's personal fate or to the murder of

saying, Arise, go down to meet Ahab king of Israel, 18
which dwelleth in Samaria: behold, he is in the vineyard
of Naboth, whither he is gone down to take possession
of it. And thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus 19
saith the LORD, Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?
and thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus
saith the LORD, In the place where dogs licked the blood
of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine. And 20
Ahab said to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?
And he answered, I have found thee: [**D**] because thou
hast sold thyself to do that which is evil in the sight of
the LORD. Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and will 21

Naboth (verse 23 being an interpolation); but simply an announcement of the retribution that was to overtake his descendants, on account of his religious delinquencies. The last three verses, describing Ahab's repentance and the postponement of the judgement, may, however, be part of the old narrative, since the doom pronounced on Ahab in verse 19 was actually transferred (in substance) to his son (2 Kings ix. 24 ff.).

18. The clause, **which dwelleth** (strictly, *is*) **in Samaria,** can only mean that Ahab was to be found at that moment in Samaria; it was not necessary to tell Elijah where the king usually dwelt. But Ahab was at the moment in Jezreel; hence the words must be a gloss added by some one who supposed that Naboth, though a native of Jezreel, had his vineyard in Samaria (see xxii. 38). Benzinger, indeed, thinks that this may have been the view of the writer of the chapter, though it is inconsistent with 2 Kings ix. 21, 26.

19. Hast thou killed . . . ? The real character of Ahab's conduct is unmasked by this pointed sarcasm: it was as certain that he was the murderer as it was evident that he had taken possession.

In the place. There was no literal fulfilment of this threat; see on xxii. 38; 2 Kings ix. 24 ff.

20 a. Hast thou found me? Cf. xviii. 17: from being the 'troubler of Israel' Elijah has become the personal enemy of Ahab. Surely something more than is recorded must have passed between them.

20 b. because introduces the protasis to verse 21. The Deuteronomic addition commences here: cf. the language with xi. 6, &c., and 2 Kings xvii. 7.

21, 22. Cf. xiv. 10, 16.

utterly sweep thee away, and will cut off from Ahab
every man child, and him that is shut up and him that
22 is left at large in Israel: and I will make thine house
like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like
the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah, for the provocation
wherewith thou hast provoked me to anger, and
23 hast made Israel to sin. [**Z**] And of Jezebel also spake
the LORD, saying, The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the
24 rampart of Jezreel. [**D**] Him that dieth of Ahab in the
city the dogs shall eat; and him that dieth in the field
25 shall the fowls of the air eat. [**D^2**] (But there was none
like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to do that which
was evil in the sight of the LORD, whom Jezebel his wife
26 stirred up. And he did very abominably in following
idols, according to all that the Amorites did, whom the
27 LORD cast out before the children of Israel.) [**Ej^2**] And
it came to pass, when Ahab heard those words, that he
rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and
28 fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly. And the
word of the LORD came to Elijah the Tishbite, saying,
29 Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me?

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23. The verse breaks the flow of the Deuteronomic address. It is impossible to say whether it is a fragment of Elijah's original message or an interpolation based on 2 Kings ix. 36. In either case it is better to read, with some ancient versions, 'portion' (*ḥēleḳ*), instead of **rampart** (*ḥēl*).

24. See xiv. 11.

25, 26 have been added by a still later hand (the second redactor). Their purpose is to counteract the impression apt to be made by verse 22, by pointing out that in reality no king had been so wicked as Ahab, and none had had so bad a wife. For **But** render 'Only,' or 'However.'

27–29 record a modification of the original penalty (verse 19), in consequence of Ahab's professions of penitence, which may have been quite sincere. The rending of the garments and the wearing of sackcloth are closely associated signs of mourning, which have become conventional in the O. T., and whose primary because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.

[N] And they continued three years without war **22** between Syria and Israel. And it came to pass in the **2** third year, that Jehoshaphat the king of Judah came

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significance is therefore obscure. Possibly both denote a reversion to the primitive clothing of a pre-historic age, the rough hair loin-cloth being substituted for ordinary civilized apparel (see on xx. 31). The LXX here repeats its assertion that Ahab 'put on sackcloth on the day when they killed Naboth the Jezreelite' (verse 16).

xxii. 1–40. *The Death of Ahab.*

See the introductory note on ch. xx. The present section is the continuation of that chapter. Ben-hadad had violated the treaty of Aphek by refusing to surrender the frontier city of Ramoth-gilead, and after three years' truce Ahab resolves to assert his rights by force. The chronicler, who as a rule ignores the history of the northern kingdom, inserts this passage as an incident in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xviii).

xxii. 1-12. *The Expedition resolved on: Consultation of the Prophets.* In the third year after the battle of Aphek Ahab calls a council of his officers, and reminds them that Ramoth-gilead has never been evacuated by the Syrians, and must now be recovered by force. He sends for his vassal Jehoshaphat of Judah, who promises to support him with his whole army. At Jehoshaphat's request, however, a convocation of prophets is first held, and four hundred prophets, led by a certain Zedekiah, unanimously predict the success of the enterprise. Jehoshaphat is still unsatisfied; and Ahab has to admit that there was one man whose presence he had not thought desirable, because of the uniformly unfavourable character of his oracles. Nevertheless, at Jehoshaphat's urgent request, Micaiah the son of Imlah is summoned to give his advice.

2. The mention of Jehoshaphat's visit at this point gives rise to the impression that it was his presence in Samaria which suggested to Ahab the idea of an alliance against Syria. That is little likely to have been the case. He embarks on the expedition with evident reluctance, and would probably have kept out of it if he had been free to refuse. It is held by some that the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son to Ahab's daughter (2 Kings viii. 18) implies that Judah was at this time a vassal-state of Israel, and bound to

3 down to the king of Israel. And the king of Israel said
unto his servants, Know ye that Ramoth-gilead is ours,
and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the
4 king of Syria? And he said unto Jehoshaphat, Wilt
thou go with me to battle to Ramoth-gilead? And
Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel, I am as thou
art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses.
5 And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Inquire,
6 I pray thee, at the word of the Lord to-day. Then the
king of Israel gathered the prophets together, about four
hundred men, and said unto them, Shall I go against
Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they
said, Go up; for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand
7 of the king. But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here
besides a prophet of the Lord, that we might inquire
8 of him? And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat,
There is yet one man by whom we may inquire of the

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render military service when called upon. Hence Klostermann and Benzinger transpose 2 b to the end of verse 4: Ahab first decides on the expedition, and then calls on Jehoshaphat to join him, on which the latter comes to Samaria.

3. Ramoth-gilead. See on iv. 13. On the authority of Eusebius, who says it was fifteen Roman miles west of Philadelphia, it has usually been identified with *es-Salt* (eighteen miles north of the Dead Sea), or the ruins of *el-Jal'ūd*, six miles further north. But both these sites, as well as *Jerāsh*, twenty-two miles north-east of *es-Salt*, are much too far south for iv. 13; and the locality is probably to be sought on the Yarmuk, in the neighbourhood of Edre'i (see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 587, and Cooke's note in Driver's *Deuteronomy*, p. xviii). The maps show in that region a place *Remtheh*, which might suit; but Smith seems inclined to identify it with Ramoth-mizpeh (Joshua xiii. 26).

4. See on verse 2. The courtesy of the communications need not be more than diplomatic.

5. For **to-day** render (as in i. 51) 'first of all.'

6. Ahab can still command the services of some four hundred prophets of Yahweh, a fact which reveals the difference of standpoint between this document and the Life of Elijah.

LORD, Micaiah the son of Imlah: but I hate him; for
he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil.
And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king say so. Then 9
the king of Israel called an officer, and said, Fetch
quickly Micaiah the son of Imlah. Now the king of 10
Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah sat each on
his throne, arrayed in their robes, in an open place at
the entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets
prophesied before them. And Zedekiah the son of 11
Chenaanah made him horns of iron, and said, Thus
saith the LORD, With these shalt thou push the Syrians,
until they be consumed. And all the prophets prophesied 12
so, saying, Go up to Ramoth-gilead, and prosper: for
the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of the king.
And the messenger that went to call Micaiah spake unto 13

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8. The solitary representative of the higher prophecy—the prophecy which is true to itself, and utters its presage of disaster regardless of the superficial enthusiasms which others mistake for inspiration—is **Micaiah the son of Imlah.** He is a man of kindred spirit with Elijah, and like him a true precursor of the ethical prophecy of the following centuries (cf. Jer. xxviii. 8). The passage is important, as the first instance of a cleavage in the ranks of the prophetic body, which runs through the whole subsequent history of the movement.

10. arrayed in their robes (*lit.* 'clad in clothes'): LXX, 'in full armour.' The phrase 'in a threshing-floor' (marg.) is difficult to understand, and might be a corrupt repetition of the word for 'clothes.' Another suggestion is that it contained a specification of the kind of clothes meant; but it cannot be said, in view of verse 30, that such a specification is indispensable.

11. Cf. Jer. xxviii, where a prophet of the type of Zedekiah employs a similar symbolic action in support of a false prediction.

xxii. 13-28. *The Prophet of Evil.* In the meantime Micaiah has been prompted by the officer sent to fetch him, and urged to fall into line with the other prophets, who had spoken as the king wished. Strangely enough, his first answer to Ahab's question is identical with theirs. Something in his tone, however, convinces Ahab that he is not speaking his inmost thought, and he adjures him to utter the whole truth. Micaiah then unfolds his reading

him, saying, Behold now, the words of the prophets
declare good unto the king with one mouth: let thy
word, I pray thee, be like the word of one of them, and
14 speak thou good. And Micaiah said, As the LORD
liveth, what the LORD saith unto me, that will I speak.
15 And when he was come to the king, the king said unto
him, Micaiah, shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or
shall we forbear? And he answered him, Go up, and
prosper; and the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of
16 the king. And the king said unto him, How many
times shall I adjure thee that thou speak unto me
17 nothing but the truth in the name of the LORD? And
he said, I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains,
as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD said,
These have no master; let them return every man to

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of the situation by relating two visions that had come to him. The first—a vision of Israel as a shepherdless flock, scattered on the mountains—is a veiled prediction of Ahab's death. The second penetrates still more deeply into the Divine purpose, and is remarkable for the judgement it pronounces on the origin of false prophecy. He has stood in the council of heaven, and seen how the Lord commissioned the spirit to utter through the court-prophets false oracles that should lure Ahab to his doom. Such an estimate of the perplexing phenomenon of spurious prophecy bears the stamp of antiquity. Jeremiah and Ezekiel denounced the false prophets of their time as men who spoke 'from their own heart,' without inspiration; Micaiah, on the contrary, believes his opponents to be inspired, but inspired to prophesy lies. The import of his revelation, therefore, is that the expedition is decreed of Yahweh and must proceed, but that it is decreed in anger and destined to end disastrously for Israel. For his uncompromising attitude he is smitten on the cheek by Zedekiah, and by Ahab's orders sent to prison till his return.

13. the words of the prophets. Read, with LXX, 'the prophets have spoken'—with one mouth good, &c.

14. Cf. Num. xxii. 38.

16. adjure thee: i. e. 'make thee swear.'

17. as sheep that have no shepherd: Num. xxvii. 17; Matt. ix. 36.

his house in peace. And the king of Israel said to 18
Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not
prophesy good concerning me, but evil? And he said, 19
Therefore hear thou the word of the LORD: I saw the
LORD sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven
standing by him on his right hand and on his left. And 20
the LORD said, Who shall entice Ahab, that he may go
up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this
manner; and another said on that manner. And there 21
came forth a spirit, and stood before the LORD, and said,

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18. Ahab seeks to remove the depressing effect of the oracle on the mind of Jehoshaphat by insinuating that it proceeds from personal animosity; and Micaiah answers in verse

19. 'Not so!' (the LXX text is here preferable to the Heb. 'Therefore'), disclosing the source of his certainty by narrating a second vision.

the host of heaven: perhaps the earliest instance of the use of this expression. Most frequently it denotes the stars, but here (as in Neh. ix. 6^b, Dan. iv. 35, and perhaps Isa. xxiv. 21) it is evident that angelic ministers of Yahweh are meant: these are called 'host of heaven' because, like Yahweh Himself, they have their dwelling-place there. (See further, Driver in *DB*, ii. p. 429 f.)

21. a spirit: Heb. 'the spirit.' Hebrew idiom does not absolutely preclude the indefinite rendering, but the article has probably in this case its natural force; and the question arises, what spirit is meant? The spirit is evidently the personified principle of prophecy, the superhuman power which was recognized as the source of the prophetic ecstasy. In other passages these manifestations are ascribed directly to the spirit of Yahweh (1 Sam. x. 10, &c.), i. e. to the direct action of God on the prophets. Here the spirit is an independent personal agent, and it is difficult to say how this idea is related to the simpler conception of the immediate Divine inspiration of the prophets, or what judgement is expressed on the worth of the more excited forms of inspiration exhibited by Zedekiah and his fellows. It is certainly remarkable that Micaiah claims to have a truer knowledge of God's will than that imparted by the spirit; and still more remarkable that the spirit himself becomes, for a special purpose, a 'lying spirit.' The falsification of prophecy appears to be traced, not to the imperfection of its human medium, but to the supernatural source from which it emanates. To our minds, such a theory of prophecy involves

22 I will entice him. And the LORD said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt entice him, and shalt prevail also: go forth,
23 and do so. Now therefore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets; and
24 the LORD hath spoken evil concerning thee. Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah on the cheek, and said, Which way went the
25 spirit of the LORD from me to speak unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold, thou shalt see on that day, when thou shalt go into an inner chamber to hide thyself.
26 And the king of Israel said, Take Micaiah, and carry him back unto Amon the governor of the city, and to
27 Joash the king's son; and say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction, until I come in
28 peace. And Micaiah said, If thou return at all in peace, the LORD hath not spoken by me. And he said, Hear, ye peoples, all of you.

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moral difficulties greater than those it solves; but it is enough that it enabled a true prophet to hold fast his faith, in spite of the fact that men possessed by a spirit not their own were prophesying what he knew to be a lie.

24. To Zedekiah, at all events, the author of all prophecy is **the spirit of the LORD.** There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this man's belief in his own inspiration.

25. The ultimate criterion on which Micaiah relies is the fulfilment of the prediction (cf. verse 28; Deut. xviii. 21 f.; Jer. xxviii. 9). In reality Micaiah utters a fresh prediction, of the nature of a sign, as did Jeremiah in similar circumstances (xxviii. 16 f.).

into an inner chamber. See on xx. 30.

26. Joash, the son of Ahab, is not elsewhere mentioned.

28. And he said, Hear . . . The clause, which is wanting in the LXX, is a citation of the opening words of the canonical Book of Micah (i. 2). It is the marginal gloss of an uncritical reader who erroneously identified the two prophets.

So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of 29
Judah went up to Ramoth-gilead. And the king of 30
Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and
go into the battle; but put thou on thy robes. And the
king of Israel disguised himself, and went into the battle.
Now the king of Syria had commanded the thirty and 31
two captains of his chariots, saying, Fight neither with
small nor great, save only with the king of Israel. And 32
it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw
Jehoshaphat, that they said, Surely it is the king of

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xxii. 29-38. *The Battle.* Undeterred by the warning just uttered, the two kings proceed to battle; though Ahab takes the precaution of disguising himself as a common soldier. The Syrian captains, having received orders to direct all their efforts against the king of Israel, at first surrounded Jehoshaphat, but ceased to press him on discovering that he was not the man they sought. The arrow of destiny was shot at random by an unknown Syrian bowman, and it penetrated the joints of Ahab's armour, inflicting a mortal wound. The king, however, was propped up in his chariot, and kept his place in the fighting line till the evening, when he died. It is to be inferred that the battle had gone in favour of Israel, though the fruits of victory were lost when the cry went through the host that the king was dead, causing the troops to disperse to their homes. The body of Ahab was brought to Samaria and there buried; and a late writer found a meagre fulfilment of Elijah's prophecy (xxi. 19) in the circumstance that the blood washed from his chariot was lapped by dogs at the pool of Samaria.

30. Ahab's disguising of himself covers neither a cowardly design to save his own life by the sacrifice of Jehoshaphat's nor a chivalrous resolve to share the risks of the common soldier. It merely reveals his secret anxiety lest Micaiah's vision should come true, and is perhaps dictated by the superstitious notion that by changing his identity he can escape the notice of the unseen powers of evil. That he was aware of Ben-hadad's orders concerning him (verse 31) we can hardly suppose.

31. On the number 32, see on xx. 24. It is not given in 2 Chron. xviii. 30, and may have been inserted in the text either from xx. 1 or xx. 24. The command itself is a striking tribute to Ahab's prowess.

32. Seeing only one Richmond in the field the captains

Israel; and they turned aside to fight against him: and
33 Jehoshaphat cried out. And it came to pass, when the
captains of the chariots saw that it was not the king of
34 Israel, that they turned back from pursuing him. And
a certain man drew his bow at a venture, and smote the
king of Israel between the joints of the harness: wherefore he said unto the driver of his chariot, Turn thine
hand, and carry me out of the host; for I am sore
35 wounded. And the battle increased that day: and the
king was stayed up in his chariot against the Syrians, and
died at even: and the blood ran out of the wound into
36 the bottom of the chariot. And there went a cry
throughout the host about the going down of the sun,
saying, Every man to his city, and every man to his
37 country. So the king died, and was brought to Samaria;

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naturally took him for the king of Israel. For **turned aside against him** it is better to read, with LXX and 2 Chron. xviii. 31, 'surrounded him.' The cry of Jehoshaphat was probably a shout to his men. The chronicler understood it to be a prayer to God, and adds that 'the Lord helped him,' &c. Similarly LXX (L).

34. at a venture: *lit.* 'in his innocence' (cf. marg.), never dreaming that his arrow was to decide the battle. The word rendered in marg. 'lower armour' probably denotes the *tassets* or jointed appendages of the cuirass, covering the abdomen. The shaft thus entered 'between the tassets and the breastplate,' wounding the lower part of the body.

out of the host: better, as LXX and Chronicles, 'out of the battle.'

35. The first impulse of the wounded king had been to withdraw from the field; but noting the increasing fierceness of the conflict he seems to have determined to remain and see it through.

and died at even. Read, as 2 Chron. xviii. 34, 'until the even.' LXX has 'from morn till even,' and adds the words 'and he died at even' at the end of the verse, which is probably right.

36. 'And the shrill cry passed through the camp,' &c.

37. The verse should read (continuing verse 36), 'for the king is dead. And they came to Samaria, and buried the king,' &c.

and they buried the king in Samaria. [**Z**] And they 38
washed the chariot by the pool of Samaria; and the
dogs licked up his blood; (now the harlots washed
themselves *there*;) according unto the word of the LORD
which he spake. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Ahab, 39
and all that he did, and the ivory house which he built,
and all the cities that he built, are they not written
in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?
So Ahab slept with his fathers; and Ahaziah his son 40
reigned in his stead.

And Jehoshaphat the son of Asa began to reign over 41

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38 seems to have been added by a later hand, in order to bring the end of Ahab into some sort of correspondence with the doom pronounced by Elijah, after the murder of Naboth (xxi. 19). It misses the essential point that Ahab was to die *in the same place* as Naboth (i. e. outside Jezreel), and overlooks the fact that this sentence was afterwards suspended and transferred from Ahab to his son (xxi. 29). An interpretation so strained and so disparaging to Ahab is little likely to have suggested itself to the author of ch. xx, xxii, who besides had no occasion to refer to a prophecy recorded only in a separate document.

xxii. 39, 40. *Concluding Formula.* The long account of the reign is wound up by the compiler with the usual reference to the chronicles of Israel. Incidentally we learn that (1) Ahab had built an **ivory house** (i. e. a palace lavishly ornamented with ivory: cf. Amos iii. 15; Ps. xlv. 8; Canticles vii. 4), and (2) had fortified a number of cities.

xxii. 41–50. *Jehoshaphat of Judah.*

The most important political events of the reign are recorded in their connexion in the history of the northern kingdom (xxii. 1–38; 2 Kings iii), and the section devoted specially to Jehoshaphat consists mainly of the editorial framework. In the concluding formula, however, two annalistic notices have been preserved (verses 46–49 = Hebrew, 47–50). In the LXX the whole section stood originally before xvi. 29 (see the note there). This is the case both in the Vatican MS. (B) and in the Lucianic recension; although the former repeats it here, with some variations and the omission of verses 46–49, and adopting of course the Hebrew chronology.

xxii. 41–44. *Introduction.*

42 Judah in the fourth year of Ahab king of Israel. Jehoshaphat was thirty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Azubah the daughter of Shilhi.
43 And he walked in all the way of Asa his father; he turned not aside from it, doing that which was right in the eyes of the LORD: howbeit the high places were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and burnt incense
44 in the high places. And Jehoshaphat made peace with the
45 king of Israel. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, and his might that he shewed, and how he warred, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the
46 kings of Judah? [KJ] And the remnant of the sodomites, which remained in the days of his father Asa, he put
47 away out of the land. And there was no king in Edom:
48 a deputy was king. Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish

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41. the fourth year of Ahab. See on xvi. 29.

43. the high places. See on iii. 2, 3, xv. 14.

xxii. 46-49. *An Expedition to Ophir planned and frustrated.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xx. 35-37.) The traffic with Ophir had probably been discontinued since the days of Solomon. The recovery, under unknown circumstances, of the suzerainty over Edom presented an opportunity to reopen it; and with this object in view Jehoshaphat caused a large ship to be built at Ezion-geber. The vessel, however, was wrecked in that port; and this so discouraged Jehoshaphat that he refused to join Ahaziah of Israel in a second venture. The chronicler's version of the incident is slightly different. According to him, Ahaziah had been a partner in the enterprise from the first (which is in itself probable, since Jehoshaphat was no doubt still a vassal of Israel); and the shipwreck put an end to the hopes of both. Ahaziah began to reign in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, so that the incident belongs to the later period of the latter's reign.

46. Cf. xv. 12.

47. no king in Edom. Some years later (2 Kings iii) we find that there was again a king in Edom, who however was obviously a vassal of Jehoshaphat.

a deputy was king. The two Hebrew words which compose this clause may be taken with the following verse, and slightly

to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships
were broken at Ezion-geber. Then said Ahaziah the son 49
of Ahab unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants go with thy
servants in the ships. But Jehoshaphat would not.
[**D**] And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was 50
buried with his fathers in the city of David his father:
and Jehoram his son reigned in his stead.

Ahaziah the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel 51
in Samaria in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat king
of Judah, and he reigned two years over Israel. And 52
he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and
walked in the way of his father, and in the way of his
mother, and in the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
wherein he made Israel to sin. And he served Baal, 53
and worshipped him, and provoked to anger the LORD,
the God of Israel, according to all that his father had done.

changed so as to read: 'And the deputy of king Jehoshaphat made.' (So Stade and others, following out a hint suggested by the LXX.) The construction thus obtained is more natural than the ordinary renderings.

48. ships of Tarshish. See on x. 22. The LXX has the sing. 'ship' throughout, and even the Hebrew contains an indication that this was the original reading. On **Ophir** and **Ezion-geber,** see on ix. 26, 28.

1 Kings xxii. 51—2 Kings i. 18. *Ahaziah of Israel.*

xxii. 51–53 (= Hebrew, 52–54). *Introduction.*

51. in the seventeenth year. The statement reveals an irregularity which has crept somehow into the Hebrew chronological system. Reckoning from verse 41, the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat would bring us only to the twentieth year of Ahab, whose reign lasted twenty-two years. LXX (L) avoids the inaccuracy by adhering to what seems to have been the original scheme of the LXX (see on xvi. 29 and xxii. 41), reading, 'in the twenty-fourth year[1].' It is curious that the same mode of reckoning has invaded the Hebrew text in 2 Kings i. 17.

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[1] First year of Ahab = second of Jehoshaphat (xvi. 29); therefore twenty-second of Ahab = twenty-third of Jehoshaphat, and first of Ahaziah = twenty-fourth of Jehoshaphat. See Introduction, p. 40.

THE
SECOND BOOK OF THE KINGS

1 [KI] AND Moab rebelled against Israel after the death
2 of Ahab. [Ej^{3}] And Ahaziah fell down through the

i. 1. *The Revolt of Moab.* The verse is a short annalistic notice of the revolt, a fuller account of which is reserved for the reign of Jehoram (ch. iii). It is difficult to explain its insertion at this point. Benzinger surmises that it may have been the introduction to a narrative of the struggle which once stood here, but was afterwards removed because of its inconsistency with ch. iii. But that is scarcely credible, unless we assume that ch. iii was added after the compilation of the book; and if we do make that assumption it is just as likely that the verse contains all that the compiler intended to record about the incident. The discussion of the historical situation may be deferred till we come to ch. iii. (On the division of the original Book of Kings into two at this point, see Introduction, p. 3.)

i. 2-17^{a}. *Elijah predicts the Death of Ahaziah.* Ahaziah had fallen through a lattice in the upper chamber of his palace, and sends to a heathen oracle in the Philistine city of Ekron to inquire whether he should recover from his injuries. The event furnished the occasion of Elijah's last public appearance as a prophet and champion of the national religion. After giving a terrible demonstration of his preternatural power, he is brought to the bedside of the king and announces his impending death.

The source from which the narrative is taken belongs to the cycle of prophetic biographies of which we have so many examples in this part of the history. By some recent critics, verses 2-8 are regarded as the original kernel of the passage, and assigned to the same author as 1 Kings xvii-xix, xxi; the remainder (9-16) being treated as a legendary supplement of much later date. One point in favour of the analysis is a peculiarity in the spelling of the name Elijah, in which verses 2-8 stand almost alone in the whole O. T.[1].

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[1] The exact facts are these: the usual form אֵלִיָּהוּ is never used in verses 2-8, but four times in verses 9-16. The abbreviated form אֵלִיָּה occurs three times in verses 2-8, and once in verses 9-16. The only other place in the O. T. where the shorter form is used is Mal. iv. 5 [=Hebrew, iii. 23].

lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron whether I shall recover of this sickness. But the angel of the LORD 3

But it is evident that if this fact makes against the unity of the present narrative, it militates equally against the view that verses 2-8 are from the same hand as 1 Kings xvii–xix or xxi. A certain disparity of conception between the two parts may be felt; and it must be admitted that the first half presents a conception of Elijah in no way incongruous with that of 1 Kings xvii–xix. At the same time the arguments against the combination of xxi with xvii–xix apply with equal force to this passage; and apart from the question of the homogeneity of the three narratives, the hypothesis of a late interpolation has not much utility.

2. The **lattice** (*lit.* 'network'—the same word as 1 Kings vii. 17 ff.) protected the aperture which served as a window in the **upper chamber.** The latter, in ordinary one-storied houses, consisted of a single room erected on the flat roof (see on iv. 10), and often with one or two of its walls continuous with those of the main building. In a royal palace the structure would not be so simple.

Baal-zebub means etymologically and according to tradition, 'Lord (or Baal) of flies,' i. e. probably a god who was supposed to send or remove the plague of flies. It would be in accordance with Semitic analogies if Zabub could be taken as a local designation; but if it were so, the god could hardly have been described as **the god of Ekron.** Cheyne thinks the name a corruption of Baal-zebul ('Lord of the high house'): cf. Beelzebul, Matt. x. 25 (R. V. marg.). There is certainly a connexion between these two names; though how the name of this obscure local deity came to be transferred to the 'prince of the devils' we do not know.

Ekron, the nearest to Israel of the five chief Philistine cities, is identified with *'Aḳir*, south-west from *er-Ramleh*, and about nine miles from the coast.

3. The **angel of the LORD** is here and in verse 15 the medium of prophetic revelation, a function not assigned to him in 1 Kings xvii–xix or xxi (with the doubtful and in any case trivial exception of xix. 7). The formula used in these narratives is 'the word of Yahweh came'; or (as in xix. 15 ff.) God speaks to Elijah face to face. In the patriarchal and other ancient records the angel of Yahweh is identified with Yahweh Himself, being in fact a personification of the theophany: or, to put it otherwise, he is Yahweh Himself in *visible* self-manifestation. But the present passage does not stand quite on the same level: the angel here is

said to Elijah the Tishbite, Arise, go up to meet the messengers of the king of Samaria, and say unto them, Is it because there is no God in Israel, that ye go to
4 inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? Now therefore thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not come down from the bed whither thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.
5 And Elijah departed. And the messengers returned unto him, and he said unto them, Why is it that ye are
6 returned? And they said unto him, There came up a man to meet us, and said unto us, Go, turn again unto the king that sent you, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Is it because there is no God in Israel, that thou sendest to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? therefore thou shalt not come down from the bed
7 whither thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. And he said unto them, What manner of man was he which
8 came up to meet you, and told you these words? And they answered him, He was an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins. And he said, It is
9 Elijah the Tishbite. Then *the king* sent unto him a captain of fifty with his fifty. And he went up to him: and, behold, he sat on the top of the hill. And he spake unto him, O man of God, the king hath said,

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simply an individual angel—one of the many messengers who execute Yahweh's behests.

Is it because, &c. Elijah's 'jealousy' for the Lord God of Hosts comes out in this indignant question.

8. an hairy man (*lit.* 'possessor of hair'): i. e. one clothed with a garment of hair; see on 1 Kings xix. 19.

The **girdle** (W. R. Smith, 'waistcloth') **of leather** is not elsewhere referred to in the O. T. (cf. Mark i. 6).

9 ff. The calling down of fire from heaven on the presumptuous soldiery is the only painful episode in all the histories of Elijah; and it is difficult to think that the author of ch. xvii-xix would have lowered the moral grandeur of his hero by so extravagant a display of superhuman power.

Come down. And Elijah answered and said to the 10
captain of fifty, If I be a man of God, let fire come
down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty.
And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed
him and his fifty. And again he sent unto him another 11
captain of fifty with his fifty. And he answered and
said unto him, O man of God, thus hath the king said,
Come down quickly. And Elijah answered and said 12
unto them, If I be a man of God, let fire come down
from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And the
fire of God came down from heaven, and consumed him
and his fifty. And again he sent the captain of a third 13
fifty with his fifty. And the third captain of fifty went
up, and came and fell on his knees before Elijah, and
besought him, and said unto him, O man of God, I pray
thee, let my life, and the life of these fifty thy servants,
be precious in thy sight. Behold, there came fire down 14
from heaven, and consumed the two former captains of
fifty with their fifties: but now let my life be precious in
thy sight. And the angel of the LORD said unto Elijah, 15
Go down with him: be not afraid of him. And he
arose, and went down with him unto the king. And he 16
said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Forasmuch as thou
hast sent messengers to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of
Ekron, is it because there is no God in Israel to inquire
of his word? therefore thou shalt not come down from
the bed whither thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.

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11. And he answered is probably a scribal error for 'And he went up' (as verses 9, 13).

13. the captain of a third fifty: rather, as LXX (L), 'a third captain of fifty.' The behaviour of this third captain illustrates the respect due to a prophet, which it is obviously the writer's design to inculcate.

16. is it because . . . word? The words are a gloss from verses 3, 6, and should be omitted, with LXX.

17 So he died according to the word of the LORD which Elijah had spoken. [**D**] And Jehoram began to reign in his stead in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah; because he had no son.
18 Now the rest of the acts of Ahaziah which he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

2 [**Es**] And it came to pass, when the LORD would take up

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i. 17^b, 18. *Conclusion.* The formula is irregular in several respects. (1) Verse 18 ought to precede 17^b, and between the two there should be the notice of the king's burial. (2) The synchronism in verse 17 belongs to the introductory formula of the succeeding reign. (3) That synchronism ('in the second year of Jehoram') is based on the system peculiar to the LXX (see on 1 Kings xxii. 51), and is at variance with the scheme of the Hebrew text (cf. iii. 1). Now, we are here confronted by a very intricate problem of textual criticism. The MSS. of the LXX exhibit great variations; but they agree in inserting at this point the introductory notice on Jehoram of Israel (a parallel to iii. 1–3). And they continue significantly: 'And the anger of the Lord was kindled against the house of Ahab,' which looks very like a preface to the extirpation of the dynasty recorded in ch. ix, x. Further, it must be observed that if the chronological system of the LXX was ever consistently carried out in any series of MSS., the reign of Jehoram of Judah (viii. 16–24) must have been placed between those of Ahaziah and Jehoram of Israel. All these facts, together with others to be noted later (viii. 16, ix. 29), go to show that the disorder in this passage is connected with sweeping operations on the text, in the course of which the independent Elisha-narratives (see below) were freely transposed in accordance with the views of different editors.

17. After **Jehoram** insert with LXX (L), 'his brother.'

in the second year begins a new sentence, a fragment of the introductory formula of Jehoram of Israel (see above).

ii. *Elijah succeeded by Elisha.*

That the chapter belongs to the mass of prophetic literature that had gathered round the names of the two great northern prophets is obvious. As there was a Life of Elijah (see on 1 Kings xvii–xix), so there must have been a Life of Elisha, or at least a collection of traditions and anecdotes respecting Elisha, a large number of which are preserved in the earlier part of 2 Kings (ch. ii, iv–

Elijah by a whirlwind into heaven, that Elijah went with Elisha from Gilgal. And Elijah said unto Elisha, Tarry 2

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vii, viii. 1–15, xiii. 14–21). These may be supposed to have been reduced to writing by the sons of the prophets in various localities, and afterwards put loosely together, either in an independent work or as an appendix to the history of Elijah. There is no reason to doubt that these narratives faithfully reflect the general character of Elisha's work, which touched life at much lower levels than that of his great predecessor. For reasons stated below, the account of Elijah's translation in verses 1–18 is to be regarded as the introduction to the group of Elisha-narratives, rather than the close of the biography of Elijah.

ii. 1–18. *The Translation of Elijah.* Elijah, accompanied by Elisha, pays a series of farewell visits to the prophetic communities in the vicinity of the Jordan valley; and at each place finds the presentiment of his approaching departure echoed by members of the local fraternity. The two then cross the Jordan together, into the region where Moses lay buried in a grave which no man knew. Elisha, who has persistently refused to leave his master, asks as a last request that he may be so endowed with the spirit of Elijah as to be able to continue his work. Elijah's answer is hesitating and conditional : if a spiritual vision of the translation be vouchsafed to him, then he will know that his prayer is granted. Suddenly, as they walk together, they are separated by a chariot and horses of fire ; and Elijah is caught up into heaven. Elisha, understanding the significance of the vision for himself, takes up the mantle that had fallen from Elijah ; and with it repeats the miracle of dividing the Jordan, thus proving himself the successor of Elijah. Fifty prophets who witnessed the scene at once acknowledge him as the head of their order, though their lingering doubts of the reality of Elijah's translation are not removed till they have searched the district for three days.

The narrative would undoubtedly form in every respect a worthy sequel to 1 Kings xvii–xix ; but it contains some features which show that we have to do with a different writing. (1) Elijah's close personal relations with the prophetic guilds is nowhere alluded to in any of the Elijah-narratives, and is not in keeping with the impression of solitariness which is reflected from all these records. It might of course be supposed that he had changed his manner of life before the end (Ewald) ; but the feeling remains that we have rather to do with distinct conceptions of his career. (2) In 1 Kings xix Elisha is already designated as Elijah's successor and invested with his mantle ; here, on the contrary, the succession is still doubtful, and contingent on an event which is hidden even from Elijah himself. (3) The

here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me as far as
Beth-el. And Elisha said, As the LORD liveth, and as
thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they went
3 down to Beth-el. And the sons of the prophets that
were at Beth-el came forth to Elisha, and said unto him,
Knowest thou that the LORD will take away thy master
from thy head to-day? And he said, Yea, I know it;
4 hold ye your peace. And Elijah said unto him, Elisha,
tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me to
Jericho. And he said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy
soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they came to
5 Jericho. And the sons of the prophets that were at
Jericho came near to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest
thou that the LORD will take away thy master from thy
head to-day? And he answered, Yea, I know it; hold
6 ye your peace. And Elijah said unto him, Tarry here,
I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me to Jordan. And
he said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will
7 not leave thee. And they two went on. And fifty men
of the sons of the prophets went, and stood over against

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writer of 1 Kings xix. 15 ff. could scarcely have thought of Elijah as 'The chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof' (cf. xiii. 14). When we consider that the incident marks the beginning of Elisha's ministry as much as the close of Elijah's, we naturally assign it to the series of narratives with which it has the closest affinities, those, namely, pertaining to the Life of Elisha.

1. Gilgal is spoken of as if it were the ordinary residence of Elijah and Elisha (cf. iv. 38). Since they 'went down' to Beth-el (verse 2) it cannot be the Gilgal of Joshua iv. 19, which lay between Jericho and the Jordan. There must have been many *gilgals* (cromlechs) in the country, and the one here meant must have been in the central high land, perhaps the present *Jiljilia*, about seven miles north of Beth-el (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 494).

3. On **sons of the prophets,** see on 1 Kings xx. 35.

4. Jericho. See on 1 Kings xvi. 34.

7. The fifty men are witnesses of the double miracle of dividing the water (verse 15); but not, of course, of what took place on the further side.

them afar off: and they two stood by Jordan. And 8
Elijah took his mantle, and wrapped it together, and
smote the waters, and they were divided hither and
thither, so that they two went over on dry ground. And 9
it came to pass, when they were gone over, that Elijah
said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before
I be taken from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let
a double portion of thy spirit be upon me. And he said, 10
Thou hast asked a hard thing: *nevertheless*, if thou see
me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee;
but if not, it shall not be so. And it came to pass, as 11
they still went on, and talked, that, behold, *there appeared*
a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, which parted them
both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into
heaven. And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my 12
father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof!

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9. a double portion is rightly explained in the margin as the portion of the firstborn son, which was twice as much as that of the other sons (Deut. xxi. 17). It requires some hardihood to take the expression literally, and then prove by a comparison of miracles that Elisha was really twice as great a prophet as Elijah (Ecclus. xlviii. 12). The burden of Elisha's petition is that he may be worthy to succeed Elijah as head of the prophetic body.

thy spirit. See verse 15.

10. The vision of heavenly realities is withheld from ordinary men (see vi. 17); if that gift should be bestowed on Elisha, it will be the sign that God has answered his prayer.

11. a chariot of fire, &c. The religious imagination had clothed the idea of Yahweh's omnipotence in forms derived from earthly warfare; his heavenly army contained horses and chariots invisible to mortal eyes, composed of the fiery element in which Yahweh dwells. Passages to be compared are vi. 17; Hab. iii. 8 f.; Ps. lxviii. 17. The conception is related on the one hand to the name Yahweh of Hosts, and perhaps on its lower mythological side to the horses and chariots of the sun-god, of which we read in xxiii. 11.

12. the chariots of Israel. The apostrophe is more probably addressed to Elijah himself than to the chariots, &c., which had borne him away. This at least is the only kind of reference possible

And he saw him no more: and he took hold of his own
13 clothes, and rent them in two pieces. He took up also
the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and went back,
14 and stood by the bank of Jordan. And he took the
mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters,
and said, Where is the LORD, the God of Elijah? and
when he also had smitten the waters, they were divided
15 hither and thither: and Elisha went over. And when
the sons of the prophets which were at Jericho over
against him saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth
rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed
16 themselves to the ground before him. And they said
unto him, Behold now, there be with thy servants fifty
strong men; let them go, we pray thee, and seek thy
master: lest peradventure the spirit of the LORD hath
taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain, or
17 into some valley. And he said, Ye shall not send. And
when they urged him till he was ashamed, he said, Send.
They sent therefore fifty men; and they sought three

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in xiii. 14; the meaning in both cases would be that the prophet was a greater strength to his nation than all its chariots and horses.

13. the mantle of Elijah. See on 1 Kings xix. 19.

14. he also: answering to marg., 'even he.' Both renderings are at fault. The Hebrew phrase (*'aph hû'*) should be read *'ēphô'*: it does not need to be translated, being merely an intensive particle adding emphasis to the preceding question.

15. The words **at Jericho** must have come in by mistake (see verse 7); the bed of the Jordan is not visible from Jericho. By the **spirit of Elijah** these prophets understand the Divine energy as the source of thaumaturgic power; and this is probably the sense of Elisha's prayer also (verse 9).

16. lest peradventure the spirit. See 1 Kings xviii. 12. The suddenness and mystery of Elijah's appearances and disappearances had given rise to the belief that he was transported hither and thither by the spirit of the Lord: for the idea, cf. Ezek. iii. 14, viii. 3, xi. 1, 24, &c., where, however, the condition is ecstatic.

days, but found him not. And they came back to him, 18
while he tarried at Jericho; and he said unto them, Did
I not say unto you, Go not?

And the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, we 19
pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord
seeth: but the water is naught, and the land miscarrieth.
And he said, Bring me a new cruse, and put salt therein. 20
And they brought it to him. And he went forth unto 21
the spring of the waters, and cast salt therein, and said,
Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters; there
shall not be from thence any more death or miscarrying.
So the waters were healed unto this day, according to the 22
word of Elisha which he spake.

And he went up from thence unto Beth-el: and as he 23
was going up by the way, there came forth little children
out of the city, and mocked him, and said unto him, Go
up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head. And he 24

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ii. 19–22. *Healing of the Waters of Jericho.* The passage embodies a local tradition to the effect that the principal fountain of Jericho owed its salubrious qualities to a miracle performed on it by Elisha. The *'Ain es-Sulṭan*, a perennial fountain of sweet and palatable water rising at the foot of the ruins of the ancient city, is sometimes called the Fountain of Elisha; and is no doubt the source referred to here. Its previous badness seems to have consisted in some occult influence supposed to emanate from it, which had produced frequent abortions throughout the region.

19. miscarrieth: rather, 'causes miscarriages.' The marginal rendering, however, is defensible; see Mal. iii. 11.

21. miscarrying is the same word as in verse 19, although we should have expected a substantive in place of a participle.

22. unto this day. The narrative, therefore, was written some time after the incident.

ii. 23–25. *Elisha and the Children of Beth-el.* On his homeward journey, passing through Beth-el, Elisha is insulted by a crowd of young boys, and curses them in the name of his God. Two she-bears come out of the wood and rend forty-two of their number. The story is recorded (like i. 9 ff.) to enforce the lesson of respect for the office and person of the prophet.

23. The insult lies in the derisive epithet **bald head**, baldness

looked behind him and saw them, and cursed them in the name of the LORD. And there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of
25 them. And he went from thence to mount Carmel, and from thence he returned to Samaria.

3 [D] Now Jehoram the son of Ahab began to reign

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being counted a disgrace in antiquity. The Arabs are said to distinguish between crown-baldness, which is called the baldness of slaves, and forehead-baldness, which is called noble baldness, as due to the pressure of a helmet (Macalister, in *DB*, i. p. 235). Cf. Isa. iii. 17-24.

25. returned to Samaria. Wellhausen has suggested that the original document may have read 'to Gilgal,' in accordance with verse 1, and that Samaria was substituted by an editor to give a more natural connexion with ch. iii. But the word **returned** may refer to the circuitous route described, from Beth-el to Carmel and *back* to Samaria.

iii. *Jehoram of Israel. The Moabite Campaign.*

The introductory formula (verses 1-3) is, of course, from the pen of the compiler. The remainder of the chapter is the history of a joint-expedition of Jehoram and his allies against Moab, during which the united armies were saved from destruction by the instrumentality of the prophet Elisha. Wellhausen and most critics consider that the main interest of the writer was in the political events he describes, that therefore the passage belongs to the same class of popular histories as 1 Kings xx, xxii, and was in fact composed by the author of these two chapters. Some, however (Benzinger and Kittel), hold that the whole passage only serves as a background for the Elisha-episode, and is accordingly to be regarded as an extract from the biography of Elisha. The point is not easy to determine. There are undoubtedly some striking resemblances to 1 Kings xx, xxii, which strongly favour the view of Wellhausen: cf. verses 7, 11 with xxii. 4, 5, 7; and note the frequent tendency to omit the proper names of the several kings. On the other hand, there are indications which seem to point in an opposite direction. Thus it is urged that in this chapter it is a sufficient introduction of Elisha to say that he had been the servant of Elijah (verse 11), and that this is not likely to be the continuation of a document in which the existence of Elijah himself is so completely ignored as in 1 Kings xx, xxii. And again, there are at least two phrases which seem formed after the style of the Elijah-history: cf. verse 14 with xvii. 1,

over Israel in Samaria in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and reigned twelve years. And 2
he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD; but not like his father, and like his mother: for he put away
the pillar of Baal that his father had made. Nevertheless 3
he cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin; he departed not therefrom.

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and verse 20 with xviii. 29, 36. But we have seen that 1 Kings xx, xxii are not purely political: the narrative has been utilized as the basis of a series of pictures illustrating the influence of the prophets; and we may readily suppose that here the continuation of that narrative has been similarly treated, and perhaps partly rewritten. That the prophet in this case happens to be Elisha is an insufficient reason for assigning the whole to the cycle of Elisha-stories, with which it has little in common. (See Introd. p. 28 f.)

The historicity of the record is vouched for in essential respects by the discovery at Dibon of the famous Moabite Stone, erected to commemorate the successful revolt of Moab against Israel. In the inscription Mesha himself relates how his land had been oppressed by Omri of Israel 'many days,' and afterwards by his son, how the land of Medeba had been occupied by Israel during 'his [Omri's] days and half his son's days, forty years,' and how by the help of Chemosh his god he had gradually expelled the invaders, capturing their strongholds one by one and massacring or enslaving the inhabitants (see Bennett in *DB*, iii. p. 404 ff.; and Burney, p. 371 ff.). According to this account the revolt broke out, not after the death of Ahab (as i. 1, iii. 5), but in the middle of his reign; moreover, in the biblical chronology the united reigns of Omri and Ahab amount to less than forty years. These are the only points in which the two records are directly in conflict; in all other respects they may be used to supplement one another. The events recorded in this chapter belong to a period subsequent to the Moabite inscription; it describes an attempt (but apparently an unsuccessful attempt) of Jehoram to restore the Israelitish supremacy over Moab.

iii. 1-3. *Introduction.* See on i. 17 f.

2. For **pillar** (i. e. *mazzēbāh*, see on 1 Kings xiv. 23) the LXX reads the plural 'pillars.' The reformation here attributed to Jehoram must have been very partial, since the worship of the Tyrian Baal was still in full exercise at the time of Jehu's revolution.

4 [N] Now Mesha king of Moab was a sheepmaster; and he rendered unto the king of Israel the wool of an hundred thousand lambs, and of an hundred thousand
5 rams. But it came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel.
6 And king Jehoram went out of Samaria at that time, and
7 mustered all Israel. And he went and sent to Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, saying, The king of Moab hath rebelled against me: wilt thou go with me against Moab to battle? And he said, I will go up: I am as

iii. 4–10. *Preparations for the Invasion of Moab.* Since the death of Ahab, Mesha had withheld the annual tribute of wool which he had been accustomed to pay to the kings of Israel; and, as we learn from his inscription, had expelled the Israelites from his territory. In order to subdue this petty state Jehoram collects his entire army, and calls on his vassal Jehoshaphat[1] of Judah to take part in the expedition, which it was arranged should march round the Dead Sea and invade Moab from the south. On the route they are joined by the king of Edom, who must at this time have been Jehoshaphat's vassal. But the allied army suffered so severely from want of water that on reaching the Moabite frontier (the *Wadi el-Aḥsā*) advance and retreat seemed alike impossible, and Jehoram's courage utterly failed him.

4. a sheepmaster: Heb. *nōḳēd* (cf. Amos i. 1), a keeper of the peculiar stunted and short-legged breed of sheep still called by the Arabs *naḳad*, and highly esteemed on account of its wool.

he rendered. The verb is frequentative: 'used to render,' year by year. The tribute seems excessive, and it is not clear whether it consisted in the animals or only in their fleeces, or whether the explicative accusative **wool** applies to the rams alone (see marg.).

5. Cf. i. 1; and see introductory note above.

7. Cf. 1 Kings xxii. 4. The same relation of vassalage is here presupposed.

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[1] LXX (L) substitutes the name of Ahaziah of Judah for that of Jehoshaphat in this chapter. The motive for the change is apparent. According to the chronological scheme of Lucian, Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat were at no time contemporaries. It is, of course, possible that originally the name of the king of Judah was not given at all (Benzinger); but still, in view of verse 14, we can hardly doubt that Jehoshaphat was meant.

thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy
horses. And he said, Which way shall we go up? And 8
he answered, The way of the wilderness of Edom. So 9
the king of Israel went, and the king of Judah, and the
king of Edom: and they made a circuit of seven days'
journey: and there was no water for the host, nor for the
beasts that followed them. And the king of Israel said, 10
Alas! for the LORD hath called these three kings together to deliver them into the hand of Moab. But 11
Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here a prophet of the
LORD, that we may inquire of the LORD by him? And
one of the king of Israel's servants answered and said,
Elisha the son of Shaphat is here, which poured water on

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8. Which way? The question would be most natural in the mouth of Jehoshaphat, the subordinate party; unless we suppose that the narrative has been abridged, and that here we have the fragment of a consultation of Yahweh through some prophet (see below on verse 13). The choice of so circuitous a route is perhaps to be explained by the fact that Mesha had already fortified the cities in the northern part of his land in expectation of an attack.

9. the king of Edom. According to the annalistic statements of 1 Kings xxii. 47, 2 Kings viii. 20 there was no king of Edom at this time. For this reason Ewald thought it possible that the events really happened in the reign of Jehoram of Judah, and that the name of Jehoshaphat as the better-known king was substituted by mistake. But that is not probable, on account of verse 14.

10. the LORD hath called. The reference may be to prophetic oracles (like those of 1 Kings xxii) predicting a favourable issue of the campaign.

iii. 11-28. *Consultation of Elisha.* Jehoshaphat having discovered that the prophet Elisha is in the camp, the three kings visit him to seek the word of Yahweh. Elisha at first refuses to answer them, but afterwards relents out of consideration for the king of Judah, and calls for a minstrel. In the condition of prophetic excitation induced by the music, he gives directions for collecting an abundant supply of water which will be mysteriously sent to the armies; and adds a promise of complete victory over Moab.

11. Cf. 1 Kings xxii. 7.

which poured water: i. e. was the servitor of Elijah (1 Kings xix. 21).

12 the hands of Elijah. And Jehoshaphat said, The word of the LORD is with him. So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom went down to him.
13 And Elisha said unto the king of Israel, What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother. And the king of Israel said unto him, Nay: for the LORD hath called these three kings together to deliver them into the hand of Moab.
14 And Elisha said, As the LORD of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would not
15 look toward thee, nor see thee. But now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the LORD came upon him.
16 And he said, Thus saith the LORD, Make this valley full

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12. It is remarkable that, whereas in 1 Kings xxii Jehoshaphat knows nothing of the northern prophets and never inquires for Elijah, here he is so familiar with their names that he at once recognizes Elisha as a true man of God.

13. The words **and to the prophets of thy mother** are wanting in LXX (B), probably by mistake. In any case, by the **prophets of thy father** Elisha must mean Baal-prophets; for this sense alone gives point to Jehoram's reply: 'Nay, but it is Yahweh who,' &c. The reference is to prophetic oracles (like those of 1 Kings xxii), by which Yahweh had seemed to sanction the enterprise, though Jehoram now fears that they may prove to have been inspired by the 'lying spirit.'

15. And it came to pass: rather, 'And it used to be.' It is Elisha's habitual method of exciting the prophetic condition which is described. The association of religious music with the earlier and more violent exhibitions of prophecy in Israel is attested by 1 Sam. x. 5; and similar examples are found in Arabian literature (W. R. Smith, *Prophets*², p. 392). The practice had probably been kept up in the prophetic guilds with which Elisha was so closely associated.

the hand of the LORD is a frequent expression for the prophetic trance.

16. this valley. The scene of the miracle was the Wadi forming the frontier between Moab and Edom, whose upper reaches still bear the name *Wadi el-Aḥsā* ('valley of the sandy

of trenches. For thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not see 17
wind, neither shall ye see rain, yet that valley shall be
filled with water: and ye shall drink, both ye and your
cattle and your beasts. And this is but a light thing in 18
the sight of the LORD: he will also deliver the Moabites
into your hand. And ye shall smite every fenced city, 19
and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and
stop all fountains of water, and mar every good piece of
land with stones. And it came to pass in the morning, 20
about the time of offering the oblation, that, behold, there
came water by the way of Edom, and the country was
filled with water. Now when all the Moabites heard 21

water-pits'). The peculiarity of the region is that the water from the mountains of Edom sinks beneath the surface, and is retained underground by the rocky bottom; so that a supply can almost always be obtained by digging pits in the sand. The tradition thus rests on accurate local knowledge; and the miracle consists, like the plagues of Egypt, in an enhancement of a natural phenomenon familiar to natives of the district (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², p. 147)[1].

17. For your cattle read, as in verse 9, 'your host' (so LXX (L)).

19. and every choice city is a variant of the preceding clause, omitted by LXX. See further on verse 25 below.

20. about the time . . . oblation: cf. 1 Kings xviii. 29.

by the way of: 'from the direction of' Edom, i. e. from the south-east along the course of the Wadi. The pits are filled to overflowing by the water.

iii. 21–27. *Conquest and Devastation of Moab.* The Moabite levies guarding the frontier, deceived by the reflection of the morning light on the water-pits and thinking it blood, conclude

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[1] This follows the ordinary interpretation of verse 16. Burney, however (p. 270), points out that it is opposed by verses 22, 23, 'where the phenomenon described must have been produced by the sun shining upon *natural* and so irregular and wide-spreading *pools of water*, and not upon *artificial* and so (presumably) symmetrically shaped *trenches*.' The sentence reads literally: 'A making of this valley nothing but pits'; and this might quite well be rendered, 'I will make,' &c., so that human agency would be excluded.

that the kings were come up to fight against them, they
gathered themselves together, all that were able to put on
22 armour, and upward, and stood on the border. And they
rose up early in the morning, and the sun shone upon
the water, and the Moabites saw the water over against
23 them as red as blood: and they said, This is blood; the
kings are surely destroyed, and they have smitten each
24 man his fellow: now therefore, Moab, to the spoil. And
when they came to the camp of Israel, the Israelites rose
up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before
them: and they went forward into the land smiting the
25 Moabites. And they beat down the cities; and on every

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that the allies have fallen out and destroyed one another. As they rush in disorder to seize the spoil they are easily overpowered by the Israelitish army, which then presses forward into the country, destroying every mark of civilization as it goes. Mesha is at last driven, with the remains of his army, behind the walls of his capital, from which he makes a desperate sortie, in the hope of reaching the king of Edom. Being foiled in this attempt, he offers his firstborn son as a propitiation to Chemosh on the wall of the city; whereupon, in some way not explained, the fortune of war is reversed, and the Israelites are compelled to evacuate the country. The short narrative throws a lurid light on the barbarities of ancient warfare, and also on the deep-seated religious instincts which, in Israel as amongst its heathen neighbours, were appealed to by the rite of human sacrifice.

21. Read, 'Now all Moab had heard . . . and had been summoned together.'

22. as red as blood. It is clear from the context that the effect was due to the red rays of the morning sun shining upon the water.

23. This is blood: LXX, 'This is blood of the sword'—an attractive but impossible rendering!

are surely destroyed. Read, with marg., 'have surely fought together.'

24. and they went forward. Render, as LXX (with a very slight change of text), 'And they kept pressing forward, smiting the Moabites as they went.'

25. The methods of warfare described in the first part of the verse were universal in antiquity. 'In Arabian warfare the

good piece of land they cast every man his stone, and filled it; and they stopped all the fountains of water, and felled all the good trees: until in Kir-hareseth *only* they left the stones thereof; howbeit the slingers went about
it, and smote it. And when the king of Moab saw that 26
the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew sword, to break through unto the
king of Edom: but they could not. Then he took his 27
eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And there was great wrath against Israel: and they departed from him, and returned to their own land.

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destruction of an enemy's palm-groves is a favourite exploit, and fertile lands are thus often reduced to desert' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², p. 369). Here they are sanctioned and even enjoined by a prophet; but in later times the attempt was made to soften their barbarity by legislation (Deut. xx. 19 f.).

The clause **until in Kir-hareseth . . . thereof** is very difficult, and the text so corrupt that we can only vaguely conjecture the sense. It is plain from what follows that it must have contained the name of a fortress; and this guarantees the reading of **Kir-hareseth** as a proper name, though the Massoretes can hardly have understood it so, any more than did the LXX and Vulg. Kir-hareseth (Isa. xvi. 7, 11 = 'Kir of Moab,' xv. 1) is identified with the modern *Kerak*, occupying an impregnable site on the north side of the Wadi of the same name, about twelve miles north of the *Wadi el-Ahsā*. For the rest, the sentence may have been something like this: 'until there was not left but [. . .] of her [Moab's] men in Kir-hareseth.'

26. unto the king of Edom, who was probably an unwilling partner in the alliance.

27. The deity to whom the tribute of human blood was paid was necessarily the national god of Moab, Chemosh. Cf. Moabite Stone, ll. 11, 12: 'And I put to death all the people of the town—*a pleasing spectacle for Chemosh*.' The meaning of the words **there was great wrath against Israel** is obscure. The wrath is presumably that of Chemosh, whose existence and power within his own territory were not doubted by the Israelites (see Judges xi. 24); but in what way it took effect we are not told. Possibly the sickening and paralysing horror of the spectacle was itself attributed to a supernatural influence, just as the Greeks

4 [Es] Now there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, Thy servant my husband is dead: and thou knowest that thy servant did fear the LORD: and the creditor is come to
2 take unto him my two children to be bondmen. And Elisha said unto her, What shall I do for thee? tell me; what hast thou in the house? And she said, Thine handmaid hath not any thing in the house, save a pot of oil.
3 Then he said, Go, borrow thee vessels abroad of all thy
4 neighbours, even empty vessels; borrow not a few. And thou shalt go in, and shut the door upon thee and upon thy sons, and pour out into all those vessels; and thou shalt

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believed panic to be inspired by the god Pan. At all events, the Israelites had to withdraw from the country.

iv. 1—vi. 23. *Passages in the Life of Elisha.*

Although the bulk of the Elisha-narratives are inserted at this point, it is not to be supposed that all the events recorded took place within the reign of Jehoram. The greater part of Elisha's career fell under the dynasty of Jehu; and the friendly terms on which the prophet sometimes stands with the 'king of Israel' (always unnamed) are more intelligible of a monarch of that house than of a son of Ahab (cf. iii. 13). The question, however, has not much importance except with regard to the setting of vi. 24 ff., and need not be discussed till we come to that section.

iv. 1-7. *The Multiplication of the Widow's store of Oil.* The widow of one of the prophets, whose two sons are about to be seized as slaves by a creditor, appeals to Elisha. Following his directions, she borrows a large number of vessels, and commences to fill them with the oil in her household flask, finding it miraculously increased in the process, so that at last she has enough to pay off the debt and something over to maintain her family. The language shows a slight trace of local dialect, such as is found elsewhere in the Elisha-stories. The resemblance of the miracle to 1 Kings xvii. 8 ff. should be noted.

1. The creditor was within his rights in claiming the children of the debtor as bondservants: cf. Isa. l. 1; Exod. xxi. 7; Neh. v. 5.

2. oil (i. e. olive oil), used for a variety of domestic purposes, was almost a necessity of life among the Hebrews, and, was besides, an important article of commerce (verse 7).

set aside that which is full. So she went from him, and 5
shut the door upon her and upon her sons; they brought
the vessels to her, and she poured out. And it came to 6
pass, when the vessels were full, that she said unto her
son, Bring me yet a vessel. And he said unto her,
There is not a vessel more. And the oil stayed. Then 7
she came and told the man of God. And he said, Go,
sell the oil, and pay thy debt, and live thou and thy sons
of the rest.

And it fell on a day, that Elisha passed to Shunem, 8
where was a great woman; and she constrained him to
eat bread. And so it was, that as oft as he passed by,
he turned in thither to eat bread. And she said unto 9
her husband, Behold now, I perceive that this is an
holy man of God, which passeth by us continually. Let 10
us make, I pray thee, a little chamber on the wall; and

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iv. 8–37. *The Lady of Shunem and her Son.* On his frequent journeys through Shunem Elisha is entertained by a wealthy lady, who at length persuades her husband to build a guest-chamber on the roof of their house for his accommodation. As a reward for her hospitality Elisha promises that a son shall be born to her in the following year. In course of time the child grows up, and one day is seized by sunstroke in the harvest-field, and dies the same day. In her distress the mother seeks out the man of God at mount Carmel, and at his feet pours out all the bitterness of her soul. Elisha first sends his staff with his servant Gehazi to lay on the face of the child; but when this proves unavailing he comes himself and restores the dead child to life. The beautiful story is a parallel to 1 Kings xvii. 17 ff.; and illustrates the blessings that are the reward of reverence for a holy prophet of God. At the same time it is of great interest for the light it throws on many details of social life in ancient Israel.

8. Shunem. See on 1 Kings i. 3.

as oft as he passed by: on his journeys between Gilgal (ii. 1, iv. 38) and Carmel (verse 25).

9. an holy man of God. On 'man of God' as a designation of the prophet, see p. 190. The adjective 'holy' does not in this connexion connote saintliness of character, but the formal sanctity which belongs to the prophet in virtue of his relation to God.

10. little chamber with walls (see marg.): as distinguished

let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool,
and a candlestick: and it shall be, when he cometh to
11 us, that he shall turn in thither. And it fell on a day,
that he came thither, and he turned into the chamber
12 and lay there. And he said to Gehazi his servant, Call
this Shunammite. And when he had called her, she
13 stood before him. And he said unto him, Say now unto
her, Behold, thou hast been careful for us with all this
care; what is to be done for thee? wouldest thou be
spoken for to the king, or to the captain of the host?
And she answered, I dwell among mine own people.
14 And he said, What then is to be done for her? And
Gehazi answered, Verily she hath no son, and her husband
15 is old. And he said, Call her. And when he had called
16 her, she stood in the door. And he said, At this season,
when the time cometh round, thou shalt embrace a son.
And she said, Nay, my lord, thou man of God, do not lie
17 unto thine handmaid. And the woman conceived, and
bare a son at that season, when the time came round,

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from a mere temporary erection on the roof for the reception of a chance visitor or some other casual purpose. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 25 (R. V. marg.); 2 Sam. xvi. 22; Neh. viii. 16: see further on i. 2; 1 Kings xvii. 19. The furniture deemed suitable for a guest-chamber in those days consisted of a bed, a table, a stool, and a lamp.

13. thou hast been careful: a peculiar expression, *lit.* 'hast trembled'; hast been anxiously solicitous.

I dwell among mine own people: i. e. my own kindred. As a 'great lady' she was surrounded by relatives powerful enough to protect her interests, and had no need that influence should be used for her with the king or the captain of the host. A day was to come when it was far otherwise (viii. 1-6).

16. when the time reviveth (marg.): a difficult phrase, found elsewhere only in Gen. xviii. 10, 14 (J). Usually it is explained 'when this time lives again' = 'this time next year.' Ewald more plausibly takes it to mean 'next spring,' the season when the year renews its life. Neither interpretation seems quite satisfactory.

do not lie: create delusive expectations (cf. Hab. ii. 3).

as Elisha had said unto her. And when the child was 18
grown, it fell on a day, that he went out to his father to
the reapers. And he said unto his father, My head, my 19
head. And he said to his servant, Carry him to his
mother. And when he had taken him, and brought him 20
to his mother, he sat on her knees till noon, and then
died. And she went up, and laid him on the bed of 21
the man of God, and shut *the door* upon him, and went
out. And she called unto her husband, and said, Send 22
me, I pray thee, one of the servants, and one of the
asses, that I may run to the man of God, and come again.
And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? it 23
is neither new moon nor sabbath. And she said, It shall
be well. Then she saddled an ass, and said to her 24
servant, Drive, and go forward; slacken me not the
riding, except I bid thee. So she went, and came unto 25
the man of God to mount Carmel. And it came to pass,
when the man of God saw her afar off, that he said to
Gehazi his servant, Behold, yonder is the Shunammite:
run, I pray thee, now to meet her, and say unto her, Is 26
it well with thee? is it well with thy husband? is it well
with the child? And she answered, It is well. And 27
when she came to the man of God to the hill, she caught

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19 f. Cf. Judith viii. 3: 'he stood over them that bound sheaves in the field, and the heat came upon his head, and he took to his bed and died.'

21. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 19.

23. The husband's answer implies that it was the ancient custom to make somewhat lengthy pilgrimages to prophets and sacred places at the new moons and on the sabbaths. The distance from Shunem to Carmel would be twenty or twenty-five miles; much longer, therefore, than the sabbath day's journey of later Judaism.

26. It is well: or simply, 'Yes!' (the affirmative answer in Hebrew is expressed by repeating part of the question). The spirit of the answer is hardly pious resignation, but rather reluctance to lay bare her trouble to any but the man of God himself.

hold of his feet. And Gehazi came near to thrust her away; but the man of God said, Let her alone: for her soul is vexed within her; and the LORD hath hid it from
28 me, and hath not told me. Then she said, Did I desire a son of my lord? did I not say, Do not deceive me?
29 Then he said to Gehazi, Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again: and lay my staff upon the face of the child.
30 And the mother of the child said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And he
31 arose, and followed her. And Gehazi passed on before them, and laid the staff upon the face of the child; but there was neither voice, nor hearing. Wherefore he returned to meet him, and told him, saying, The child
32 is not awaked. And when Elisha was come into the house, behold, the child was dead, and laid upon his
33 bed. He went in therefore, and shut the door upon
34 them twain, and prayed unto the LORD. And he went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon

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28. And even before him she disguises it in reproaches, through which, however, the prophet perceives the cause of her sorrow, although the Lord had not revealed it to him (verse 27).

29. salute him not: cf. Luke x. 4. In both cases the object of the injunction is to avoid the waste of time involved in the formal and tedious salutations customary in the East. Elisha's first thought seems to have been that the child was not really dead; hence he sends his wonder-working staff by the hands of his servant, 'as if to prevent any more life from issuing from the deceased' (Ewald); but

30. the mother, who knew better, insisted that he should himself accompany her.

31. neither voice, nor hearing: a curious coincidence with 1 Kings xviii. 26.

his hands: and he stretched himself upon him; and the
flesh of the child waxed warm. Then he returned, and 35
walked in the house once to and fro; and went up, and
stretched himself upon him: and the child sneezed seven
times, and the child opened his eyes. And he called 36
Gehazi, and said, Call this Shunammite. So he called
her. And when she was come in unto him, he said,
Take up thy son. Then she went in, and fell at his feet, 37
and bowed herself to the ground; and she took up her
son, and went out.

And Elisha came again to Gilgal: and there was 38
a dearth in the land; and the sons of the prophets were
sitting before him: and he said unto his servant, Set on
the great pot, and seethe pottage for the sons of the
prophets. And one went out into the field to gather herbs, 39
and found a wild vine, and gathered thereof wild gourds

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34. stretched himself upon him: 'crouched over him,' the same verb as 1 Kings xviii. 42.

35. The words **and the child sneezed** are wanting in LXX (B), which thus, more naturally, connects the 'seven times' with the action of the prophet.

iv. 38–41. *Death in the Pot.* At Gilgal, in a time of dearth, when Elisha had called together the sons of the prophets to a common meal, some unwholesome wild fruit was thrown into the pot by mistake; whereupon the prophet rendered the dish innocuous by casting in a little salt.

38. The prophetic community at Gilgal (see on ii. 1) seems to have led a coenobitic life, inhabiting a sort of monastery (vi. 1), and eating at a common table. That Elisha himself dwelt among them is perhaps not necessarily implied; and in v. 9 he has a private house of his own. The state of matters presupposed by iv. 1 ff. appears to be entirely different.

For **a dearth** the Hebrew has 'the dearth,' doubtless the seven years' famine predicted in viii. 1, and frequently referred to in the Elisha-stories.

39. a wild vine . . . wild gourds: *lit.* 'vine of the field . . . gourds of the field.' The plant was probably the colocynth (so Vulg.), which might be called a vine on account of its trailing

his lap full, and came and shred them into the pot of pot-
40 tage: for they knew them not. So they poured out for the
men to eat. And it came to pass, as they were eating of
the pottage, that they cried out, and said, O man of God,
there is death in the pot. And they could not eat
41 thereof. But he said, Then bring meal. And he cast it
into the pot; and he said, Pour out for the people, that
they may eat. And there was no harm in the pot.

42 And there came a man from Baal-shalishah, and brought
the man of God bread of the firstfruits, twenty loaves of
barley, and fresh ears of corn in his sack. And he said,
43 Give unto the people, that they may eat. And his
servant said, What, should I set this before an hundred
men? But he said, Give the people, that they may eat;
for thus saith the LORD, They shall eat, and shall leave
44 thereof. So he set it before them, and they did eat, and
left thereof, according to the word of the LORD.

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tendrils, and whose fruit might be mistaken for the globe cucumber. It is described as 'a drastic cathartic and, in quantities, an irritant poison.'

41. Pour out. The command is addressed to the servant, whom the LXX here names as Gehazi.

iv. 42–44. *The Miraculous Feeding of a hundred Prophets.* A small offering of first-fruits brought to the man of God from Baal-shalishah is so multiplied as to appease the hunger of a hundred men and leave something over. The 'men' are not expressly said to be prophets; but the close connexion of the incident with the preceding leaves little doubt that that is the meaning. The practice of offering first-fruits to a man of God is nowhere else referred to: see on v. 23.

42. It is said in the Talmud that nowhere did the fruits of the earth ripen so quickly as at **Baal-shalishah.** The place is identified by Conder with *Khirbet Kefr Thilth*, about fourteen miles north-west from Jiljilia.

fresh ears of corn: better, (freshly plucked) 'garden growth'; cf. Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 14.

sack: or, 'wallet.' The Hebrew word is doubtful, and the text somewhat uncertain.

Now Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, 5
was a great man with his master, and honourable, because by him the LORD had given victory unto Syria: he
was also a mighty man of valour, *but he was* a leper.
And the Syrians had gone out in bands, and had brought 2
away captive out of the land of Israel a little maid; and
she waited on Naaman's wife. And she said unto her 3
mistress, Would God my lord were with the prophet that
is in Samaria! then would he recover him of his leprosy.
And one went in, and told his lord, saying, Thus and 4
thus said the maid that is of the land of Israel. And the 5
king of Syria said, Go to, go, and I will send a letter
unto the king of Israel. And he departed, and took with

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v. 1–19. *The Healing of Naaman the Syrian.* Naaman, a successful Syrian general, who was a leper, hears through a Hebrew slave-girl of the wonder-working power of the great prophet of Israel; and is sent by his master to Samaria to be healed. The king of Israel is alarmed by the peremptory demand of the Syrian monarch; but Elisha interposes, and when the great man comes to his door bids him wash seven times in the Jordan. Naaman at first proudly refuses; but afterwards yields to the remonstrances of his servants, and is cured. He then returns to confess his faith in the God of Elisha as the only God in all the earth, and to crave permission to take enough soil of the land of Canaan to build an altar to Yahweh. And he hopes that when his official duties require him to pay an outward homage to Rimmon, this will not be misunderstood or hardly judged by the prophet.

1. honourable: *lit.* 'man of respect'; cf. Isa. iii. 3; Job xxii. 8.

The phrase **a mighty man of valour** was probably a marginal gloss to 'great man' above. It is wanting in LXX (L), which reads simply, 'but the man was a leper.' It is an indication of a somewhat advanced theological standpoint that the Syrian victories are ascribed, not to the gods of Syria, but to Yahweh.

2. gone out in bands: i. e. had made forays into Israelitish territory, although diplomatically the two nations were at peace.

4. The fuller text of LXX (L) reads, 'And she [Naaman's wife] went in, and told her lord, and he told the king and said, Thus and thus,' &c.

him ten talents of silver, and six thousand *pieces* of gold,
6 and ten changes of raiment. And he brought the letter
to the king of Israel, saying, And now when this letter is
come unto thee, behold, I have sent Naaman my servant
to thee, that thou mayest recover him of his leprosy.
7 And it came to pass, when the king of Israel had read
the letter, that he rent his clothes, and said, Am I God,
to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto
me to recover a man of his leprosy? but consider, I pray
8 you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me. And
it was so, when Elisha the man of God heard that the
king of Israel had rent his clothes, that he sent to the
king, saying, Wherefore hast thou rent thy clothes? let
him come now to me, and he shall know that there is
9 a prophet in Israel. So Naaman came with his horses
and with his chariots, and stood at the door of the house
10 of Elisha. And Elisha sent a messenger unto him,
saying, Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh
11 shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean. But
Naaman was wroth, and went away, and said, Behold,
I thought, He will surely come out to me, and stand,
and call on the name of the Lord his God, and wave his

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5. changes of raiment: cf. Judges xiv. 12, 13, 19.

6. And now: a verbal citation of the relevant part of the letter, omitting the conventional introduction.

that thou mayest recover: strictly, 'and thou shalt recover.' The peremptory tone is that of the suzerain to his vassal.

7. Cf. 1 Kings xx. 7.

seeketh a quarrel: 'an opportunity,' i. e. a *casus belli.* The king can only interpret the extraordinary message as a pretext for the renewal of hostilities.

9. Elisha is obviously regarded as residing in Samaria (verse 3), and in his own private house, not in the society of the sons of the prophets (iv. 38).

10. As with the Shunammite (iv. 12ff.), so with this distinguished foreigner, Elisha communicates through a third party; and Naaman resents the indignity.

hand over the place, and recover the leper. Are not 12
Abanah and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than
all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them, and be
clean? So he turned and went away in a rage. And 13
his servants came near, and spake unto him, and said,
My father, if the prophet had bid thee do some great
thing, wouldest thou not have done it? how much rather
then, when he saith to thee, Wash, and be clean? Then 14
went he down, and dipped *himself* seven times in Jordan,
according to the saying of the man of God: and his
flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child, and
he was clean. And he returned to the man of God, he 15
and all his company, and came, and stood before him:
and he said, Behold now, I know that there is no God
in all the earth, but in Israel: now therefore, I pray thee,
take a present of thy servant. But he said, As the LORD 16

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12. the rivers of Damascus. The region of Damascus is still watered by two main streams: the larger is the *Nahr Baradā*, rising in Anti-Libanus and flowing eastward through the city, and the smaller the *Nahr el-A‘waj*, running nearly parallel, some miles to the south. Both lose themselves in marshes east of the city. The first is identified with **Abana** (pronounced by the Massoretes *Amana*), and the second with **Pharpar.** The latter name seems still to be preserved in *Wadi Barbar*, whose waters do not *now* join the *A‘waj*, and which is too small to be mentioned by itself as the second great river of Damascus.

13. The solicitude of the servants for their master's welfare is creditable to both; but it is doubtful if the address **My father** can have been the real text. It seems to be a corruption of the word for 'if,' which is otherwise not expressed in the original, and is indispensable. LXX (L) has both words; LXX (B) has neither, thus turning the hypothetical into an absolute sentence which makes nonsense.

15. that there is no God . . . : cf. Isa. xlv. 14. The monotheistic confession in the mouth of a heathen of that age is surprising, especially in view of the narrower conception implied in verse 17.

'Blessing,' used in the sense of 'present,' as Judges i. 15; 1 Sam. xxx. 26.

liveth, before whom I stand, I will receive none. And
17 he urged him to take it; but he refused. And Naaman
said, If not, yet I pray thee let there be given to thy
servant two mules' burden of earth; for thy servant will
henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto
18 other gods, but unto the LORD. In this thing the LORD
pardon thy servant; when my master goeth into the
house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on
my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon,
when I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, the LORD
19 pardon thy servant in this thing. And he said unto him,
Go in peace. So he departed from him a little way.
20 But Gehazi, the servant of Elisha the man of God,

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16. before whom I stand: cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1.

17. Though Yahweh has revealed Himself to the conscience of Naaman as the only genuine God, yet He can properly be worshipped only on Israelitish soil. The idea was universal; and so doubtless was this particular way of giving effect to it.

18. Rimmon, or *Rammân*, a thunder-god of the Assyrians, is identified with Hadad in the inscriptions, with the interesting notice that the latter was the name by which the god was known *in the West* (Zimmern, in *KAT*³, p. 443).

worship and **bow myself** stand for the same Hebrew verb, which should be rendered 'bow' throughout. Naaman means that he will render to Rimmon, the state deity, the perfunctory homage which his position demanded, but that his heart will remain loyal to Yahweh. Such a case of conscience would no doubt require to be treated differently on the plane of Christian morality, where fidelity to one's inmost convictions is of vital importance.

19. a little way: *lit.* 'a region of land,' as Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7. The exact sense is unknown: some take it to mean 'as far as one can see.' (Cf. Burney, p. 281.)

v. 20-27. *The Curse on Gehazi.* The sight of Naaman's wealth had excited the cupidity of Gehazi, and he resolves to secure a portion of it for himself. By a cleverly concocted story he easily moves the generous Syrian to give him double the very large sum of money he had ventured to ask. But on re-entering his master's presence he finds that even his secret purposes are discerned, and that no evasion can screen him from the doom he

said, Behold, my master hath spared this Naaman the Syrian, in not receiving at his hands that which he brought: as the LORD liveth, I will run after him, and take somewhat of him. So Gehazi followed after Naa- 21
man. And when Naaman saw one running after him, he lighted down from the chariot to meet him, and said, Is all well? And he said, All is well. My master hath 22
sent me, saying, Behold, even now there be come to me from the hill country of Ephraim two young men of the sons of the prophets; give them, I pray thee, a talent of silver, and two changes of raiment. And Naaman said, 23
Be content, take two talents. And he urged him, and bound two talents of silver in two bags, with two changes of raiment, and laid them upon two of his servants; and they bare them before him. And when he came to the 24
hill, he took them from their hand, and bestowed them in the house: and he let the men go, and they departed. But he went in, and stood before his master. And 25
Elisha said unto him, Whence comest thou, Gehazi? And he said, Thy servant went no whither. And he 26
said unto him, Went not mine heart *with thee*, when the man turned again from his chariot to meet thee? Is it

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has deserved. Under the prophet's withering rebuke the leprosy which is to cleave to his seed for ever breaks out upon him.

21. So great is the honour due to a prophet that even before his servant Naaman must **light down** from his chariot.

For **one,** read 'him' (LXX).

23. two of his servants: or, 'his (Gehazi's) two servants.' Gehazi had apparently taken two men with him; possibly he had represented them as the two young men for whom he begged (Benzinger).

24. the hill, or 'mound'; Heb. '*Ophel*, a name applied elsewhere in O. T. only to the south-east spur of the temple mount at Jerusalem. (But cf. Moabite Stone, l. 22.)

26. when the man: better, 'when some one.'

Is it a time? If the text were correct the sense would be

a time to receive money, and to receive garments, and oliveyards and vineyards, and sheep and oxen, and men-
27 servants and maidservants? The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave unto thee, and unto thy seed for ever. And he went out from his presence a leper *as white* as snow.

6 And the sons of the prophets said unto Elisha, Behold now, the place where we dwell before thee is too strait
2 for us. Let us go, we pray thee, unto Jordan, and take thence every man a beam, and let us make us a place there, where we may dwell. And he answered, Go ye.
3 And one said, Be content, I pray thee, and go with thy
4 servants. And he answered, I will go. So he went with them. And when they came to Jordan, they cut down
5 wood. But as one was felling a beam, the axe-head fell into the water: and he cried, and said, Alas, my master!
6 for it was borrowed. And the man of God said, Where

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that a time of national distress and mourning was no fit time for amassing the means of private luxury. But the LXX, by a very small change, yields an easier and better reading: 'And now thou hast received the money, and thou shalt receive garments . . . (27) and the leprosy of Naaman,' &c.; as if with the gift he had received the leprosy of the giver.

vi. 1-7. *The Axe-head made to swim.* The company of prophets (at Gilgal?) had so increased in numbers that they found it necessary to establish a new settlement in the valley of the Jordan. As they were felling wood for this purpose one of them lost the head of an axe (which he had borrowed) in the river. Elisha, on being appealed to, threw a stick into the water, when the iron floated to the surface. The conception of the life of a prophetic community is similar to that of iv. 38-41, 42-44. The prophets live together; Elisha lives amongst them and orders all their common affairs; and so closely paternal is his relation to them that they cannot bear to be separated from him, even while engaged in the most mundane employment.

2. The Jordan valley is chosen as the site of the new settlement, probably because of the abundant supply of building timber which could there be found.

fell it? And he shewed him the place. And he cut
down a stick, and cast it in thither, and made the iron to
swim. And he said, Take it up to thee. So he put out 7
his hand, and took it.

Now the king of Syria warred against Israel; and he 8
took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such
a place shall be my camp. And the man of God sent 9
unto the king of Israel, saying, Beware that thou pass not
such a place; for thither the Syrians are coming down.
And the king of Israel sent to the place which the man 10
of God told him and warned him of; and he saved himself there, not once nor twice. And the heart of the 11
king of Syria was sore troubled for this thing; and he
called his servants, and said unto them, Will ye not shew
me which of us is for the king of Israel? And one of his 12

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6. It is surprising to find Ewald rationalizing the incident by the comment that 'he threw on to the spot where it had sunk a piece of wood cut to fit it, which caught it up'!

vi. 8–23. *The Syrians entrapped.* In an irregular campaign against Israel the king of Syria finds his confidential plans so often anticipated by the enemy that he is led to suspect treachery amongst his own officers. He learns, however, that his real antagonist is Elisha, whose supernatural knowledge was placed at the disposal of the king of Israel. On discovering that the prophet was in Dothan he sends a large force to surround the city by night and take him prisoner; knowing nothing of the greater host, invisible to mortal eyes—horses and chariots of fire—that protected Elisha. In the morning the Syrians are struck blind at Elisha's prayer, and are led by him into the heart of Samaria, where their eyes are opened. The prophet directs the king to provide them with bread and water: as a consequence, the marauding expeditions of the Syrians against Israel are discontinued.

8. shall be my camp, or (changing the text) 'let us set an ambush.'

9. coming down: a very unusual (Aramaic) form: it should probably be altered to 'concealed.'

11. which of us is for. LXX reads, 'who has betrayed me to.'

servants said, Nay, my lord, O king: but Elisha, the
prophet that is in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the
13 words that thou speakest in thy bedchamber. And he
said, Go and see where he is, that I may send and fetch
him. And it was told him, saying, Behold, he is in
14 Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses, and chariots,
and a great host: and they came by night, and com-
15 passed the city about. And when the servant of the man
of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold, an host
with horses and chariots was round about the city. And
his servant said unto him, Alas, my master! how shall
16 we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be
17 with us are more than they that be with them. And
Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray thee, open his
eyes, that he may see. And the LORD opened the eyes
of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the moun-
tain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about
18 Elisha. And when they came down to him, Elisha
prayed unto the LORD, and said, Smite this people,
I pray thee, with blindness. And he smote them with
19 blindness according to the word of Elisha. And Elisha
said unto them, This is not the way, neither is this the

Possibly the original text combined both words: 'which of us is betraying me to' the king of Israel? (Kittel).

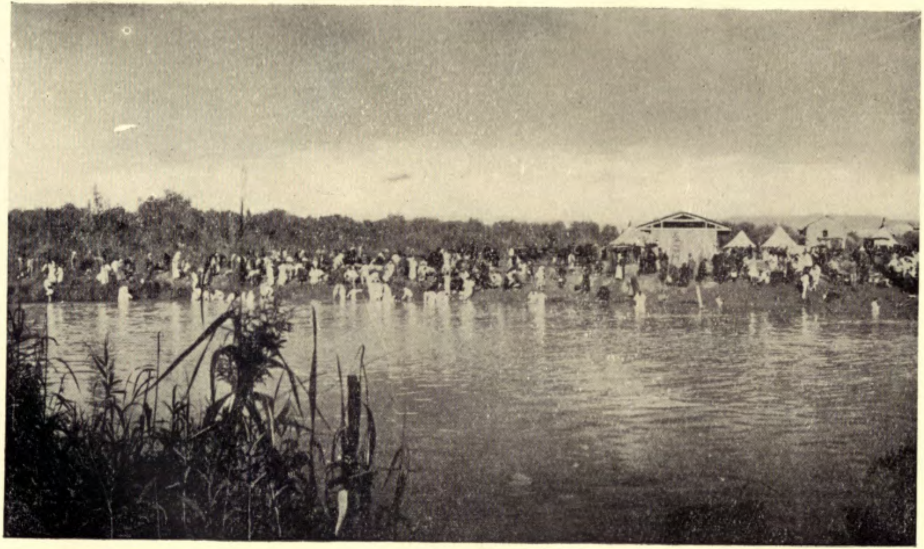
13. Dothan (*Tell Dōthān*) was ten miles north of Samaria, in a small plain through which passed the great caravan-road from Damascus to Egypt. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 17.)

15. The Hebrew shows signs of confusion in the beginning of the verse. The original text must have read somewhat after Klostermann's ingenious emendation (partly supported by LXX (L)): 'And he [Elisha] rose early the following day in the morning and went out,' &c. The **servant** is only introduced in the next sentence.

17. the young man: 'the servant,' as in verse 15.

horses and chariots of fire. See on ii. 11.

18. they came down: i. e. from the hills surrounding the plain.



Pilgrims Bathing in Jordan

city: follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom
ye seek. And he led them to Samaria. And it came to 20
pass, when they were come into Samaria, that Elisha said,
LORD, open the eyes of these men, that they may see.
And the LORD opened their eyes, and they saw; and,
behold, they were in the midst of Samaria. And the 21
king of Israel said unto Elisha, when he saw them, My
father, shall I smite them? shall I smite them? And he 22
answered, Thou shalt not smite them: wouldest thou
smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword
and with thy bow? set bread and water before them,
that they may eat and drink, and go to their master.
And he prepared great provision for them: and when 23
they had eaten and drunk, he sent them away, and they
went to their master. And the bands of Syria came no
more into the land of Israel.

[N] And it came to pass after this, that Ben-hadad 24

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21. My father: cf. xiii. 14. The title shows that friendly relations existed between the prophet and this (unnamed) king of Israel.

22. whom thou hast taken. LXX (L) inserts a 'not' before the verb, which is doubtless the correct reading. The Hebrew text is intelligible only on the assumption that it was not the Hebrew custom to slay prisoners of war, an assumption negatived by the king's impulse to fall on these defenceless men.

23. prepared great provision, or, 'made a great feast.' But the terms occur nowhere else, and the text is uncertain.

vi. 24—vii. 20. *Elisha during the Siege.*

This section occupies an ambiguous and disputed position among the Elisha-narratives, closely analogous to that of iii. 4 ff. On the one hand, the prophet is so obviously the central personage of the story that it might be supposed to have been written as a chapter of his biography. But, on the other hand, the political background is so much more definite than in any other of the Elisha-stories as to raise the question whether the passage should not rather be assigned to a document of the same character as 1 Kings xx, xxii. The latter view is maintained by Wellhausen (followed by Driver,

king of Syria gathered all his host, and went up, and
25 besieged Samaria. And there was a great famine in
Samaria: and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's
head was sold for fourscore *pieces* of silver, and the fourth

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&c.), who points out some strong resemblances to the style of chaps. xx, xxii (vi. 24, vii. 9, 12: namelessness of the king, &c.). Others, again, explain these as due to imitation of the older document, and think that we have here to do with an Elisha-narrative pure and simple (Benzinger, Kittel; also Kuenen). Possibly, as in the case of ch. iii, a more complex hypothesis may be necessary: a chapter of a political history may have been utilized as the basis of a prophetic biography (see above, p. 282 f.).

Whether the siege occurred in the time of Jehoram or under the reign of some later king can hardly be determined. It has been already pointed out (p. 290) that the position of the section affords no presumption that Jehoram is the king referred to; and the Ben-hadad of vi. 24 need not be the contemporary of Ahab, but may be the son of Hazael who is said to have oppressed Israel 'continually' in the days of Jehoahaz the son of Jehu (xiii. 3). Kuenen's conjecture that the king is Jehoahaz is plausible enough on the general ground that in that reign Israel appears to have touched the lowest depth of humiliation under the Syrians; but the specific arguments adduced in favour of that opinion break down under close examination (see the notes on vi. 31, 32).

vi. 24-31. *On the Wall of Samaria.* It was apparently during the great famine (viii. 1) that the Syrians invaded Israel and laid siege to Samaria. The horrible plight to which the inhabitants were reduced is indicated by the price at which the meanest articles of diet were sold, and vividly illustrated by the case of two poor women who had agreed together to kill their children for food. Horrified by this revelation of wretchedness, the king swears that he will take the life of Elisha the prophet, whom for some unexplained reason he holds responsible for these intolerable sufferings.

24. The phraseology of the verse is modelled on that of 1 Kings xx. 1.

after this cannot refer to the immediately preceding narrative (see verse 23); the passage must have stood originally in a different connexion.

Ben-hadad. See on 1 Kings xx. 1, 2 Kings xiii. 3.

25. an ass's head: a worthless part of an animal whose flesh was ordinarily not eaten at all sold for eighty silver shekels (but LXX reads fifty shekels).

part of a kab of dove's dung for five *pieces* of silver.
And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, 26
there cried a woman unto him, saying, Help, my lord, O
king. And he said, If the LORD do not help thee, 27
whence shall I help thee? out of the threshing-floor, or
out of the winepress? And the king said unto her, What 28
aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto
me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we
will eat my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and 29
did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give
thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son.
And it came to pass, when the king heard the words of 30
the woman, that he rent his clothes; (now he was passing
by upon the wall;) and the people looked, and, behold,

dove's dung is the literal rendering of the Hebrew phrase, which is supported by all the versions, though in the synagogue reading a less offensive term was substituted. Some scholars have tried hard to find an edible plant which might be called by this name; others have recourse to emendation of the text. The most felicitous conjecture is perhaps that of Cheyne, *carob-pods*[1], which he describes as 'a poor but not innutritious substitute' for bread.

The **kab,** a measure of capacity not elsewhere mentioned in the O. T., is known from later authorities to have been one-eighteenth of an ephah. The fourth part of a kab would be less than a pint.

27. If the LORD. The marginal rendering is perhaps preferable: 'Nay, let Yahweh help thee!'

out of the threshing-floor . . . ?—bitter irony.

28. The woman represents the evil suggestion as having come from the neighbour who had afterwards played her false by concealing her own child.

30. Realizing the full horror of the tale, the king **rent his clothes,** revealing to the spectators the **sackcloth,** the garb of mourning, worn in secret beneath his robes. There is in this graphic touch an unmistakable sympathy and admiration on the part of the writer towards the king. For **passing by,** it is better to read with LXX (L) 'standing.'

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[1] חֲרובִים *for* חריונים.

31 he had sackcloth within upon his flesh. Then he said,
God do so to me, and more also, if the head of Elisha
32 the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day. But
Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him; and
the king sent a man from before him: but ere the
messenger came to him, he said to the elders, See ye
how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away mine
head? look, when the messenger cometh, shut the door,
and hold the door fast against him: is not the sound of
33 his master's feet behind him? And while he yet talked

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31. Elisha was in some sense the author of the calamities that had befallen the city. The most natural explanation would be that the prophet had inspired the heroic resistance which king and people had offered to the enemy. Benzinger's objection—that if that were all the king had the remedy in his own hands, and could at any moment surrender to the Syrians—seems to miss the point. Verse 33 suggests the answer: the king blamed Elisha for holding out delusive hopes of deliverance by Yahweh's might, and his sudden threat of vengeance on the prophet may have been due to exasperation at the failure of these promises. The verse, therefore, gives no real support to the opinion that behind the siege there was a drought, which Elisha had brought on the land as a punishment for its idolatries.

vi. 32—vii. 2. *In the House of Elisha.* Meanwhile Elisha is seated in his house with the elders of the city, when he receives a supernatural intimation of the king's intention to kill him. He has barely time to warn the elders of the approach of the messenger, when the king himself enters, and passionately renounces his faith in the word of Yahweh. Elisha replies calmly with a prediction of abundant food at the gate of Samaria on the following day: and he adds an ominous warning to an incredulous courtier, who had laughed his prophecy to scorn.

32. the elders sat with him: cf. Ezek. viii. 1, xx. 1; the object of the visit being to 'inquire of the Lord' through him.

32^b, 33 give a somewhat confused account of the proceedings. Since the speaker in the end of verse 33 is certainly the king, it seems necessary to suppose that in that verse at least the word *mal'āk* (= 'messenger') is a mistake for *melek* ('king'). But then we observe that Elisha is still speaking with the elders when the king appears, and there is no hint of their conference having been interrupted by the arrival of any messenger. The 'messenger,' with them, behold, the messenger came down unto him: and he said, Behold, this evil is of the LORD; why should I wait for the LORD any longer? And Elisha said, 7 Hear ye the word of the LORD: thus saith the LORD, To-morrow about this time shall a measure of fine flour be *sold* for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of Samaria. Then the captain on 2 whose hand the king leaned answered the man of God, and said, Behold, if the LORD should make windows in heaven, might this thing be? And he said, Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof.

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in fact, is a quite superfluous personage; and Wellhausen is probably right in thinking that the whole of the clauses relating to him are embellishments interpolated by a scribe who understood the verb 'sent' much too literally (it can be used in the sense of 'give directions,' see 1 Kings v. 9). The simplified text would read: 'And before the *king* came to him, he had said to the elders, See ye that this son of a murderer has given orders to cut off my head? While he was yet talking with them, the king came down to him, and said,' &c. It is less probable, though possible, that the text errs by defect, a description of the arrival of the messenger having been omitted between verses 32 and 33.

The expression **son of a murderer** means no more than 'murderer'; and implies no real reflection on the father of the person spoken of. It is therefore idle to discuss whether it be more applicable to a son of Ahab or a son of Jehu. The prophet has nothing in his mind beyond the murderous design which he is unmasking.

33. Behold, this evil . . .: cf. Amos iii. 6, 'Shall there be evil in a city, and Yahweh hath not done it?'

why should I wait? The words express despondency rather than vindictiveness; the king is overawed in the presence of the prophet, and lacks the courage to carry out his threat.

vii. **1.** A 'seah' (marg.) is the third part of an ephah, or about one and a half pecks. Reliable data as to the ordinary price of grain in ancient Israel cannot be found; but there is no doubt that the prices specified are still abnormally high.

2. the captain: or 'adjutant' (*shālish*, see on 1 Kings ix. 22).

on whose hand: cf. the case of Naaman, v. 18.

windows in heaven: cf. Gen. vii. 11, viii. 2; Mal. iii. 10.

3 Now there were four leprous men at the entering in of the gate: and they said one to another, Why sit we here
4 until we die? If we say, We will enter into the city, then the famine is in the city, and we shall die there: and if we sit still here, we die also. Now therefore come, and let us fall unto the host of the Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die.
5 And they rose up in the twilight, to go unto the camp of the Syrians: and when they were come to the outermost part of the camp of the Syrians, behold, there was no
6 man there. For the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to

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vii. 3–20. *Outside the Gate.* On that very evening four starving lepers from the gate went into the enemy's camp to surrender themselves and found it utterly deserted. Deceived by some mysterious sound in the air the Syrians had taken to sudden flight, thinking that a mighty host was advancing from the north to the relief of the city. The king, on hearing the report of the lepers, at first suspected a stratagem, and sent out couriers to follow the track of the fugitives. When all anxiety had been dispelled, the people rushed out and plundered the deserted camp. Thus on the next day Elisha's prophecy was literally fulfilled; and the incredulous officer who had scoffed at his words was trampled to death in the gate, in sight of the plenty he was not to share.

5. in the twilight: when their movements could not be observed from the city.

6. the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians. For 'the Egyptians' we should probably read *Muẓri* (i. e. Cappadocia), as in 1 Kings x. 28. The centre of the Hittite power was in Northern Syria, between the Euphrates and the Orontes; and it is most natural to suppose that another northern power should be named along with them. That this Northern Muẓri was politically in touch with Israel and Syria is proved by the fact that a king of that land fought as an ally of Ahab and Ben-hadad at the battle of Ḳarḳar in 854 (*KAT*³, p. 42; *COT*, p. 196). The improbability of a combination of Hittites and Egyptians for the

come upon us. Wherefore they arose and fled in the 7
twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their
asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life.
And when these lepers came to the outermost part of 8
the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and
drink, and carried thence silver, and gold, and raiment,
and went and hid it; and they came back, and entered
into another tent, and carried thence also, and went and
hid it. Then they said one to another, We do not well: 9
this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace:
if we tarry till the morning light, punishment will overtake
us: now therefore come, let us go and tell the king's
household. So they came and called unto the porter of 10
the city: and they told them, saying, We came to the
camp of the Syrians, and, behold, there was no man
there, neither voice of man, but the horses tied, and the
asses tied, and the tents as they were. And he called 11
the porters; and they told it to the king's household
within. And the king arose in the night, and said unto 12
his servants, I will now shew you what the Syrians have
done to us. They know that we be hungry; therefore
are they gone out of the camp to hide themselves in the

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relief of Samaria has long been felt; and it was too rashly concluded by several scholars that the notice revealed the ignorance of the narrator, the only possible enemy in the background being the Assyrians. But a confusion between Assyria and Egypt is inconceivable on the part of any Hebrew writer; while, on the other hand, a coalition of Muzri and Hittites against Damascus is well within the bounds of historical probability. It may be doubted, however, if it would be likely to occur so late as the reign of Jehoahaz.

9. and we hold our peace: as 1 Kings xxii. 3.

punishment will overtake us: or, 'guilt will be incurred by us' (Vulg.).

10. Read 'porters' (pl.), as marg. (see verse 11).

11. The **porters** are, of course, the keepers of the *city* gate; hence the rendering of marg. is obviously right.

field, saying, When they come out of the city, we shall
13 take them alive, and get into the city. And one of his
servants answered and said, Let some take, I pray thee,
five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city,
(behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are
left in it; behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel
14 that are consumed:) and let us send and see. They
took therefore two chariots with horses; and the king
sent after the host of the Syrians, saying, Go and see.
15 And they went after them unto Jordan: and, lo, all the
way was full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians
had cast away in their haste. And the messengers
16 returned, and told the king. And the people went out,
and spoiled the camp of the Syrians. So a measure of
fine flour was *sold* for a shekel, and two measures of
barley for a shekel, according to the word of the LORD.
17 And the king appointed the captain on whose hand he
leaned to have the charge of the gate: and the people
trode upon him in the gate, and he died as the man of
God had said, who spake when the king came down to

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12. take them alive: cf. 1 Kings xx. 18.

13. five is a round number (1 Sam. xxi. 3). The confused text in the latter part of the verse has arisen partly from glosses and partly from duplication (the latter is avoided by the LXX). The clause **which are left in the city** must be omitted as tautological; and the parenthetic sentence must have read originally: '(behold, they are as all the multitude that are consumed)'; i. e. the few remaining horses are rapidly going the way of all the rest, which have perished in the famine.

15. vessels: or 'weapons.'

16. This decisive proof of the precipitate flight of the besiegers allayed the fears of the king; and the people were permitted to plunder the camp at their will.

17 relates how terribly the doom pronounced by Elisha on the flippant courtier was fulfilled. The last part of the verse should probably be amended so as to read: 'according to the word of the man of God which he spake,' &c.

him. And it came to pass, as the man of God had 18
spoken to the king, saying, Two measures of barley for a
shekel, and a measure of fine flour for a shekel, shall be
to-morrow about this time in the gate of Samaria; and 19
that captain answered the man of God, and said, Now,
behold, if the LORD should make windows in heaven,
might such a thing be? and he said, Behold, thou shalt
see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof: it came 20
to pass even so unto him; for the people trode upon
him in the gate, and he died.

[**Es**] Now Elisha had spoken unto the woman, whose 8
son he had restored to life, saying, Arise, and go thou
and thine household, and sojourn wheresoever thou
canst sojourn: for the LORD hath called for a famine;
and it shall also come upon the land seven years. And 2
the woman arose, and did according to the word of the
man of God: and she went with her household, and
sojourned in the land of the Philistines seven years.

18–20 are merely an expansion of the words just quoted, and were probably appended to the narrative by a later editor.

viii. 1–15. *Elisha-Narratives resumed.*

viii. 1–6. *The Shunammite in Distress.* The great lady who had so proudly said to Elisha, 'I dwell among mine own people' (iv. 13), is obliged to emigrate to escape the famine, of which she had been forewarned by Elisha. She returns after seven years, to find that her property has been unlawfully appropriated by others. Her petition for redress comes before the king just as Gehazi is recounting to him the marvellous restoration of her dead child to life by the prophet. She is at once recognized by Gehazi; whereupon the king grants her prayer, and appoints an official to look after her interests.

1. sojourn wheresoever . . . sojourn: an '*idem per idem* idiom, often employed in the Semitic languages' (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 31).

it shall also come. The Hebrew might mean, 'and it actually came.'

2. the land of the Philistines: cf. Gen. xxvi. 1.

3 And it came to pass at the seven years' end, that the woman returned out of the land of the Philistines: and she went forth to cry unto the king for her house and
4 for her land. Now the king was talking with Gehazi the servant of the man of God, saying, Tell me, I pray thee,
5 all the great things that Elisha hath done. And it came to pass, as he was telling the king how he had restored to life him that was dead, that, behold, the woman, whose son he had restored to life, cried to the king for her house and for her land. And Gehazi said, My lord, O king, this is the woman, and this is her son, whom
6 Elisha restored to life. And when the king asked the woman, she told him. So the king appointed unto her a certain officer, saying, Restore all that was hers, and all the fruits of the field since the day that she left the land, even until now.

7 And Elisha came to Damascus; and Ben-hadad the

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4. Gehazi is evidently no leper at this time, or he would not have been admitted to an audience with the king.

5. him that was dead: LXX (B), 'a child that had died.'

6. all the fruits (or, 'produce') **of the field:** a sum equivalent to the annual revenue of the estate for the time it had been alienated.

viii. 7–15. *Elisha and Hazael.* Elisha visits Damascus; and Ben-hadad the king, who was lying sick, sends Hazael (probably his general) to inquire of Yahweh about his prospects of recovery. Elisha sends back word that he would certainly recover; but at the same time he privately tells Hazael that it has been revealed to him that the king is to die. Having said this, his face assumes the rigidity of the prophetic trance, and he bursts into tears. On being asked to explain his emotion, the prophet discloses his prevision of the atrocities which Hazael is to perpetrate on Israel; and when the latter disclaims all pretensions to such eminence, he addresses him plainly as the future king of Syria. Hazael carries back to his master the favourable message of Elisha; but the next day Ben-hadad is secretly murdered, and is succeeded by Hazael. It is not expressly stated that Hazael was the assassin; and a few scholars (Ewald, Winckler) have doubted

king of Syria was sick; and it was told him, saying, The
man of God is come hither. And the king said unto 8
Hazael, Take a present in thine hand, and go meet the
man of God, and inquire of the LORD by him, saying,
Shall I recover of this sickness? So Hazael went to meet 9
him, and took a present with him, even of every good
thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, and came and
stood before him, and said, Thy son Ben-hadad king of
Syria hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of
this sickness? And Elisha said unto him, Go, say unto 10
him, Thou shalt surely recover; howbeit the LORD hath

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if this be the meaning. But the impression naturally made by the narrative is probably correct.

Hazael (*Ḥaza'ilu*) is twice mentioned, in an inscription of Shalmaneser II, as king of Damascus (842 and 839 B.C.). Of his origin nothing is known except what may be fairly gathered from the passage before us. It is plain that he was not the legitimate heir of the crown, but a usurper and the founder of a new dynasty. It is practically certain that he was a high military officer, probably the commander-in-chief. Singularly enough, no record has been preserved of his having been actually anointed, either by Elijah or by Elisha. (See 1 Kings xix. 15.)

7. Since Hazael reigned contemporaneously with Jehu, there can be no doubt that the incident belongs to the reign of Jehoram, and that **Ben-hadad** is the king who fought unsuccessfully against Ahab (1 Kings xx. 1). The fame of Elisha had reached Damascus (in consequence of the event of ch. v?).

9. The costliness of the gift is not incredible, considering the wealth of the city and the rank of the giver.

10. say unto him, Thou shalt surely recover. There cannot be a doubt that this is the correct sense, although in the Hebrew text the attempt was made (in defiance of grammar) to substitute 'not' for 'to him' (see marg.), in order to clear the prophet from the suspicion of falsehood. It is in fact difficult to evade the conclusion that Elisha utters a misleading oracle. One may distinguish between the natural issue of the sickness, which was all that was in Ben-hadad's mind, and the adventitious cause of death, to which his question had no reference; but practically Ben-hadad was deceived and thrown off his guard, while Hazael received the suggestion which (like the witches' prophecy in Macbeth) ripened into regicide.

11 shewed me that he shall surely die. And he settled his
countenance stedfastly *upon him*, until he was ashamed:
12 and the man of God wept. And Hazael said, Why
weepeth my lord? And he answered, Because I know
the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel:
their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young
men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash in
pieces their little ones, and rip up their women with
13 child. And Hazael said, But what is thy servant, which
is but a dog, that he should do this great thing? And
Elisha answered, The LORD hath shewed me that thou
14 shalt be king over Syria. Then he departed from Elisha,
and came to his master; who said to him, What said
Elisha to thee? And he answered, He told me that thou
15 shouldest surely recover. And it came to pass on the
morrow, that he took the coverlet, and dipped it in

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11. And he settled . . . ashamed. The sentence is difficult. With a small change of pointing we might translate: 'his face took on a fixed look of unutterable horror.' The words rendered 'till he was ashamed' are common in the sense of 'in the extreme,' &c. (ii. 17). It is a description of the prophet's appearance in the trance, in which there came to him the vision of future woe, a state from which he found relief in a flood of tears.

12 affords another glimpse (cf. iii. 25, xv. 16) of the atrocities of ancient warfare (see also Amos i. 3, 13).

13. thy servant . . . dog: *lit.* 'thy servant the dog'—a self-depreciatory epithet (cf. 2 Sam. ix. 8). This comparison, and the following expression **this great thing**, shows that Hazael's feeling is not horror at the idea of his own future depravity, but simple incredulity of the great honour in store for him.

hath shewed me: *lit.* 'hath made me see thee (in the ecstasy) as king over Syria.'

15. the coverlet. The word (*makbēr*) is not known; since the article was dipped in water, it must have been some kind of cloth, with which the king was suffocated. Ewald, who supposes that Ben-hadad was murdered in his bath by the attendants (and cites many parallel cases in history), renders 'bath-cloth.'

water, and spread it on his face, so that he died: and Hazael reigned in his stead.

[**D**] And in the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab 16
king of Israel, Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah,
Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah began to
reign. Thirty and two years old was he when he began 17
to reign; and he reigned eight years in Jerusalem. And 18
he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the
house of Ahab: for he had the daughter of Ahab to
wife: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the

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viii. 16-24. *Jehoram of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxi.)

Of these verses, 16-19 and 23, 24 belong to the compiler, while 20-22 are an extract from the chronicles of Judah. It will be observed that at this point the systematic arrangement of the material, which is on the whole so strictly adhered to, is entirely abandoned. In accordance with his ordinary procedure the compiler should have carried on his account of the reign of Jehoram of Israel to its conclusion, and then turned back to those kings of Judah who had begun to reign meanwhile. As a matter of fact, the concluding formula for Jehoram (of Israel) and the introductory formula for Jehu are omitted; and the two contemporary Judaean reigns are introduced before the death of Jehoram. A reason for the irregularity is found in the consideration that it became necessary to record the deaths of a king of Israel and a king of Judah on the same day. There was therefore an advantage in breaking down the barrier of the 'framework' at this point, so as to allow the two separate streams of narrative to coalesce for a moment and converge on a single incident. But whether the arrangement is due to the compiler himself is not so certain. The Lucianic text contains a number of scattered indications which go far to show that there were old MSS. of Kings in which a different order obtained, and in which it is conceivable that the usual chronological scheme was observed. See below on viii. 25-29, ix. 29, x. 28-36.

viii. 16-19. *Introduction.*

16. The names **Joram** and Jehoram are of course identical, and seem to be used indiscriminately. The words **Jehoshaphat . . . Judah** are a transcriber's error, and must be omitted, with LXX, &c.

18. the daughter of Ahab: Athaliah, verse 26, xi. 1. Note the omission of the name of the queen-mother in this reign.

19 LORD. Howbeit the LORD would not destroy Judah,
for David his servant's sake, as he promised him to give
20 unto him a lamp for his children alway. [**KJ**] In his
days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and
21 made a king over themselves. Then Joram passed over
to Zair, and all his chariots with him: and he rose up by
night, and smote the Edomites which compassed him
about, and the captains of the chariots: and the people
22 fled to their tents. So Edom revolted from under the
hand of Judah, unto this day. Then did Libnah revolt
23 at the same time. [**D**] And the rest of the acts of
Joram, and all that he did, are they not written in the
24 book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And
Joram slept with his fathers, and was buried with his
fathers in the city of David: and Ahaziah his son
reigned in his stead.

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19. See on 1 Kings xi. 36.

for his children. But the children are *themselves* the lamp. Read 'before him' (Klostermann, &c.).

viii. 20–22. *Revolt of Edom and Libnah.*

20. and made a king. See on 1 Kings xxii. 47; 2 Kings iii. 9.

21 describes an attempt of Jehoram to subdue the rebellion, which ended in a disaster to the army of Judah, though this is made as little of as possible, after the manner of official records. The facts evidently were that the king found himself ambushed by a superior force of Edomites, but succeeded in breaking his way through and saving a part of his army by flight. There must be a lacuna in the verse between **with him** and **he rose up.** The **captains of the chariots** are those of Jehoram's own army, mentioned in the beginning of the verse. A very small change would enable us to read: 'and with him were the captains of the chariots,' which is necessary to obtain an intelligible sentence (Kittel). The place **Zair** is not known.

22 ᵃ. unto this day: probably added by the compiler.

22 ᵇ. Libnah was an important military position in the lowland plain, not far from Lachish (see on xix. 8). Its site has not been certainly determined. Since it is said to have 'revolted,' it cannot have formed an integral part of the kingdom of Judah, but must have been a Philistine city.

In the twelfth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of 25
Israel did Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah
begin to reign. Two and twenty years old was Ahaziah 26
when he began to reign; and he reigned one year in
Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Athaliah the
daughter of Omri king of Israel. And he walked in the 27
way of the house of Ahab, and did that which was evil
in the sight of the LORD, as did the house of Ahab: for
he was the son in law of the house of Ahab. And he 28
went with Joram the son of Ahab to war against Hazael
king of Syria at Ramoth-gilead: and the Syrians wounded

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viii. 25-29. *Ahaziah of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxii. 1-9.)

The short reign of this king was unmarked by any incident save the one that led to his death. The narrative is wholly redactional; and, for the reason given in the note on p. 317, it breaks off abruptly, leaving the account of the death to be given in connexion with that of Jehoram. LXX (L) inserts between ch. x and xi a duplicate account of the reign, of which the conclusion (replacing verses 28, 29) is as follows: 'And Ahaziah went to war against Hazael king of Syria. Then Jehu the son of Nimshi conspired against Jehoram son of Ahab king of Israel, and smote him in Jezreel, and he died. And Jehu shot Ahaziah also the king of Judah in the chariot, and he died. And his servants brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in the city of David.' Benzinger takes this to be the original form (and position?) of the section; but it is equally possible that it may be but one of many tentative readjustments of the text. It certainly shows that the treatment of this complicated portion of the history was a source of great embarrassment to many editors.

25. For **twelfth** LXX (L) reads 'eleventh': cf. ix. 29. It is an instructive example of the difference between the two systems of reckoning in use. In the usual system of the Hebrew part of a year is counted as a year: hence to have said that Ahaziah began to reign in the eleventh year of Jehoram would have implied that he reigned *two* years; and conversely, since he was known to have reigned but one year, his accession must be assigned to the last (twelfth) year of Jehoram.

26. daughter: here in the sense of 'granddaughter' (marg.). The mention of Omri is an additional tribute to the fame of that monarch: see p. 218.

28, 29. See the introductory note above. The expression

29 Joram. And king Joram returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians had given him at Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Syria. And Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went down to see Joram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because he was sick.

9 [N] And Elisha the prophet called one of the sons of

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went down (from Jerusalem) would seem to imply that Ahaziah was *not* at the seat of war (so ix. 16).

ix, x. *The Great Revolution.*

The opposition of the prophets to the religious policy of the house of Omri, which had been initiated by the work of Elijah, broke out at last in the tragic events recorded in these two chapters. Elisha, inheriting the ideas of his master, had waited long for an opportunity to translate them into effective action ; but at last he deemed that the time was come to carry out his purpose by a military revolution. The instrument he selected for this purpose was Jehu the son of Nimshi, a dashing and popular officer of the army, in whom private ambition went hand in hand with some degree of sympathy with the aims of the prophetic party. Having received the signal for action, Jehu executed the task assigned to him with the impetuosity and ruthlessness that were characteristic of him, giving himself no rest till he had extirpated the reigning house, massacred the declared devotees of Baal, and seated himself on the throne as the founder of a new dynasty.

The narrative rises at times to a height of descriptive power which is unsurpassed in the pages of the O. T. Although doubts have been expressed as to the complete literary unity of the passage, they have scarcely sufficient weight to demand consideration here. The hand of the Deuteronomic compiler is manifest in ix. 7–10, x. 28–36 ; and there may be some insertions caused by the omission of earlier portions of the document (e. g. ix. 14, 15). But that in the main the passage is taken from an ancient and contemporary source is certain ; and the literary evidence goes to prove that it was written by the same author as 1 Kings xx, xxii (see ix. 2, 23, x. 14, &c.). The objection that a writer whose appreciation of the character of Ahab appears so clearly in ch. xx, xxii could not have written so dispassionately in ch. ix of the destruction of his house has little force. The suppression of the author's personal judgement is a feature of the record ; and it would not be easy to discover whether his own sympathies

the prophets, and said unto him, Gird up thy loins, and take this vial of oil in thine hand, and go to Ramoth-gilead. And when thou comest thither, look out there 2
Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi, and go in, and make him arise up from among his brethren, and carry him to an inner chamber. Then take the vial of 3
oil, and pour it on his head, and say, Thus saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king over Israel. Then open the door, and flee, and tarry not. So the young 4
man, even the young man the prophet, went to Ramoth-gilead. And when he came, behold, the captains of the 5
host were sitting; and he said, I have an errand to thee,

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went with the successful usurper whose career he chronicles, or whether he shared the widespread horror of Jehu's crimes which breaks forth even from the pages of Hosea (i. 4). His real feeling is perhaps a sense of the tragedy in the history of the powerful dynasty which had measured its human strength against the deepest spiritual forces of the age and been swept away before them.

ix. 1–13. *The Anointing of Jehu.* Elisha sends one of his disciples to Ramoth-gilead to anoint Jehu king of Israel. The fortress was then held against the Syrians by the Israelitish army, in which Jehu was a superior officer; while Jehoram had retired from the front because of wounds received in battle. The young prophet executed his commission with the celerity and secrecy which the occasion demanded, and vanished as suddenly as he came. Jehu is at first rallied by his brother officers on the strange appearance of his visitor; but when he divulges to them the serious import of the interview they at once declare themselves in his favour, and proclaim him king by acclamation.

1. On **Ramoth-gilead,** see 1 Kings xxii. 3. That the city was now in possession of Israel follows from verse 14.

2. Jehu is called simply 'son of Nimshi' in verse 20 and 1 Kings xix. 16. His grandfather was apparently a more important person than his father.

to an inner chamber. See 1 Kings xx. 30, xxii. 25.

3. On the ceremony of anointing, see 1 Kings i. 39.

5. were sitting: probably holding a council of war.

which of all us? The question hardly suggests that Jehu was in chief command.

O captain. And Jehu said, Unto which of all us? And
6 he said, To thee, O captain. And he arose, and went
into the house; and he poured the oil on his head, and
said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel,
I have anointed thee king over the people of the LORD,
7 even over Israel. [**D**] And thou shalt smite the house
of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my
servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants
8 of the LORD, at the hand of Jezebel. For the whole
house of Ahab shall perish: and I will cut off from
Ahab every man child, and him that is shut up and him
9 that is left at large in Israel. And I will make the house
of Ahab like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
10 and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah. And
the dogs shall eat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel, and
there shall be none to bury her. [**N**] And he opened
11 the door, and fled. Then Jehu came forth to the
servants of his lord: and one said unto him, Is all well?
wherefore came this mad fellow to thee? And he said
unto them, Ye know the man and what his talk was.
12 And they said, It is false; tell us now. And he said,
Thus and thus spake he to me, saying, Thus saith the

7–10^{a} are an addition by the compiler (cf. 1 Kings xiv. 10 f., xxi. 20 ff.), and show acquaintance with 1 Kings xvii–xix, as well as xxi. 23.

10^{b} in the primary document followed immediately on verse 6.

11. one said: better (as LXX, &c.), 'they said.'

this mad fellow. The lower ecstatic forms of prophecy being scarcely distinguishable from insanity, prophet and lunatic were kindred figures to the ancient mind, which attributed both to possession by a supernatural power. Although it be true that for this reason lunatics are still reverenced in the East, there is undoubtedly a shade of contempt in the choice of this epithet by the officers.

Ye know the man. The meaning appears to be: 'You know the kind of wild talk in which these fellows indulge.'

LORD, I have anointed thee king over Israel. Then 13
they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put it
under him on the top of the stairs, and blew the trumpet,
saying, Jehu is king. So Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat 14
the son of Nimshi conspired against Joram. (Now
Joram kept Ramoth-gilead, he and all Israel, because
of Hazael king of Syria: but king Joram was returned to 15
be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians had
given him, when he fought with Hazael king of Syria.)
And Jehu said, If this be your mind, then let none
escape and go forth out of the city, to go to tell it in
Jezreel. So Jehu rode in a chariot, and went to Jezreel; 16

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13. took every man . . . under him (i. e. under Jehu): probably a symbol of subjection; cf. Matt. xxi. 8.

the top of the stairs. The word for 'top' (properly *bone*) is not quite intelligible in this connexion (see marg.).

ix. 14-28. *The Murder of Jehoram and Ahaziah.* Jehu, having taken all possible precautions against premature disclosure of his design, mounts his chariot and starts on his long ride to Jezreel. Here, by a most effective transition, the writer suddenly transports us to the point of view of the watchman on the tower of Jezreel, who sees the cavalcade in the distance and reports its approach to the king. Two messengers are dispatched in quick succession to make inquiries, and each in his turn is detained by Jehu and compelled to ride behind him. By this time the watchman has recognized the mad driving of the son of Nimshi; and on learning this Jehoram, now thoroughly alarmed, gets ready his chariot, and drives forth to meet his fate. The chariots meet just by what had once been Naboth's portion; and there after a brief parley Jehoram is shot through the heart from behind by Jehu, who orders his body to be thrown into the field of Naboth, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Elijah. Ahaziah of Judah also, who had accompanied Jehoram, is mortally wounded, but succeeds in reaching Megiddo, where he dies.

14^{a} is a recapitulation of the preceding events.

14^{b}, **15**^{a} are probably an abridgement of a still earlier part of the document, which had to be introduced here in explanation of what follows.

15^{b}. **If this be your mind:** LXX, 'If your mind be with me'; i. e. 'if you are heartily on my side.'

for Joram lay there. And Ahaziah king of Judah was
17 come down to see Joram. Now the watchman stood on
the tower in Jezreel, and he spied the company of Jehu
as he came, and said, I see a company. And Joram
said, Take an horseman, and send to meet them, and let
18 him say, Is it peace? So there went one on horseback to
meet him, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace?
And Jehu said, What hast thou to do with peace? turn
thee behind me. And the watchman told, saying, The
messenger came to them, but he cometh not again.
19 Then he sent out a second on horseback, which came to
them, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace? And
Jehu answered, What hast thou to do with peace? turn
20 thee behind me. And the watchman told, saying, He
came even unto them, and cometh not again: and the
driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi;
21 for he driveth furiously. And Joram said, Make ready.
And they made ready his chariot. And Joram king of
Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah went out, each in his
chariot, and they went out to meet Jehu, and found him
22 in the portion of Naboth the Jezreelite. And it came to
pass, when Joram saw Jehu, that he said, Is it peace,
Jehu? And he answered, What peace, so long as the

16^{b} is again an explanatory parenthesis, accounting for the presence of Ahaziah with Jehoram. See on viii. 29.

17. company: a rare word (= 'abundance'); cf. Isa. lx. 6, Ezek. xxvi. 10. LXX renders, 'dust-cloud.'

18. 'Is all well?' (marg.). The question can hardly be, Do you come with friendly intent? or the king would not afterwards have ridden out unarmed to meet the danger. The source of his anxiety must be apprehension of bad news from the seat of war.

20. furiously: 'like a madman'; from the same root as 'mad fellow' in verse 11.

21. Jehoram, still unsuspicious of immediate danger, orders his chariot to be harnessed, that he might be ready to proceed at once to Ramoth-gilead if necessary.

whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts
are so many? And Joram turned his hands, and fled, 23
and said to Ahaziah, There is treachery, O Ahaziah.
And Jehu drew his bow with his full strength, and smote 24
Joram between his arms, and the arrow went out at his
heart, and he sunk down in his chariot. Then said *Jehu* 25
to Bidkar his captain, Take up, and cast him in the
portion of the field of Naboth the Jezreelite: for
remember how that, when I and thou rode together after
Ahab his father, the LORD laid this burden upon him;
Surely I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth, and 26
the blood of his sons, saith the LORD; and I will requite
thee in this plat, saith the LORD. Now therefore take
and cast him into the plat *of ground*, according to the
word of the LORD. But when Ahaziah the king of 27
Judah saw this, he fled by the way of the garden house.

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22. whoredoms and **witchcrafts:** metaphorical expressions for idolatry.

23. turned his hands: cf. 1 Kings xxii. 34.

24. Render: 'But Jehu had filled his hand with the bow' (see marg.); i. e. had held it ready for action (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 7).

25. his captain: 'adjutant' (as vii. 2).

for remember: better, as LXX, &c., 'for I remember how I and thou.'

rode together: 'rode in pairs'; but the Hebrew expression is difficult, and the text almost certainly at fault.

burden: or, 'oracle': *lit.* a 'lifting up' (*sc.* of the voice), a term often used of a prophetic utterance: Isa. xiii. 1; Zech. ix. 1; Mal. i. 1; Jer. xxiii. 33 ff., &c.

26. Cf. 1 Kings xxi. 19. The reference is certainly to the same incident; and although there is no material discrepancy between the two accounts, still the difference in the terms of the oracle makes it improbable that the author of either narrative was acquainted with the other. They embody separate traditions, and of these the one here followed is probably closer to the actual facts.

27. the garden house should probably be read as a proper name, *Beth-hag-gan*, which has been plausibly identified with *En-gannim* (Joshua xix. 21), now *Jenîn*, on the high road to Jerusalem,

And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also
in the chariot: *and they smote him* at the ascent of Gur,
which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died
28 there. And his servants carried him in a chariot to
Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his
fathers in the city of David.

29 [**Z**] And in the eleventh year of Joram the son of Ahab began Ahaziah to reign over Judah.

30 [**N**] And when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel

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about seven miles due south of Jezreel. The clause in italics ('and they smote him') must have been accidentally omitted in the Hebrew. LXX, on the other hand, omits the command, reading: 'and he said, Him too! And they smote him,' &c.

Ibleam (or Bileam, 1 Chron. vi. 70) is the modern *Bel'ameh*, a mile further south.

Megiddo (*Lejjūn*, see 1 Kings iv. 12) lies north-west from Jenīn, on another road, at a distance of eleven miles.

ix. 29 breaks the connexion, and its insertion here is difficult to account for. It is the introductory formula of the reign of Ahaziah, but with the chronology characteristic of LXX (L) (see on viii. 25). Now, it so happens that the duplicate which LXX has given at the end of ch. x lacks the introduction; this verse, together with x. 37-43 of that version, would make up a complete account of Ahaziah's reign. It is possible, therefore, that in some early MSS. the complete notice of Ahaziah stood between ix. 28 and 30, following the death of Jehoram of Israel, which (be it observed) would be its proper place *if*, as there is reason to believe (see on i. 17), there existed a chronological system which placed the accession of Jehoram of Judah before that of Jehoram of Israel. Only, the entire omission of the concluding formula of Jehoram's reign would still remain unexplained; and altogether the confusion in LXX is too great to be satisfactorily cleared up.

ix. 30-37. *The End of Jezebel.* Jehu returns to Jezreel, and at the palace gate is hailed by the mocking challenge of Jezebel, who salutes him from an upper window as a second Zimri, a murderer of his master. At his command some eunuchs throw her down to the street, where she is trampled to death by his horses. After banqueting in the palace he gives orders for her burial as a king's daughter; but it was found that Elijah's words

heard of it; and she painted her eyes, and tired her
head, and looked out at the window. And as Jehu 31
entered in at the gate, she said, Is it peace, thou Zimri,
thy master's murderer? And he lifted up his face to the 32
window, and said, Who is on my side? who? And there
looked out to him two or three eunuchs. And he said, 33
Throw her down. So they threw her down: and some
of her blood was sprinkled on the wall, and on the
horses: and he trode her under foot. And when he 34
was come in, he did eat and drink; and he said, See
now to this cursed woman, and bury her: for she is a
king's daughter. And they went to bury her: but they 35
found no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and
the palms of her hands. Wherefore they came again, 36
and told him. And he said, This is the word of the
LORD, which he spake by his servant Elijah the Tishbite,
saying, In the portion of Jezreel shall the dogs eat the
flesh of Jezebel: and the carcase of Jezebel shall be as 37

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had received a terribly literal fulfilment, the dogs having already devoured her flesh.

30. painted her eyes: *lit.* 'set her eyes in antimony,' a black powder or paste with which females in the East blacken the edge of the eyelids above and below. The effect is said to be striking in enhancing the brilliancy of the eyes and increasing their apparent size. See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 29 ff. (Minerva edition).

31. Is it peace? appears here to be no more than the form of salutation. The stinging vocative 'Zimri' carries with it, of course, a covert allusion to the fate of that regicide.

32. Who is on my side? who? The LXX has 'Who art thou? Come down with me'; out of this Klostermann makes, 'Who art thou that thou shouldest contend with me?' But the Massoretic text gives a good sense.

33. For **and he trode** it is better to read the plural, with the ancient versions: 'And they (the horses) trode.'

36. See on I Kings xxi. 23.

37. as dung, &c. The word is applied only to corpses, and always in phrases similar to this: Jer. viii. 2, ix. 22, &c., &c.

dung upon the face of the field in the portion of Jezreel; so that they shall not say, This is Jezebel.

10 Now Ahab had seventy sons in Samaria. And Jehu wrote letters, and sent to Samaria, unto the rulers of Jezreel, even the elders, and unto them that brought up
2 *the sons of* Ahab, saying, And now as soon as this letter cometh to you, seeing your master's sons are with you, and there are with you chariots and horses, a fenced city
3 also, and armour; look ye out the best and meetest of your master's sons, and set him on his father's throne,
4 and fight for your master's house. But they were exceedingly afraid, and said, Behold, the two kings stood

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x. 1–14. *Massacre of the Royal Princes of Israel and Judah.* Following the common practice of usurpers, Jehu takes measures to extirpate the numerous members of the house of Ahab. To the guardians of Jehoram's sons in Samaria he sends an ironical challenge, inviting them to set up one of the princes as king, and let the matter of the sovereignty be fought out on the field of battle. The magnates, however, at once declare their submission; on which Jehu demands the heads of the seventy princes. These were accordingly sent to Jezreel, and exposed in two heaps at the gate of the city. The next day, over this ghastly spectacle, Jehu harangued the people, arguing that while he personally was responsible for the death of the late king, there was clearly a higher power at work, namely, the word of the Lord spoken by Elijah. Having ordered the execution of the remaining adherents of the late dynasty, he then set out for Samaria; but on the way he met a party of Judaean princes who were going to visit their royal relatives: these also he caused to be butchered on the spot.

1. unto the rulers of Jezreel, even. Read, with LXX (L), 'to the rulers of the city and to': the city being Samaria. On the same authority the italicized words 'the sons of' should be restored to the text. The **rulers** are, as usual, the officials; the **elders** are the representatives of the people.

them that brought up: better, 'the guardians of': elsewhere the word means 'foster-father' (Num. xi. 12; Isa. xlix. 23). In the beginning of the verse the word 'sons' must mean descendants: it is implied that in that number were included children of Jehoram (verse 3).

2. The citation from the letter begins precisely as in v. 6.

not before him: how then shall we stand? And he that 5
was over the household, and he that was over the city,
the elders also, and they that brought up *the children*,
sent to Jehu, saying, We are thy servants, and will do all
that thou shalt bid us; we will not make any man king:
do thou that which is good in thine eyes. Then he 6
wrote a letter the second time to them, saying, If ye be
on my side, and if ye will hearken unto my voice, take
ye the heads of the men your master's sons, and come to
me to Jezreel by to-morrow this time. Now the king's
sons, being seventy persons, were with the great men of
the city, which brought them up. And it came to pass, 7
when the letter came to them, that they took the king's
sons, and slew them, even seventy persons, and put their
heads in baskets, and sent them unto him to Jezreel.
And there came a messenger, and told him, saying, 8
They have brought the heads of the king's sons. And
he said, Lay ye them in two heaps at the entering in of
the gate until the morning. And it came to pass in the 9
morning, that he went out, and stood, and said to all the
people, Ye be righteous: behold, I conspired against my
master, and slew him: but who smote all these? Know 10
now that there shall fall unto the earth nothing of the
word of the LORD, which the LORD spake concerning

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6. and come to me: LXX, 'and bring them to me.'

9. Ye be righteous: or, 'innocent.' Jehu realizes that his ferocity has overshot the mark. Instead of being overawed, as he had intended, the people are full of foreboding lest they should be involved in the guilt of so hideous a crime. So, to reassure them, he accepts the responsibility for the murder of Jehoram; but pretends that he and they are alike guiltless of this new atrocity.

10. With some inconsistency he bids them acquiesce in the signal verification of the word spoken by Elijah; cf. 1 Kings xxi. 21.

the house of Ahab: for the LORD hath done that which
11 he spake by his servant Elijah. So Jehu smote all that
remained of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, and all his
great men, and his familiar friends, and his priests, until
12 he left him none remaining. And he arose and departed,
and went to Samaria. And as he was at the shearing
13 house of the shepherds in the way, Jehu met with the
brethren of Ahaziah king of Judah, and said, Who are
ye? And they answered, We are the brethren of Ahaziah:
and we go down to salute the children of the king and
14 the children of the queen. And he said, Take them
alive. And they took them alive, and slew them at the
pit of the shearing house, even two and forty men;
neither left he any of them.

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11. all his great men: better, as LXX (L), 'all his kinsmen' (the same word as 1 Kings xvi. 11; see the note).

12. There is something amiss in the opening of the verse, which strictly reads: 'And he arose and came and went.' The second verb must either be omitted (as LXX), or put last (Pesh.), or altered so as to be the subject of the sentence: 'And *Jehu* arose and went.'

the shearing house of the shepherds: a conjectural and doubtful rendering of a very uncertain phrase. LXX treats it as a proper name: 'Beth-'Eḳed of the shepherds'; and a place *Beth Ḳad* has been discovered east of Jenīn, but too far off the road to be identified with the locality here indicated. The Targum translates, 'the meeting house of the shepherds,' a wayside inn or caravanserai frequented by shepherds.

13. we go down is strictly 'we came down,' so that it is doubtful if they were on their way to Jezreel (see below).

14. Take them alive: cf. 1 Kings xx. 18.

the shearing house: or Beth-'Eḳed; see on verse 12.

Stade has pointed out the improbability that the Judaean princes should still be pursuing their journey northwards in ignorance of the events of the last few days, an improbability enhanced by the fact that the royal princes of Israel were in Samaria, and not in Jezreel. The incident would be more intelligible if they had been intercepted on their way home; and that view is consistent with the terms of the section itself (see on verse 13), though not perhaps with the position in which it now stands.

And when he was departed thence, he lighted on 15
Jehonadab the son of Rechab coming to meet him: and
he saluted him, and said to him, Is thine heart right, as
my heart is with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered,
It is. If it be, give me thine hand. And he gave him
his hand; and he took him up to him into the chariot.
And he said, Come with me, and see my zeal for the 16
LORD. So they made him ride in his chariot. And 17

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x. 15, 16. *Jehu and Jehonadab.* On his way to Samaria Jehu meets with Jehonadab the son of Rechab, who was evidently well known to him by name as an ardent champion of the national faith. After a brief exchange of sentiments he invites him to ride with him in the chariot and witness his zeal for the worship of Yahweh.

From Jer. xxxv we learn that Jehonadab was the 'father' (i. e. the founder) of a religious order called the Rechabites, who observed the rules imposed by him with scrupulous fidelity down to the fall of the kingdom of Judah. The institution of the order, with its vows of abstinence from wine, from agriculture, and from settled dwellings, was clearly meant as a radical protest against the whole system of civilization which the Hebrews had inherited through the conquest of Canaan. That civilization was so permeated by the corrupting influence of Baal-worship, that to men like Jehonadab there appeared no way of preserving the purity of the religion of Yahweh except a return to the primitive simplicity of the nomadic state. The rise of such a movement at this juncture of the history is a sign of the profound and far-reaching issues involved in the conflict between Yahweh and Baal. It shows that others besides Elijah felt that the names Yahweh and Baal stood for two opposite and irreconcileable principles of religion. Jehonadab's extreme and one-sided assertion of that conviction reveals the depth of antagonism which rent the life of the nation in twain; and it explains the eagerness with which he entered into the bloody measures planned by Jehu.

15. The question of Jehu should be read as in LXX: 'Is thy heart honestly with my heart, as my heart is with thy heart?' The answer of Jehonadab consists of the words **It is**; what follows is Jehu's reply to him. The LXX makes this clear: 'And Jehu said, If it be,' &c.

16. For **they made him ride** read 'he made him ride with him.'

when he came to Samaria, he smote all that remained
unto Ahab in Samaria, till he had destroyed him, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake to
18 Elijah. And Jehu gathered all the people together, and
said unto them, Ahab served Baal a little; but Jehu
19 shall serve him much. Now therefore call unto me all
the prophets of Baal, all his worshippers, and all his
priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice
to do to Baal; whosoever shall be wanting, he shall not
live. But Jehu did it in subtilty, to the intent that he
20 might destroy the worshippers of Baal. And Jehu said,
Sanctify a solemn assembly for Baal. And they pro-
21 claimed it. And Jehu sent through all Israel: and all
the worshippers of Baal came, so that there was not
a man left that came not. And they came into the house
of Baal; and the house of Baal was filled from one end

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x. 17–27. *Massacre of the Baal-worshippers.* Arrived in Samaria, Jehu first exterminated the remaining adherents of the house of Ahab. Then, under the pretext of great zeal for the worship of Baal, he planned a treacherous and decisive blow against the devotees of that religion. On an appointed day he assembled in the temple of Baal a huge concourse of prophets, priests and followers of the false religion. After taking steps to ensure that no worshipper of Yahweh was present, he even went so far as to offer sacrifice with his own hand. But at a given signal his guards rushed in and carried out their orders by slaying every one of the worshippers. The emblems of the foreign cult were all destroyed, and the site of the temple was desecrated.

18, 19. It is difficult to explain the success which attended Jehu's somewhat transparent ruse. His victims were perhaps more terrorized than duped; being threatened with death if they absented themselves, they may have deemed it the safer course to disguise their suspicions and hope for the best. The narrative reads more connectedly if (with Klostermann) we delete the words **all his worshippers** in verse 19. Jehu first summons the clergy of the Baal-religion, and then (verse 20) orders them to proclaim the feast to which all the initiated were invited.

20. a solemn assembly: Heb. *'ăẓārāh.* See W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*², p. 456.

to another. And he said unto him that was over the 22
vestry, Bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of
Baal. And he brought them forth vestments. And 23
Jehu went, and Jehonadab the son of Rechab, into the
house of Baal; and he said unto the worshippers of Baal,
Search, and look that there be here with you none of the
servants of the LORD, but the worshippers of Baal only.
And they went in to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings. 24
Now Jehu had appointed him fourscore men without,
and said, If any of the men whom I bring into your
hands escape, *he that letteth him go*, his life shall be for
the life of him. And it came to pass, as soon as he had 25
made an end of offering the burnt offering, that Jehu
said to the guard and to the captains, Go in, and slay
them; let none come forth. And they smote them with
the edge of the sword; and the guard and the captains
cast them out, and went to the city of the house of Baal.

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22. the vestry. 'As regards the matter of vestments, it was certainly an early and widespread custom to make a difference between the dress of ordinary life and that donned on sacred occasions. But, of course, the great mass of people in a poor society could not keep a special suit for sacred occasions. Such persons would either wash their clothes after as well as before any specially sacred function, or *would have to borrow sacred garments* (ibid. p. 452). 'At Mecca in the times of heathenism, the sacred circuit of the Kaaba was made by the Bedouin either naked or in clothes borrowed from one of the *Ḥoms*, or religious communities of the sacred city' (ibid. p. 451).

24^a. and they went: LXX, 'and he went'; cf. verse 25.

24^b. The awkward construction which is felt even in the English is to be avoided by pointing the chief verb as a causative (*yĕmallēṭ* for *yimmālēṭ*), rendering: 'The man who lets any of those men escape whom I bring to you, his life,' &c.

25. the city of the house of Baal is quite unintelligible, and none of the known meanings of the word for 'city' gives an appropriate sense. Ewald says truly that it 'must mean much the same as the Holy of Holies,' and asserts 'that the image of the heathen god often stood in a lofty and dark enclosure within the temple, resembling a fortress.' It has been proposed to

26 And they brought forth the pillars that were in the house
27 of Baal, and burned them. And they brake down the
pillar of Baal, and brake down the house of Baal, and
28 made it a draught house, unto this day. [**D**] Thus
29 Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel. Howbeit from the
sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made
Israel to sin, Jehu departed not from after them, *to wit*,
the golden calves that were in Beth-el, and that were in
30 Dan. And the Lord said unto Jehu, Because thou hast

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change the word to *debîr*, the ancient name for the inner shrine of the temple (see on 1 Kings vi. 16). LXX (L) has simply 'the temple of Baal.'

26. the pillars that were in the house of Baal: LXX (L) has 'the pillar of Baal'; but since a pillar (*maẓẓēbāh*) could not be burnt (being of stone), it is perhaps better to read: 'the 'asherah of the house of Baal.' Cf. 1 Kings xvi. 32, 33, where Ahab is said to have erected both an altar and an Asherah in connexion with the worship of Baal.

27. To complete the correspondence with 1 Kings xvi. 32 f. some would here change **pillar** to 'altar.' But there is no evidence of direct dependence of the one passage on the other; and if there were, the assumed error is just as likely to have occurred in the first as in the second.

x. 28–36. *Summary of the Reign of Jehu.* The section is mainly the work of the compiler, although it incorporates an account of Hazael's conquests (verses 32, 33) which we may assign to the annals of the kingdom. In the introduction (verses 28–31) we miss the usual chronological notices at the beginning of a reign. The omission is partly supplied in verse 36, to which the Lucianic version adds the curious synchronism: 'In the second year of Athaliah, the Lord made Jehu the son of Nimshi king.' The obviously erroneous date is got by reckoning (on the LXX system) backwards from xiii. 1; allowing six years for Athaliah and twenty-three for Jehoash on the one side, and twenty-eight for Jehu on the other. We have further to note the absence of the concluding formula of the reign of Jehoram. It is not certain whether these anomalies are due to the compiler himself, or whether, as Benzinger argues, they arose subsequently, in order to bring verse 28 into immediate connexion with the detailed account of Jehu's reformation (see above, p. 317).

28. For **Thus** read simply 'And.'

done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, *and* hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, thy sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel. But Jehu took no heed 31
to walk in the law of the LORD, the God of Israel, with all his heart: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, wherewith he made Israel to sin.

[**KI**] In those days the LORD began to cut Israel short: 32
and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel; from 33
Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan.
[**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Jehu, and all that he 34
did, and all his might, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? And Jehu slept 35
with his fathers: and they buried him in Samaria. And Jehoahaz his son reigned in his stead. And the time 36
that Jehu reigned over Israel in Samaria was twenty and eight years.

[**KJ**] Now when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw **11**

32, 33. On Hazael's wars against Israel, see viii. 12, Amos i. 3. This renewed activity on the part of the Syrians coincides with a cessation of the Assyrian attacks on Damascus after 839 B. C. Jehu had already, in 842, put himself under the protection of Shalmaneser II, but Hazael twice offered a successful resistance to the attempt of that monarch to subdue his capital, and was able to direct his whole force against his weaker western neighbour. The first clause of verse 33 should be connected with verse 32: 'all the territory of Israel from Jordan eastward.'

Aroer (now *'Arā'ir*) is situated a little north of the Arnon (*Wadi Mōjib*), and about eleven miles from its mouth at the middle of the east shore of the Dead Sea. The other geographical names are familiar.

xi. *The Revolution in Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxii. 10—xxiii. 21.)
The centre of interest is now transferred to the kingdom of Judah, whose less eventful history assumes a sudden importance

that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the
2 seed royal. But Jehosheba, the daughter of king Joram,

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from its belated share in the religious revolution just accomplished in Ephraim. Through the close political and dynastic ties between the two kingdoms the public worship of the Tyrian Baal had been introduced in Jerusalem (xi. 18); and Athaliah, the last survivor of Ahab's house, succeeded for six years in maintaining the family tradition against the better mind of the nation. But the crisis, though deferred, could not be averted; and if its course was somewhat more constitutional than the parallel movement in the north, there lay behind it the same great force—the uprising of national sentiment against the heathenish tendencies of the court. It is instructive to observe that whereas in Israel the chief agitators on behalf of the true religion had been the prophets, in Judah the revolution was directed by the temple priesthood. These external differences, however, do not obscure the fact that the events now to be considered were a phase and outcome of the religious conflict initiated by Elijah.

In chaps. xi, xii the compiler for the first time incorporates lengthy documents in his history of the southern kingdom. These Judaean narratives are commonly supposed to be based on official records; and, as literature, are certainly inferior to the best of the Israelitish sources. Whether in the present passage one or more such documents have been used is not quite clear. In the latter part of ch. xi there are certain incongruities which appear to indicate composite authorship, e. g. the double mention of Athaliah's death, the account of the demolition of the Baal-temple *before* the enthronement of the king, &c. These anomalies are best explained by the theory of Stade, that verses 13–18^a are a fragment of a second account which has been inserted in the main narrative (5–12, 18^b–20). Similar instances of interwoven narratives in the compiler's sources have already come before us (e. g. 1 Kings xi. 14 ff.); and the probability is that ch. xi here is an extract from the book of the chronicles of Judah.

xi. 1–3. *Athaliah seizes the Throne.* On hearing of the death of Ahaziah, the queen-mother Athaliah (viii. 26) destroyed all the males of the royal house of Judah, and reigned in her own name for six years. Unknown to her, however, Jehoash (Joash), an infant son of the late king, had been saved from the massacre, and was kept in concealment in the temple, under the protection of Jehosheba, a sister of Ahaziah, and her husband Jehoiada the chief priest. The regency of Athaliah is treated by the compiler as a sort of interregnum, and hence is not enclosed by the usual introductory and concluding formulas.

sister of Ahaziah, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him away from among the king's sons that were slain, even him and his nurse, *and put them* in the bedchamber; and they hid him from Athaliah, so that he was
not slain. And he was with her hid in the house of the 3
LORD six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.

And in the seventh year Jehoiada sent and fetched the 4
captains over hundreds, of the Carites and of the guard,

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2. Jehosheba was, as we learn from 2 Chron. xxii. 11, the wife of Jehoiada the priest. The words **even him and his nurse** are probably a gloss (Stade), the sentence having read originally: 'from among the king's sons that were to be slain in the bedchamber' (cf. however, the expression in 2 Chron. xxii. 11).

3. For **with her,** Chronicles has 'with them'; i. e. Jehosheba and her husband.

xi. 4–20. *Proclamation of Joash and Death of Athaliah.* After six years Jehoiada thought that the time had come to overthrow the usurping queen and place the legitimate heir on the throne. He took into his confidence the officers of the palace guard, showing them the young prince, and submitting to them a carefully considered plan of action, which they solemnly pledged themselves to carry out. In accordance with this arrangement the whole of the palace troops were assembled in the temple on a given sabbath; the boy king was crowned with all the customary formalities, and hailed with acclamation by the guards. Athaliah, who on hearing the tumult had hastened to the temple, was by Jehoiada's orders conducted beyond the sacred precincts and put to death. The king and people then renewed their allegiance to Yahweh in a solemn covenant; the temple of Baal was destroyed; and Joash without further disturbance was firmly established on the throne.

Following Stade's analysis of the passage (p. 336 above), we see that the writer of the main account (verses 4–12, 18 [b]–20) ignores the religious aspect of the affair, representing it as a political *coup d'état,* carried through by the help of the royal bodyguard. The religious and popular character of the movement is emphasized in the parallel fragment (verses 13–18 [a]), to which belongs also the more dramatic account of Athaliah's death. The amalgamation of the documents had certainly been made before the time of the chronicler, whose whole treatment of the incident affords a characteristic example of the freedom with which he accommodates the facts of history to the law and usage of his own time.

4. the Carites were foreign mercenaries employed as body-

and brought them to him into the house of the LORD; and he made a covenant with them, and took an oath of them in the house of the LORD, and shewed them the
5 king's son. And he commanded them, saying, This is the thing that ye shall do: a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, shall be keepers of the watch of the
6 king's house; and a third part shall be at the gate Sur; and a third part at the gate behind the guard: so shall
7 ye keep the watch of the house, and be a barrier. And the two companies of you, even all that go forth on the sabbath, shall keep the watch of the house of the LORD

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guards by the kings of Judah, like the Krethi and Plethi in the time of Solomon (see on 1 Kings i. 38). It is important to notice that the same body of troops furnished the guard both for the palace and the temple. The presence of these 'uncircumcized foreigners' was obnoxious to the later conception of the sanctity of the temple (see especially Ezek. xliv. 6 ff.); hence in the narrative of 2 Chron. their place is taken by Levites assembled from all the cities of Judah.

took an oath . . . LORD: or, 'made them swear by the house of Yahweh' (cf. Matt. xxiii. 16).

shewed them the king's son: of whose existence they had of course been ignorant.

5-8. These directions to the centurions presupposes a knowledge of the routine observed in the disposition of the guards, which we unfortunately do not possess. What appears the best explanation was first given by Wellhausen. The guard was divided into three companies. On week days two of these were on duty in the palace and the third in the temple. On the sabbath the order was reversed, two companies being on guard in the temple and one in the palace. The essential feature of Jehoiada's scheme is the assembling of the whole guard within the temple at the critical time, so as to leave the palace entirely denuded of troops. For this purpose he chooses the moment when on the sabbath the two companies have come up from the palace to relieve the third, which ought immediately to return to its quarters. By detaining this third division he attains his end: the whole guard (as verse 9 clearly shows) is present, and takes part in the coronation of the king. The only obstacle to this interpretation lies in verse 6; but that very obscure verse appears on any view irreconcileable with verse 9, and must be omitted as

about the king. And ye shall compass the king round 8
about, every man with his weapons in his hand; and he
that cometh within the ranks, let him be slain: and be
ye with the king when he goeth out, and when he cometh
in. And the captains over hundreds did according to 9
all that Jehoiada the priest commanded: and they took
every man his men, those that were to come in on the
sabbath, with those that were to go out on the sabbath,
and came to Jehoiada the priest. And the priest de- 10
livered to the captains over hundreds the spears and
shields that had been king David's, which were in the
house of the LORD. And the guard stood, every man 11
with his weapons in his hand, from the right side of the
house to the left side of the house, along by the altar
and the house, by the king round about. Then he 12
brought out the king's son, and put the crown upon him,

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a gloss. With this excision, and some minor changes of text, the passage may be translated as follows: 'The third part of you—those that turn in [to their barracks in the palace] on the sabbath and keep guard in the palace; and the two other companies of you—all those that turn out [from their barracks] on the sabbath and keep guard in the temple: ye shall compass the king,' &c.

when he goeth out (i. e. from the temple), **and . . . cometh in** (to the palace): see verse 19.

10. Ewald makes the interesting suggestion that the weapons were David's own spear and shield, which had been preserved as relics in the temple, and perhaps played some part at every coronation ceremony: 'it would be a mistake to suppose that in the original narrative the soldiers of the captains came to the temple without weapons, and that there the high priest distributed the weapons of David to them through the captains.' More probably, however, the verse is a gloss introduced from 2 Chron., where it has a meaning as applied to the arming of the *Levites* for a particular occasion.

11. The meaning seems to be that the guards were drawn up in ranks right across the court from south to north, and facing the altar and the temple. The phrase **by the king round about** cannot possibly be correct, since the king had not yet been brought out.

and *gave him* the testimony; and they made him king,
and anointed him; and they clapped their hands, and
13 said, God save the king. And when Athaliah heard the
noise of the guard *and of* the people, she came to the
14 people into the house of the Lord: and she looked,
and, behold, the king stood by the pillar, as the manner
was, and the captains and the trumpets by the king;
and all the people of the land rejoiced, and blew with
trumpets. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and cried,
15 Treason, treason. And Jehoiada the priest commanded
the captains of hundreds that were set over the host, and
said unto them, Have her forth between the ranks; and
him that followeth her slay with the sword: for the
priest said, Let her not be slain in the house of the Lord.
16 So they made way for her; and she went by the way of

12. and gave him **the testimony:** i. e. the law-book, which was supposed to be handed to the king at his coronation. But there is no evidence of any such custom; and context and construction alike demand that some part of the regalia should be indicated. We may read with Wellhausen, 'and the bracelets[1]' (see 2 Sam. i. 10), or, 'and the ornaments[2]' (Oort).

13. Here we enter on the second narrative, in which the influential part is played, not by the guard and its centurions, but by the people under its military leaders. The word for **the guard** in this verse appears from its ungrammatical position in the Hebrew to be a harmonizing gloss to 'people,' carelessly inserted to connect the narrative with the preceding.

14. by the pillar: apparently the spot where the king usually stood when he worshipped in the temple (cf. xxiii. 3). Whether it was by one of the great entrance pillars, Jachin and Boaz, we cannot tell.

15. the captains of hundreds: probably another insertion borrowed from the other document (verses 4, 9, 10). The clause immediately following should be rendered: 'the commanders of the army.'

16. they made way for her: better, 'they laid hands on her.'

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[1] *Reading* הצעדות *for* העדות.

[2] העדיות.

the horses' entry to the king's house: and there was she slain.

And Jehoiada made a covenant between the LORD 17
and the king and the people, that they should be the
LORD's people; between the king also and the people.
And all the people of the land went to the house of Baal, 18
and brake it down; his altars and his images brake they
in pieces thoroughly, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal
before the altars. And the priest appointed officers over
the house of the LORD. And he took the captains over 19
hundreds, and the Carites, and the guard, and all the
people of the land; and they brought down the king
from the house of the LORD, and came by the way of the
gate of the guard unto the king's house. And he sat on
the throne of the kings. So all the people of the land 20
rejoiced, and the city was quiet: and they slew Athaliah
with the sword at the king's house.

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the horses' entry: as distinguished from the 'gate of the foot-guards' (verse 19).

17. The covenant has two sides: it establishes (1) a *religious* relation between Yahweh on the one part and the king and people on the other—they are to be 'a people of Yahweh'; and (2) a *political* relation between the king on the one hand and the people on the other (cf. xxiii. 3).

18 [a]. The revolution culminates, according to this account, in the abolition of Baal-worship in Jerusalem.

Mattan is a contraction of *Mattan-Baal* (gift of Baal), a name common in Phoenician (*KAT*^{3}, p. 104).

18^b is the immediate continuation of verse 12 in the principal narrative. For **officers** render 'guards.'

19. Leaving these guards to keep order in the temple court, Jehoiada leads the main body down to the palace to complete the installation of the king in the usual manner (cf. 1 Kings i. 35, 46). The **gate of the [foot-]guards** was doubtless that through which the king regularly passed from the temple to the palace and back again, accompanied by his bodyguard (see 1 Kings xiv. 28).

20. the city was quiet: the change of government being acceptable to all classes.

21 [**D**] Jehoash was seven years old when he began to
12 reign. In the seventh year of Jehu began Jehoash to
reign; and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem: and his
2 mother's name was Zibiah of Beer-sheba. And Jehoash
did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD all his
3 days wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him. Howbeit
the high places were not taken away: the people still
sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.

4 [J] And Jehoash said to the priests, All the money of

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xii. *Jehoash of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv.)

xi. 21—xii. 3 [= Hebrew, xii. 1-4]. *Introductory Notice.* The compiler is not likely to have been responsible for the transposition of the first two clauses of the formula. LXX (L) gives them in the proper, and doubtless original, order: first the synchronism (xii. 1, down to 'reign'), and then the age of accession (xi. 21). It is this irregularity which has caused the divergence between the Hebrew printed editions and the E. V. in the numbering of the verses: the latter has been guided by the consideration that the synchronism regularly opens a new section.

1. the seventh year of Jehu: see xi. 4. Jehoash, therefore, must have been under a year old at the time of the massacre. On an irregularity in the synchronism, see on xiii. 1.

2. wherein Jehoiada, &c.: rather, 'forasmuch as . . .' The relative clause is anyhow not restrictive; for the compiler certainly means that Jehoash was a good king all his days (see xiv. 3). It is only the chronicler who, finding evidence of apostasy in the later troubles of his reign, limits his piety to the lifetime of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 2).

3. See on 1 Kings iii. 2, 3.

xii. 4-16 [= Hebrew, xii. 5-17]. *Repair of the Temple.* The passage describes the origin of certain standing regulations for the repair of the temple, which remained in force probably down to the Exile (see ch. xxii). In the earlier period the maintenance of the fabric had presumably been a charge on the royal exchequer; and it is likely that the arrangements introduced by Jehoash represent the first attempt to throw the expense on the public, and make the temple self-supporting. The first method tried was to entrust the priests with the collecting of the temple-dues and voluntary offerings of the people, and hold them responsible for all needful repairs. But after some years it was found that the priests had neglected their obligations; and a new system the hallowed things that is brought into the house of the LORD, in current money, the money of the persons for whom each man is rated, and all the money that it

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had to be devised. The priests were relieved of the duty of repairing the house, and also of the privilege of collecting the money; they were ordered to put all their receipts into a chest provided for the purpose, whose contents were to be removed from time to time by a palace official, and paid directly to those who had the oversight of the work. This plan seems to have worked admirably—a fact little creditable to the priesthood, for it is expressly attributed to the superior conscientiousness of the laymen who handled the money over their clerical brethren. The chronicler gives a different version: in particular he avoids anything reflecting on the honour of the priests, and only records a mild censure on the Levites for remissness in the performance of their allotted task.

Wellhausen rightly calls attention to a close resemblance in style and matter between this section and chs. xxii, xxiii; and infers that both passages (along with xi. 5 ff. and xvi. 10 ff.) are extracted from a continuous History of the Temple, written towards the end of the seventh century[1]. That, however, is perhaps a too narrow conception of the writer's standpoint: it is applicable to xii. 4 ff. and xvi. 10 ff., where the interest is concentrated on the affairs of the temple itself; but hardly to chs. xi or xxii, xxiii, which deal with important national transactions of which the temple happened to be the scene. All that can safely be said is that the document (or documents) reveals the prominent place naturally occupied by the temple and its priesthood in the history of the southern kingdom. There seems really no need to look for any other source than the book of the chronicles of Judah (see Introd. pp. 25, 29).

4. the money of the hallowed things, &c., includes all money payments that came into the temple treasury; and these are of two kinds: (1) assessments imposed by the priests according to a fixed tariff, and (2) free-will offerings. Instead of **in current money,** we must read with LXX (L) 'the money of each man's assessment.' The following clause, **the money . . . rated,** is merely an explanatory gloss, modelled on the technical terminology of the Priestly Code. An illustration of what is meant is supplied by Lev. xxvii. 2 ff., where the tariff by which persons dedicated to Yahweh were assessed, according to age and sex, is given.

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[1] To the same source he is inclined to assign the description of the temple buildings in 1 Kings vi, vii.

cometh into any man's heart to bring into the house of
5 the Lord, let the priests take it to them, every man from
his acquaintance: and they shall repair the breaches of
6 the house, wheresoever any breach shall be found. But
it was so, that in the three and twentieth year of king
Jehoash the priests had not repaired the breaches of the
7 house. Then king Jehoash called for Jehoiada the
priest, and for the *other* priests, and said unto them,
Why repair ye not the breaches of the house? now
therefore take no *more* money from your acquaintance,
8 but deliver it for the breaches of the house. And the
priests consented that they should take no *more* money
from the people, neither repair the breaches of the house.
9 But Jehoiada the priest took a chest, and bored a hole
in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar, on the right
side as one cometh into the house of the Lord: and the

The other class of offerings is described in the last clause of the verse: **all the money that it cometh,** &c.

5. Out of the money thus received the priests were to defray the cost of repairs. The word for **acquaintance** (which occurs only here) is of doubtful meaning: it is hardly credible that each priest dealt only with his own personal friends.

6, 7. On discovering how the stipulated obligation had been evaded, Jehoash takes the whole body of the priests to task for their delinquency. The incident throws an instructive light on the position of the priesthood in pre-Exilic times. The king is the real head of the sanctuary, which is still, in spite of its increasing importance for the public religion, primarily the royal chapel; and the priests exercise over it only a delegated authority (cf. xvi. 10 ff.).

9. beside the altar . . . right side: the altar was in the middle of the court, whereas the natural position of a chest which was in charge of **the priests that kept the** threshold (marg.) would be near the entrance (so 2 Chron xxiv. 8). Hence Stade, on the authority of some MSS. of the LXX, would change **altar** (*mizbēăḥ*) to *maẓẓēbāh*, assuming that a maẓẓebah stood somewhere near the gate. A better sense is given by a purely conjectural emendation of Klostermann: 'near the southern (right hand) door-post.'

priests that kept the door put therein all the money that
was brought into the house of the LORD. And it was so, 10
when they saw that there was much money in the chest,
that the king's scribe and the high priest came up, and
they put up in bags and told the money that was found
in the house of the LORD. And they gave the money 11
that was weighed out into the hands of them that did the
work, that had the oversight of the house of the LORD:
and they paid it out to the carpenters and the builders,
that wrought upon the house of the LORD, and to the 12
masons and the hewers of stone, and for buying timber
and hewn stone to repair the breaches of the house of
the LORD, and for all that was laid out for the house to
repair it. But there were not made for the house of the 13
LORD cups of silver, snuffers, basons, trumpets, any
vessels of gold, or vessels of silver, of the money that
was brought into the house of the LORD: for they gave 14
that to them that did the work, and repaired therewith
the house of the LORD. Moreover they reckoned not 15
with the men, into whose hand they delivered the money
to give to them that did the work: for they dealt
faithfully. The money for the guilt offerings, and the 16

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that kept the threshold: evidently an important office: cf. xxii. 4, xxiii. 4, xxv. 18, Jer. xxxv. 4.

10. and the high priest is thought by some to be an interpolation. Throughout the passage Jehoiada is simply called 'the priest'; and it is doubted if the title here used (*hakkōhēn haggādôl*) is anywhere genuine in pre-Exilic writings (see on xxii. 4).

11, 12. The list of artificers conveys some notion of the dilapidated condition of the edifice.

13, 14. On the utensils, see 1 Kings vii. 50. There was no money to spare for the renewal of these vessels, the whole being required for more urgent structural repairs.

16. Two classes of offerings were exempted from the regulations just described, and remained the perquisites of the priests, money for the sin offerings, was not brought into the house of the LORD: it was the priests'.

17 [**KJ**] Then Hazael king of Syria went up, and fought against Gath, and took it: and Hazael set his face to go
18 up to Jerusalem. And Jehoash king of Judah took all the hallowed things that Jehoshaphat, and Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah, had dedicated, and his own hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and of the king's house, and sent it to Hazael king of Syria: and
19 he went away from Jerusalem. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, are they not written in
20 the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And his servants arose, and made a conspiracy, and smote Joash at the house of Millo, *on the way* that goeth down

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viz. the **guilt offerings** and the **sin offerings**. These represented money payments for certain ritual offences, probably those atoned for at a later time by the special kinds of sacrifice designated by the same names (cf. Lev. iv, v. See W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², p. 263 f.; *Rel. of Sem.*², pp. 347 f., 423).

xii. 17, 18 [= Hebrew, xii. 18, 19]. *Hazael threatens Jerusalem.* We have here an extract from the annals of Judah. The redoubtable Hazael, extending his ravages from Israel (x. 32, xiii. 3) to the Philistine territory, captures the city of Gath (see on 1 Kings ii. 39), and has Jerusalem at his mercy. In order to save the capital Jehoash was obliged to hand over all the consecrated gifts that had accumulated in the temple and palace treasuries since they had been emptied for a similar purpose in the time of Asa (1 Kings xv. 18).

xii. 19-21 [= Hebrew, xii. 20-22]. *Concluding Formula, Assassination of Jehoash.* It is remarkable that Jehoash and his son Amaziah both perished by the hands of assassins. No motive is here assigned for the crime; but the chronicler credibly relates that it was in revenge for the execution of Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, whom Jehoash had caused to be stoned (2 Chron. xxiv. 25, 26). Verses 20, 21[a] are probably taken from the annalistic document.

20. the house of Millo . . . Silla: hopelessly corrupt. The

to Silla. For Jozacar the son of Shimeath, and Jeho- 21
zabad the son of Shomer, his servants, smote him, and
he died; and they buried him with his fathers in the
city of David: and Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.
In the three and twentieth year of Joash the son of 13
Ahaziah, king of Judah, Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began
to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* seventeen
years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of 2
the LORD, and followed the sins of Jeroboam the son of
Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin; he departed
not therefrom. [KI] And the anger of the LORD was 3
kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the
hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Ben-
hadad the son of Hazael, continually. [Z] And Jeho- 4

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one proper name may be a variant of the other; but a place *Silla* is not known, and it is altogether doubtful if the 'house of Millo' has anything to do with 'the Millo' of 1 Kings ix. 15, &c.

xiii. 1–9. *Jehoahaz of Israel.*

The section is in the main from the hand of the compiler, though the description of the Syrian oppression in verses 3 and 7 may be based on data from the official annals. The intermediate verses (4–6) are very perplexing (see below). They anticipate the recovery of Israel under Jehoash and Jeroboam II, but in such a way as to convey the erroneous impression that the tide began to turn during the reign of Jehoahaz (cf. verse 22 ff.). On the contrary, the military power of Israel was completely shattered, and she lay prostrate at the feet of her hereditary foe throughout the reign.

1. the three and twentieth year. The synchronism is correct according to the ordinary Hebrew computation, though at variance with xii. 1 (if twenty-third of Joash = twenty-eighth of Jehu, then first of Joash (= sixth of Athaliah) is sixth (not seventh) of Jehu).

3. continually: i. e. without intermission. It was perhaps the seeming absoluteness of this statement (as if the final rejection had already begun) which suggested to a late scribe to qualify it by the interpolation of verses 4–6. This writer is probably responsible for the kindred passages xiii. 23, xiv. 26 f. Whoever he was, he must have read the closing chapters of the northern

ahaz besought the LORD, and the LORD hearkened unto
him: for he saw the oppression of Israel, how that the
5 king of Syria oppressed them. (And the LORD gave
Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the
hand of the Syrians: and the children of Israel dwelt in
6 their tents, as beforetime. Nevertheless they departed
not from the sins of the house of Jeroboam, wherewith
he made Israel to sin, but walked therein: and there
7 remained the Asherah also in Samaria.) [**KI**] For he
left not to Jehoahaz of the people save fifty horsemen,
and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the
king of Syria destroyed them, and made them like the
8 dust in threshing. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of
Jehoahaz, and all that he did, and his might, are they
not written in the book ot the chronicles of the kings of
9 Israel? And Jehoahaz slept with his fathers; and they

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history with a sympathy which neither of the Deuteronomic editors anywhere evinces.

4. besought the LORD: as 1 Kings xiii. 6.

5. a saviour: 'deliverer'; cf. Judges iii. 9, 15. The deliverer in this instance is not, as some have supposed, the Assyrian king; but (as xiv. 27 shows) Jeroboam II.

7. For he left not, &c.: continuing verse 3[1]. The subject of the sentence is most naturally Yahweh, not Hazael.

people is here used, as often, in the sense of 'army.' When we consider that the army was a militia, in which all the male population was liable to be enrolled, we can appreciate the significance of this serious reduction of the fighting strength of the kingdom: cf. Amos iv. 10, v. 3.

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[1] This view of the construction, which is that of Stade, &c., is certainly preferable to the arrangement of R.V., which connects verse 7 with the end of verse 4. It does not, indeed, quite satisfactorily account for all the linguistic phenomena of the passage. The phraseology of verses 3-5 has remarkable affinities with some parts of the 'framework' of the book of Judges, which might almost suggest that the whole was from one hand. The writer of verses 4, 5 would appear to have remodelled the language of verse 3.

buried him in Samaria: and Joash his son reigned in his stead.

In the thirty and seventh year of Joash king of Judah 10
began Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz to reign over Israel
in Samaria, *and reigned* sixteen years. And he did that 11
which was evil in the sight of the LORD; he departed
not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
wherewith he made Israel to sin: but he walked therein.
[**Z**] Now the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he 12

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xiii. 10–25. *Jehoash of Israel.*

In addition to the framework (verses 10–13) the section contains (*a*) the conclusion of the Elisha-history (verses 14–21), and (*b*) an extract from the annals of Israel (verses 22, 24, 25). But how are we to account for the fact that both of these come *after* the concluding formula? If (*a*) alone were in question we might suppose that the insertion had been made later than the main redaction of the book; but obviously that theory fails to explain the displacement of (*b*). The easiest solution would be to follow the text of LXX (L), which transfers verses 12, 13 to the end of the chapter. But there are other facts to be taken into account, of which this rearrangement furnishes no explanation. In the first place, the wording of verse 13 is not at all in accordance with the usual manner of the compiler; and in the second place, the concluding notice on Jehoash is found in regular form in xiv. 15, 16, under Amaziah of Judah. Now the incident of xiv. 8–14 (Amaziah's challenge to Jehoash) belongs as much to the one reign as to the other; and its literary source is more likely to have been Israelitish than Judaean (see below, p. 353). We may therefore surmise that originally xiv. 8–14 followed xiii. 25, and was appropriately succeeded by the formula of xiv. 15 f. For some reason it was subsequently removed to its present position; and by an inadvertence of the editor the closing formula on Jehoash was transferred along with it. Finally, a still later scribe, struck by the absence of the concluding notice of Jehoash, made good the defect by inserting 12, 13.

xiii. 10, 11. *Introduction.*

10. The synchronism is here at fault, probably by a clerical error. Both xiii. 1 and xiv. 1 make the year of Jehoash's accession to have been the thirty-ninth of Jehoash of Judah.

xiii. 12, 13. On these verses, see the introductory note above; and cf. xiv. 15, 16.

did, and his might wherewith he fought against Amaziah
king of Judah, are they not written in the book of the
13 chronicles of the kings of Israel? And Joash slept with
his fathers; and Jeroboam sat upon his throne: and
Joash was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel.

14 [**Es**] Now Elisha was fallen sick of his sickness
whereof he died: and Joash the king of Israel came
down unto him, and wept over him, and said, My father,
my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen
15 thereof! And Elisha said unto him, Take bow and
16 arrows: and he took unto him bow and arrows. And
he said to the king of Israel, Put thine hand upon the

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13. sat upon his throne is a phrase never used in the framework.

xiii. 14-21. *Death and Burial of Elisha.* The last scene in the life of Elisha is a pathetic tribute at once to his loyalty to the dynasty he had been the means of raising to the throne and to the great part he had played in his country's struggle for freedom. Over his death-bed the king of Israel shed tears of genuine and manly sorrow at the loss of one whose spirit had been the best defence of the realm—its chariots and its horsemen. The aged prophet roused himself to express once more in symbolic act his undying faith in Yahweh's power and Israel's victory. With his hands on the king's hands, as if he would infuse into him his own brave spirit, he made him shoot an arrow towards Damascus: it was the arrow of Yahweh's deliverance. Then he bade him smite the ground with the arrows; and when after three strokes Jehoash paused, he rebuked him for his lack of energy; and predicted that he should defeat the Syrians but thrice, whereas if he had gone on smiting he would have vanquished them utterly. After his death it was believed that his bones could work miracles; for it was reported that on one occasion a dead body flung hurriedly into the prophet's tomb on the approach of a band of marauders was restored to life.

14. wept over his face (marg.): cf. Gen. l. 1.

My father: as vi. 21.

the chariots of Israel, &c. See on ii. 12. Whatever be the meaning of the expression in the earlier passage, there is no doubt that here it is used metaphorically: Elisha had been more to Israel than its chariots and horsemen.

bow: and he put his hand *upon it.* And Elisha laid his
hands upon the king's hands. And he said, Open the 17
window eastward: and he opened it. Then Elisha said,
Shoot: and he shot. And he said, The LORD's arrow
of victory, even the arrow of victory over Syria: for thou
shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou have consumed
them. And he said, Take the arrows: and he took them. 18
And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the
ground: and he smote thrice, and stayed. And the 19
man of God was wroth with him, and said, Thou
shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst
thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it: whereas
now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice.

And Elisha died, and they buried him. Now the 20
bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming
in of the year. And it came to pass, as they were 21
burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band; and
they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and as

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17. in Aphek: see on 1 Kings xx. 26.

eastward: the direction of Damascus. Shooting an arrow into an enemy's country was a common symbol of the declaration ot war. The fighting at Aphek is not recorded, but must undoubtedly have taken place.

18. and stayed. The action is to the prophet the revelation of a flaw in the character of Jehoash—a lack of grit and determination, a disposition to rest satisfied with something less than the utmost attainable—which made high achievement impossible.

19. The promise of verse 17 is accordingly restricted, through the fault of the king.

Thou shouldest have smitten: LXX reads: 'If thou hadst smitten.'

20. invaded should be 'used to invade': it was a yearly occurrence. How long after Elisha's death this occurred there is absolutely nothing to indicate.

at the coming in of the year. The text is ungrammatical and corrupt: perhaps 'year by year.'

21. and as soon as, &c. Read, with LXX (L), 'and went away; and when the man touched,' &c. (cf. marg.).

soon as the man touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet.

22 [**KI**] And Hazael king of Syria oppressed Israel all
23 the days of Jehoahaz. [**Z**] But the LORD was gracious
unto them, and had compassion on them, and had
respect unto them, because of his covenant with Abraham,
Isaac, and Jacob, and would not destroy them, neither
24 cast he them from his presence as yet. [**KI**] And
Hazael king of Syria died; and Ben-hadad his son
25 reigned in his stead. And Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz
took again out of the hand of Ben-hadad the son of

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xiii. 22-25. *Successes against the Syrians.* The return of prosperity to Israel in the time of Jehoash was partly due perhaps to the death of Hazael and the succession of a feebler monarch; but the principal cause was a renewal of Assyrian activity in the west. About 803, Ramman-nirari III led a great expedition to the Mediterranean coast, in the course of which he marched against Damascus, where he encountered no resistance. It is true that amongst the countries subdued at this time the inscription mentions also 'the land of Humri' (i. e. Israel); but the net effect of the breaking of the power of Damascus was to restore the balance of power amongst the western states and enable Israel for a time to hold its own. Verses 22, 24, 25 may be taken from the Israelitish annals; verse 23 is an interpolation of the same character as verses 4-6. LXX (L) inserts it between verses 6 and 7.

22. oppressed: better, 'had oppressed.' After this verse LXX (L) has preserved an ancient and valuable notice: 'And Hazael had taken the Philistine out of his (Jehoahaz's) hand from the western Sea unto Aphek.'

23. as yet: or, 'until now' (marg.) is wanting in LXX (B) and other MSS.

24. Ben-hadad his son: on the name, see on 1 Kings xx. 1. The contemporary king of Damascus is called on Ramman-nirari's inscription *Mari'*. In all probability he is the same who is here called Ben-hadad, the third of that name mentioned in the O. T. (Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, p. 66).

25. Amongst the cities retaken may have been Lo-debar and Karnaim, according to a conjectural emendation of Amos vi. 13 (see Driver, in *Camb. Bible*).

Hazael the cities which he had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz his father by war. Three times did Joash smite him, and recovered the cities of Israel.

[D] In the second year of Joash son of Joahaz king of **14**
Israel began Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah to
reign. He was twenty and five years old when he began 2
to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in
Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jehoaddin of
Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes 3
of the Lord, yet not like David his father: he did
according to all that Joash his father had done. How- 4
beit the high places were not taken away: the people
still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.
And it came to pass, as soon as the kingdom was 5

Three times: in fulfilment of Elisha's prediction (verse 19).

xiv. 1–22. *Amaziah of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxv.)

The introduction (verses 1–4) is followed by a pair of annalistic notices (verses 5–7), on the execution of the murderers of the late king and the re-conquest of Edom. Then comes (in 8–14) a long and graphic narrative of how Amaziah, his head turned by his victories in Edom, was foolhardy enough to measure his strength with Jehoash of Israel, and suffered a humiliating defeat. The whole tone of this passage, as well as an incidental expression in verse 11, shows that it is taken, not from a Judaean, but from an Ephraimitic source, possibly the chronicles of the northern kingdom. The remainder of the section is written by the compiler, with the exception of an interpolation in verse 17, and two extracts from the annals in verses 19–21, 22.

xiv. 1–4. *Introduction.*

1. In the second year. See on xiii. 10.

2. twenty and nine years. A comparison with xiii. 10 and xv. 1 brings to light a discrepancy of twelve years between the duration of this reign and the synchronistic scheme, the first of two serious errors that have crept into the chronology of Kings. See Introd. p. 42; and below on xv. 1.

4. Cf. 1 Kings iii. 2 f.

xiv. 5, 6. *Punishment of the Murderers of Jehoash.* See xii. 20, 21.

established in his hand, that he slew his servants which
6 had slain the king his father: but the children of the murderers he put not to death: according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, as the LORD commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall die for his own sin.
7 [**KJ**] He slew of Edom in the Valley of Salt ten thousand, and took Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel, unto this day.

8 [**KI** ?] Then Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash, the

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6. The sparing of the children of the guilty persons was evidently a new departure in jurisprudence, indicating an advance in the moral sentiment of the community. Examples of the older practice are found in the case of Achan (Joshua vii. 24 ff.), and even the quite recent instance of Naboth (ix. 26).

The reference to **the book of the law of Moses** is to Deut. xxiv. 16, Deuteronomy being the only law-book known to the compiler. (Cf. 1 Kings ii. 3.)

xiv. 7. *Victory over the Edomites.* Since Jehoram's abortive attempt to suppress the revolt (viii. 20-22) Edom had maintained its independence against Judah; and the contemporary notices seem to show that even this signal success of Amaziah did not result in the permanent subjugation of the country. We may perhaps infer from verse 22 that the object of the campaign was to secure the possession of the port of Elath, and the trade-routes between it and Judah.

7. the Valley of Salt (cf. 2 Sam. viii. 13) is by most localized in the marshy plain to the south of the Dead Sea. Buhl (*Geog.* p. 88) identifies it with the modern wadi of the same name (*Wadi el-Milḥ*), east of Beer-sheba.

Sela: or, 'the rock' (marg.) (Judges i. 36; Isa. xvi. 1), has commonly been taken to be the name of Petra, the rock-city, the capital of Edom. The identification has been recently disputed (see Moore, on *Judges* i. 36); and the fact that the place bore the name **Joktheel, unto this day** is certainly not in favour of it.

xiv. 8-14. *Amaziah's Encounter with Jehoash.* Elated by his recent success (see verse 10) Amaziah boastfully challenges Jehoash of Israel to a trial of strength. Jehoash at first answers with a contemptuous parable, advising him to rest on his laurels

son of Jehoahaz son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying,
Come, let us look one another in the face. And Jehoash 9
the king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying,
The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that
was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to
wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in
Lebanon, and trode down the thistle. Thou hast indeed 10
smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up:
glory thereof, and abide at home; for why shouldest
thou meddle to *thy* hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even
thou, and Judah with thee? But Amaziah would not 11
hear. So Jehoash king of Israel went up; and he and
Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face
at Beth-shemesh, which belongeth to Judah. And Judah 12

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and nurse his vanity at home. But when Amaziah refuses to take warning he marches against him, and the two armies meet at Beth-shemesh, west of Jerusalem, where the Judaeans suffer a crushing defeat. Their king is taken prisoner, a large piece of the north wall of the capital is destroyed, the temple and palace are rifled, and hostages are taken for future behaviour. The incident illustrates the relative importance of the two kingdoms ever since the disruption of the nation. The two latest commentators assume that the old relation of vassalship still subsisted between them, and understand Amaziah's challenge as an assertion of his independence. But the Israelitish suzerainty must have terminated with the dynasty of Omri, and it does not appear that any of the subsequent kings was strong enough to recover it, unless, indeed, it were Jehoash himself. The conduct of Amaziah has to be construed as the sheer insolence of success. On the original position of the verses, see above, p. 349.

8. look one another in the face: a strange expression for 'confront one another in battle.' Jehoash's parable, to be sure, seems to interpret it as merely a claim to treat with him on terms of equality. But the details of the parable cannot be pressed; and in verse 12 the fighting follows as a matter of course.

10. meddle to thy hurt should be rendered as marg. 'provoke calamity.'

11. Beth-shemesh. See on 1 Kings iv. 9.

which belongeth to Judah shows that the writer is an Ephraimite (cf. 1 Kings xix. 3).

was put to the worse before Israel; and they fled every
13 man to his tent. And Jehoash king of Israel took
Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Jehoash the son of
Ahaziah, at Beth-shemesh, and came to Jerusalem, and
brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of
Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits.
14 And he took all the gold and silver, and all the vessels
that were found in the house of the LORD, and in the
treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and
15 returned to Samaria. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of
Jehoash which he did, and his might, and how he fought
with Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the
16 book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? And
Jehoash slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria
with the kings of Israel; and Jeroboam his son reigned
in his stead.

17 [**Z**] And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah

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13. and came. Read, as LXX and 2 Chron. xxv. 23, 'and brought him.'

the gate of Ephraim, as the name indicates, must have been that through which the road to Ephraim issued: therefore, in the northern wall.

the corner gate was probably at the north-west angle of the wall.

four hundred cubits: 200 yards or upwards (see on 1 Kings vi. 2).

xiv. 15, 16. On the displacement of these verses, see above, p. 349.

xiv. 17–22. *Concluding Formula. Death of Amaziah.* Like his father Jehoash (xii. 20 f.), Amaziah was put to death by his own subjects. The 'conspiracy,' however, was in this case no mere palace intrigue, but a popular insurrection in favour of the young prince Azariah, a result probably of the misfortunes into which the state had been plunged by the folly of Amaziah. The king fled to Lachish, where the insurgents overtook and slew him; but his body was buried with due honours at Jerusalem. The section undoubtedly incorporates annalistic material, and is not quite in the compiler's usual vein.

lived after the death of Jehoash son of Jehoahaz king of
Israel fifteen years. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of 18
Amaziah, are they not written in the book of the
chronicles of the kings of Judah? [**KJ**] And they made 19
a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled to
Lachish: but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew
him there. And they brought him upon horses: and he 20
was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers in the city of
David. And all the people of Judah took Azariah, who 21
was sixteen years old, and made him king in the room
of his father Amaziah. He built Elath, and restored it 22
to Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers.

[**D**] In the fifteenth year of Amaziah the son of Joash 23

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17 is a note inserted by a scribe to mark the interval between the two concluding formulas. The chronology corresponds with xiii. 10, xiv. 2.

19. Lachish is now pretty surely identified (by Petrie) with *Tell el-Ḥasi*, at the mouth of a valley in the Shephelah, about thirty-five miles south-west of Jerusalem (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 234). See xviii. 14.

22. The peculiar position of the verse cannot be fully explained. It has certainly a connexion with verse 7; and perhaps the most natural interpretation is that Amaziah had succeeded in capturing Elath, but had afterwards lost it owing to his defeat by Jehoash; and that its recovery was one of the first exploits of Azariah after his accession. But if that be the meaning, it is difficult to see why the notice was not reserved for the history of Azariah.

On the situation of **Elath,** see 1 Kings ix. 26.

xiv. 23–29. *Jeroboam II of Israel.*

The reign of Jeroboam II was the most brilliant, as it was by far the longest, in the history of the northern kingdom. His success was largely due to the crippling of Damascus and the neighbouring states by repeated raids of the Assyrians under Shalmaneser III (782–772) and Asshurdan III (772–754); while the inactivity of Asshur-nirari (754–746) gave an opportunity for the expansion of Israel such as no previous monarch had enjoyed. Jeroboam accordingly extended his dominions to the utmost limits of Solomon's empire; and the country, enriched by the tribute

king of Judah Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel began to reign in Samaria, *and reigned* forty and one
24 years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin.
25 [**KI**] He restored the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah, according to the word of the LORD, the God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah the son of Amittai, the
26 prophet, which was of Gath-hepher. [**Z**] For the LORD saw the affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter: for there was none shut up nor left at large, neither was
27 there any helper for Israel. And the LORD said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven: but he saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of

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of subjugated states, rose rapidly to an unprecedented height of material prosperity. The brief and colourless narrative before us requires to be supplemented from the pages of Amos and Hosea before we can form a true estimate of the character and splendour of the reign of Jeroboam.

xiv. 23, 24. *Introduction.*

23. The chronology is still at fault. The synchronistic statement agrees with verses 1 and 17 (but not with xv. 1); but the length of reign conflicts with xv. 8 (see on these verses).

xiv. 25-27. *Expansion of the Empire.* See introductory note to the section. Verse 25 may be abridged from the annals; verses 26 and 27 appear to be from the same writer as xiii. 4 f., 23.

25. Cf. Amos vi. 14.

from the entering in of Hamath. See 1 Kings viii. 65.

the sea of the Arabah is the Dead Sea; the Arabah being to this day the name of the depression which connects the Jordan valley with the head of the Gulf of Aḳaba.

The reference to **Jonah the son of Amittai** shows that in the prophets religion and patriotism still went hand in hand. Jonah was a *confrère* of Elisha rather than of Amos.

Gath-hepher was a town of Zebulon (Joshua xix. 13); and the grave of Jonah is still shown in the vicinity of Nazareth.

26. shut up nor left . . . . See on 1 Kings xiv. 10.

27. said not that . . . : 'had not purposed to blot out.'

but he saved: 'and so he delivered.'

Joash. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, and 28
all that he did, and his might, how he warred, and how
he recovered Damascus, and Hamath, *which had belonged*
to Judah, for Israel, are they not written in the book of
the chronicles of the kings of Israel? And Jeroboam 29
slept with his fathers, even with the kings of Israel; and
Zechariah his son reigned in his stead.

In the twenty and seventh year of Jeroboam king of 15
Israel began Azariah son of Amaziah king of Judah to
reign. Sixteen years old was he when he began to reign; 2
and he reigned two and fifty years in Jerusalem: and his

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xiv. 28, 29. *Conclusion.*

28. and how he recovered . . . Israel. The sentence is unintelligible in the Hebrew; and even the excision of the words **to Judah** hardly yields a tolerable sense. The idea conveyed by the R. V., that Damascus and Hamath had once been in the possession of Judah and were now transferred to Israel, is wholly baseless; and a 'recovery' of these territories either to Israel or Judah could not be spoken of. The meaning remains obscure.

xv. 1–7. *Azariah of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxvi.)

The record of this long and fortunate reign is disappointingly meagre. There is evidence that under Azariah (or Uzziah) the kingdom of Judah enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity, although the causes of that prosperity may not be so obvious as those to which the contemporary greatness of North Israel can be traced. The early prophecies of Isaiah prove that the resources of the state had been wisely administered for a considerable time; and the Book of Chronicles has much to tell of Uzziah's successful military enterprises, and his measures for the defence of the land and the development of its natural advantages. It has been thought that further evidence of his power was found in an Assyrian inscription of Tiglath-pileser III, which mentions an Azariah of *Ja'udi* as the leader of a great confederacy of North Syrian states, in 738 B. C. But it seems no longer possible to uphold the identification of Ja'udi with Judah, or of its king with the Azariah of the O. T. (see Whitehouse in *DB*, iv. p. 844 f.).

1. In the twenty and seventh year: at variance with xiv. 2, 23. If Jeroboam began to reign in the fifteenth year of Amaziah (xiv. 23), and Amaziah reigned twenty-nine years (xiv. 2, 17), the first year of Azariah must have been the fifteenth of Jeroboam. See further on verse 8 below; Introd. p. 42.

3 mother's name was Jecoliah of Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, according
4 to all that his father Amaziah had done. Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed
5 and burnt incense in the high places. [**KJ**] And the LORD smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house. And Jotham the king's son was over the household, judging
6 the people of the land. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Azariah, and all that he did, are they not written in the
7 book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And Azariah slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

8 In the thirty and eighth year of Azariah king of Judah

The name **Azariah** is all but peculiar to the Book of Kings; elsewhere (except 1 Chron. iii. 12) the form Uzziah is used. Uzziah appears in verses 13, 30, 32, 34 of this chapter; but in each case the LXX reads Azariah, which probably stood in the original text.

5. in a several house. The phrase was unintelligible to the Greek translators, and its exact sense is uncertain. The king was certainly isolated and relieved of the duties of government; but that he was confined in 'a lazar house' (marg.) is in itself improbable, and is not justified by the Hebrew text. The most attractive interpretation is obtained by an ingenious correction of Klostermann, who reads: 'he dwelt *in his own house unmolested*' (strictly, 'at liberty'), in contrast with ordinary lepers, who were expelled from the city (vii. 3.) How long the regency of Jotham lasted we cannot determine (see Introd. p. 45 f.).

xv. 8–12. *Zechariah of Israel.*

After the death of Jeroboam II the northern kingdom plunged into another period of anarchy and civil war, which lasted till the end: usurper after usurper seizing the crown, and royal assassinations being the order of the day. His son and successor, Zechariah, thus perished after a reign of six months. Verse 10 may be assigned to the annals.

8. In the thirty and eighth year. In order to reconcile the synchronism with xiv. 23, we should have either to read: 'In

did Zechariah the son of Jeroboam reign over Israel in
Samaria six months. And he did that which was evil in 9
the sight of the Lord, as his fathers had done: he
departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of
Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin. [**KI**] And 10
Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him, and
smote him before the people, and slew him, and reigned
in his stead. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Zechariah, 11
behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of
the kings of Israel. This was the word of the Lord 12
which he spake unto Jehu, saying, Thy sons to the
fourth generation shall sit upon the throne of Israel.
And so it came to pass.

Shallum the son of Jabesh began to reign in the nine 13
and thirtieth year of Uzziah king of Judah; and he
reigned the space of a month in Samaria. [**KI**] And 14
Menahem the son of Gadi went up from Tirzah, and
came to Samaria, and smote Shallum the son of Jabesh
in Samaria, and slew him, and reigned in his stead.

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the twenty-seventh year,' or else to assign to Jeroboam a reign of fifty-two years. On the other hand, if we accept the statement of xv. 1, we find a discrepancy of no less than twenty-three years. Two independent errors of considerable magnitude appear to vitiate the chronology (Introd. p. 42).

10. before the people. Read, with LXX (L), 'in Ibleam' (see on ix. 27).

12. Cf. x. 30.

xv. 13-16. *Shallum of Israel.*

Shallum's possession of the throne was so soon contested that Kittel concludes that after the death of Jeroboam II two rival parties had been contending for the mastery, one under Shallum, and the other under Menahem, who held Tirzah, the ancient capital of the kingdom (*History*, Eng. trans., ii. p. 332 f.). The order of the section is somewhat irregular; the annalistic notices of verses 14 and 16 (which appear to stand in reversed order) being separated by the closing formula.

14. Tirzah. See 1 Kings xiv. 17.

15 [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Shallum, and his conspiracy which he made, behold, they are written in the
16 book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel. [**KI**] Then Menahem smote Tiphsah, and all that were therein, and the borders thereof, from Tirzah: because they opened not to him, therefore he smote it; and all the women therein that were with child he ripped up.

17 [**D**] In the nine and thirtieth year of Azariah king of Judah began Menahem the son of Gadi to reign over
18 Israel, *and reigned* ten years in Samaria. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not all his days from the sins of Jeroboam the son of
19 Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin. [**KI**] There

16. Tiphsah cannot be the Tiphṣaḥ on the Euphrates (1 Kings iv. 24), and no town of the name in Palestine is known. We may probably read *Tappûăḥ*, a town on the borders of Ephraim and Manasseh (Joshua xvi. 8, xvii. 7). It was held by the partisans of Shallum; and Menahem attacks it **from Tirzah,** the centre of his own power.

xv. 17-22. *Menahem of Israel.*

The reign of Menahem is memorable for the first decisive intervention of Assyria in the internal affairs of Israel. Tiglath-pileser III mentions in his annals the name of *Miniḥimmu of Samirinai,* as one of a long list of kings from whom he received tribute in the eighth year of his reign (738 B.C.) (*COT*, p. 223 ff.)[1]. The Hebrew side of the incident is given in verses 19, 20, which are probably taken directly from the annals of the kingdom. We learn that Tiglath-pileser had actually invaded the country; and that in consideration of the tribute he not only withdrew his troops, but confirmed Menahem on the throne, which probably means that he supported him against the rival party. The transaction must apparently belong to the end of the reign; for we shall see presently that between 738 and 734 the crown twice changed hands. (Introd. p. 44 f.)

18. The phrase **all his days** stands in the Hebrew at the end; it is properly the beginning of verse 19, and ought to be read: 'In his days' (so LXX).

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[1] The identification has, however, been disputed by Oppert and others.

came against the land Pul the king of Assyria; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his
hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even 20
of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land.
[**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Menahem, and all that 21
he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles
of the kings of Israel? And Menahem slept with his 22
fathers; and Pekahiah his son reigned in his stead.

In the fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekahiah 23
the son of Menahem began to reign over Israel in
Samaria, *and reigned* two years. And he did that which 24

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19. Pul the king of Assyria is, as had long been suspected, Tiglath-pileser III (see verse 29). The two are indeed distinguished in 1 Chron. v. 26; but the identity is put beyond reasonable doubt by a comparison of two Babylonian inscriptions, one of which shows the name *Pulu* where the other has Tiglath-pileser (*Tukulti-abal-išarra*). See *KIB*, ii. p. 290 f. The most probable theory is that Pulu is the king's real name, and Tiglath-pileser that which he assumed when he usurped the throne of Assyria.

a thousand talents of silver: roundly about £400,000 in *quantity*. The last clause **to confirm . . . hand** is wanting in LXX (B).

20. exacted . . . of: perhaps 'distributed over' (*lit.* 'made to go out'). Klostermann changes the verb to 'commanded'; but this entails further alterations of the text, which are hardly justified.

mighty men of wealth (*lit.* 'heroes of valour') means simply well-to-do people, not necessarily landed proprietors merely. Taking the talent at 3,000 shekels, we find that there must have been sixty thousand such persons in Israel.

xv. 23–26. *Pekahiah of Israel.*

23. For **two years** LXX (L) reads 'ten years'; and even in the Hebrew text of xvii. 1 the synchronism seems based on the assumption of a ten years' reign of Pekahiah (see Introd. p. 43).

was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith
25 he made Israel to sin. [KI] And Pekah the son of Remaliah, his captain, conspired against him, and smote him in Samaria, in the castle of the king's house, with Argob and Arieh; and with him were fifty men of the Gileadites: and he slew him, and reigned in his stead.
26 [D] Now the rest of the acts of Pekahiah, and all that he did, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

27 In the two and fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekah the son of Remaliah began to reign over Israel in
28 Samaria, *and reigned* twenty years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith

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The Assyrian chronology proves that two years is the utmost that can be allowed for the reign.

25. his captain: or, 'adjutant'; see on vii. 2, 1 Kings ix. 22.

the castle of the king's house: cf. 1 Kings xvi. 18.

with Argob and Arieh. Argob is the name of a district in Bashan (1 Kings iv. 13), and Arieh means 'the lion.' The clause is hopelessly obscure. The **fifty men . . . Gileadites** are of course the accomplices of Pekah, who was therefore presumably himself a Gileadite.

xv. 27-31. *Pekah of Israel.*

The chief event of Pekah's reign was the seizure of the northern province of the kingdom by Tiglath-pileser, and the deportation of the inhabitants to Assyria (verse 29). The annals of Tiglath-pileser show that this expedition belongs to the year 734 or 733. It had been preceded and occasioned by the Syro-Ephraimitic league against Judah, the notice of which is reserved for the histories of Jotham and Ahaz (see verse 37 and xvi. 5 ff.). Pekah must therefore have entered into the alliance with Damascus at the very beginning of his reign; and the prompt interference of Tiglath-pileser leaves no doubt as to what the ultimate aim of the confederacy was. It was an attempt to form a new coalition of Syrian states against Assyria; and Judah was to be coerced into it by force. The circumstances suggest that Pekah had

he made Israel to sin. [**KI**] In the days of Pekah king 29
of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took
Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh,
and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of
Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria. And 30
Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against
Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew
him, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of
Jotham the son of Uzziah. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts 31

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risen to power as the leader of an anti-Assyrian faction, and that Pekahiah had been assassinated because, like his father Menahem, he ruled as a protected vassal of the Assyrian empire. Pekah was in his turn murdered by Hoshea, the nominee of Tiglath-pileser; and the Assyrian records confirm the impression given by verse 30, that this took place in connexion with the punitive expedition of 734/3. The statement that Pekah reigned for twenty years is quite erroneous.

29. The depopulated district corresponds generally with that ravaged by the Syrians in the time of Asa: see on 1 Kings xv. 20. Two of the cities here named, **Ijon** and **Abel-beth-maacah,** are mentioned there, as well as the tribal name **Naphtali; Janoah** is unknown; **Kedesh** is the modern *Kades,* north-west of Lake Hūleh; on **Hazor** and **Galilee,** see 1 Kings ix. 15, 11.

Gilead cannot be the familiar name of the trans-Jordanic district: it is probably identical with a city *Gal*[. . .], mentioned along with Abel in the Assyrian account of the incident (the second syllable of the name is undecipherable).

carried them captive: or, 'exiled them'; the verb (as distinct, e. g., from that used in verse 2) expresses the idea of migration from home, though here the difference is perhaps inappreciable.

30. Hoshea is the leader of the pro-Assyrian party. Tiglath-pileser, indeed, claims for himself the honour of putting Pekah to death and setting *Ausi'* (Hoshea) on the throne; but the boasts of Assyrian kings are not always veracious. The truth seems to have been that Hoshea committed the murder, and then submitted to Tiglath-pileser and reigned as his vassal.

in the twentieth year of Jotham. The date would agree with verse 27, but is glaringly inconsistent with xvii. 1; moreover the Book of Kings assigns only sixteen years to Jotham. Since the statement is not in the compiler's usual manner, and could not have been in the chronicles of Israel (which never date events

of Pekah, and all that he did, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
32 In the second year of Pekah the son of Remaliah king of Israel began Jotham the son of Uzziah king of Judah
33 to reign. Five and twenty years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jerusha the daughter of
34 Zadok. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD: he did according to all that his father Uzziah
35 had done. Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places. He built the upper gate of the house

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by the records of the sister kingdom), it may be regarded as an interpolation. (But see Introd. p. 45, *note* [3].)

xv. 32-38. *Jotham of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxvii.)

The only occurrences thought worthy of record in this reign are the making of a new gate in the temple-court and the commencement of hostilities by Rezin and Pekah, annalistic notices of which are preserved in verses 35^b and 37. From the narrative of Chronicles, which is no doubt based on authentic documents, Jotham seems to have continued the vigorous policy of his father, and to have reigned with credit and success.

35. built the upper gate. Of the gates in Solomon's temple very little is known. In xi. 19 we read (*a*) of a 'gate of the foot-guards,' which may have been that which communicated directly between the palace and the temple; if so, it must have been in the south wall of the temple-court. Jeremiah mentions (*b*) an 'upper gate of Benjamin' (xx. 2), (*c*) a 'new gate' (xxvi. 10, xxxvi. 10), and (*d*) a 'third entry' (xxxviii. 14, where, however, Giesebrecht reads 'gate of the body-guard'). From Ezek. viii. 3, ix. 2 we learn that there was (*e*) a 'northern gate.' These cannot have been all different. With Giesebrecht's emendation (*a*) and (*d*) may be safely identified, and located in the south wall. (*b*) and (*e*) are also probably identical; and the question is whether Jotham's 'upper gate' is this north gate (*b*, *e*) or the 'new gate' (*c*), or whether these again are the same. A gate built by Jotham would not be exactly 'new' in the time of Jeremiah, but if it was the newest it might easily bear the name. Still, since Jeremiah uses the two names, it is more probable that they were distinct, and that the gate here referred to was the same as (*b*).

of the LORD. Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and 36
all that he did, are they not written in the book of the
chronicles of the kings of Judah? In those days the 37
LORD began to send against Judah Rezin the king of
Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah. And Jotham 38
slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in
the city of David his father: and Ahaz his son reigned
in his stead.

In the seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remaliah **16**
Ahaz the son of Jotham king of Judah began to reign.
Twenty years old was Ahaz when he began to reign; and 2
he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and he did not
that which was right in the eyes of the LORD his God,
like David his father. But he walked in the way of the 3

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37. See on xvi. 5 ff.

xvi. *Ahaz of Judah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxviii.)

The section on Ahaz contains, besides the framework, (1) an account of the combined expedition of Rezin and Pekah against Judah (verses 5–9)—this may be supposed taken from the annals of the reign; (2) a description of certain alterations made in the temple by order of Ahaz, including the erection of a new altar after a foreign model, and the removal of some parts of the temple furniture to raise money for the king of Assyria (10–18). The style of the passage is too diffuse, and the narrative too circumstantial, to be naturally attributed to an official annalist; in all probability it belongs to the same source as xii. 4 ff., whether that be the chronicles of Judah or a separate document.

xvi. 1–4. *Introduction.*

1. Ahaz. The full name was *Yĕhō-āḥāz*, as appears from an inscription of Tiglath-pileser, in which *Ya'u-ḥazi* of Judah is mentioned in a list of tributaries (*KIB*, ii. p. 20 f.; *COT*, i. p. 263).

2. According to xviii. 2, Hezekiah was twenty-five years old at the death of Ahaz; consequently Ahaz must have been ten years of age when his son was born. There must be an error in one of the passages.

3. The judgement on Ahaz is more severe than on any other king of Judah except Manasseh. Not only did he follow the example of the northern kings, but he imitated the worst abominations of the Canaanites.

kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of
4 Israel. And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree.
5 [KJ] Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him.

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made his son . . . fire: or, 'dedicated his son by fire.' (Cf. Exod. xiii. 12.) The expression is almost restricted to the rite of child-sacrifice; and, whatever its primary sense may be, undoubtedly denoted actual burning. Although the practice may have occurred sporadically in early Israel (see Judges xi. 34 ff.), and survived among the neighbouring Semites (iii. 27), it was only towards the fall of the state and in the decline of the national religion that it became a common feature of Hebrew worship (cf. xvii. 17, xxi. 6, xxiii. 10; Mic. vi. 7; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, &c.). Ahaz was perhaps the first to introduce it in Judah.

4. And he sacrificed: not merely allowed the people to do so, as the best of his predecessors had done. The phraseology of the close of the verse is Jeremianic: Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6, &c.

xvi. 5–9. *The Syro-Ephraimitic Invasion.* From xv. 37 it appears that the war had broken out in the reign of Jotham, though the situation became critical only after the accession of Ahaz. Isaiah's vivid description of the consternation produced in Jerusalem (Isa. vii. 1 ff.) suggests that the attack came as a surprise to the Judaeans; and possibly xv. 37 only implies that the plot had been hatched under Jotham, to be disclosed in all its alarming dimensions after his death. The object of the expedition, as has been stated above (p. 364), was to bring Judah into a league against Assyria; but it does not appear that Ahaz was ever given an opportunity to join it voluntarily; and the effect was to throw him into the arms of the Assyrian monarch. His action in seeking the protection of Tiglath-pileser was condemned by Isaiah, who judged it a needless sacrifice of the independence of the country, for a kind of service which Tiglath-pileser was sure to render in his own interests, without any bargain.

5. Rezin (Assyrian, *Raṣunnu*) was one of those who had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser along with Menahem in 738 (see p. 362).

could not overcome him: *lit.* 'were unable to fight'; i. e. to come to close quarters.

At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to 6
Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians
came to Elath, and dwelt there, unto this day. So Ahaz 7
sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying,
I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me
out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand
of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And 8
Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the
house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's
house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria.
And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: and the 9
king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it,
and carried *the people of* it captive to Kir, and slew
Rezin. [J] And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet 10

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6. A collateral result of the war was the loss of Elath to Judah: see xiv. 22. The names **Syrians** (*Aramaeans*) and **Edomites** (marg.) are often confounded in the O. T.; and here the consonantal text favours the former reading, while the punctuators adopt the second. The latter are doubtless right; but in that case it is necessary to change **Syria** (Aram) to 'Edom' (twice), and omit **Rezin** as a mistake. As a matter of fact, Elath could not be 'recovered' to Syria, because it had never belonged to it. The verse must be read as a parenthesis.

drave: 'cleared out.'

7. Ahaz declares himself the vassal of Assyria.

8. Cf. verses 17, 18.

a present meant practically 'tribute'; and so Tiglath-pileser would regard it.

9. The Assyrian expedition against Israel, recorded in xv. 29, preceded that against Damascus, which was conquered after two years' fighting only in 732. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser mention the siege of the city, but do not (so far as yet discovered) describe its actual capture, or the death of Rezin.

to Kir: cf. Amos i. 5. The word is wanting here in the LXX.

xvi. 10–16. *Erection of a new Altar in the Temple.* Ahaz pays homage to Tiglath-pileser in Damascus, where he must have been detained for some time. He seems to have been a *virtuoso* in ritual, and being much pleased with the design of the Damascus altar, he sent orders to his priest in Jerusalem to have a similar one built for the temple against his return. This was done; and

Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and saw the altar that
was at Damascus: and king Ahaz sent to Urijah the
11 priest the fashion of the altar, and the pattern of it,
according to all the workmanship thereof. And Urijah
the priest built an altar: according to all that king Ahaz
12 had sent from Damascus, so did Urijah the priest make
it against king Ahaz came from Damascus. And when
the king was come from Damascus, the king saw the
13 altar: and the king drew near unto the altar, and offered
thereon. And he burnt his burnt offering and his meal
14 offering, and poured his drink offering, and sprinkled the
blood of his peace offerings, upon the altar. And the
brasen altar, which was before the LORD, he brought
from the forefront of the house, from between his altar

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the king took the first opportunity of inspecting it, and then consecrated it in person. In connexion with this ceremony he introduced certain modifications of the ritual, which are unfortunately not very intelligible to us, but have an important bearing on the history of the temple cultus. The passage illustrates, at all events, even better than ch. xii, the absolute control exercised by the king over the temple and its worship.

10. the altar . . . Damascus. Whether it was of native design, or recently imported from Assyria, does not appear.

Urijah the priest is mentioned (but not necessarily as a friend) by Isaiah in viii. 2.

11, 12. The LXX has a shorter and possibly purer text, but the sense is not affected.

and offered thereon. Render, 'and went up upon it' (see marg.).

13. The ordinary rule seems to have been for the priest to offer the sacrifices of the king (see verse 15); but in this high function of consecrating a new altar Ahaz exercises the unchallenged royal privilege of officiating in person.

14. In the LXX the words 'and the altar' are wanting at the beginning, and the first clause reads as the continuation of verse 13. Accepting this text, we may render: 'and sprinkled . . . upon the altar (14) of brass which was before Yahweh; and drew near from before the house, between the house and the (new) altar, and applied it (the blood) to the north side of the (new) altar.' (So virtually W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*², Note K.)

and the house of the Lord, and put it on the north side
of his altar. And king Ahaz commanded Urijah the 15
priest, saying, Upon the great altar burn the morning
burnt offering, and the evening meal offering, and the
king's burnt offering, and his meal offering, with the
burnt offering of all the people of the land, and their
meal offering, and their drink offerings; and sprinkle
upon it all the blood of the burnt offering, and all the
blood of the sacrifice: but the brasen altar shall be for
me to inquire by. Thus did Urijah the priest, according 16
to all that king Ahaz commanded. [KJ] And king Ahaz 17
cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the laver

The essence of the initiatory ceremony would then lie in transferring the efficacy of the old altar to the new by sprinkling the sacrificial blood first on the one and then on the other. The rendering is not free from difficulty; but it gives a better idea than the common view, that the old altar was shifted to make place for the new. That, surely, must have been thought of before the new altar was built.

15. The purport of the regulation seems to be that the new altar is to replace the old for all ordinary purposes, while the brasen altar 'is reserved for one particular kind of offering by the king himself' (W. R. Smith, *ibid.*). Unfortunately the nature of that offering is not clear. The obscurity lies in the words rendered **for me to inquire by,** of which no thoroughly acceptable interpretation has been given. The verb is used in Rabbinical Hebrew of examining sacrificial animals for blemishes (see Burney, *Notes*, p. 327). Inspection of the entrails of victims was a common form of divination in Babylonia (cf. Ezek. xxi. 21); is it possible that we have here the introduction of that custom into the religion of Israel by Ahaz? The least sensible of all explanations is offered by Benzinger and Kittel: 'for me to think over' (viz. where I shall put it!).

xvi. 17, 18. *Spoliation of the Temple.* The sound administration of Azariah and Jotham may be supposed to have left to Ahaz a well replenished treasury; but it was soon drained by the annual tribute imposed by the king of Assyria. Hence the necessity for breaking up some of the temple furniture, as recorded in verse 17.

17. On the **borders** (or, 'panels') and **bases,** see 1 Kings vii. 27 ff.; on the **sea** and **oxen,** vii. 23 ff.

from off them; and took down the sea from off the
brasen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a
18 pavement of stone. And the covered way for the
sabbath that they had built in the house, and the king's
entry without, turned he unto the house of the LORD,
19 because of the king of Assyria. [**D**] Now the rest of the
acts of Ahaz which he did, are they not written in the
20 book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And Ahaz
slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in
the city of David: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his
stead.

17 In the twelfth year of Ahaz king of Judah began

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18. The first part of the verse reads in LXX: 'And the foundation of the chair (throne?) he built in the house of the Lord.' Either way the clause is obscure to us, as is also the one following; and it is difficult to see how what appear to be structural alterations could be **because of the king of Assyria.** On the other hand, these last words give a good sense in connexion with verse 17.

xvii. 1-6. *Hoshea, the Last King of Israel.*

The extremely condensed narrative of verses 3-6 gives the following representation of the course of the events which led to the fall of the northern kingdom. Hoshea, who had held the throne as a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III (see on xv. 30), must have revolted under Shalmaneser IV, who accordingly leads an expedition against him. Hoshea then makes his submission, and pays tribute. Afterwards he is detected in treasonable negotiations with the king of Egypt, whereupon Shalmaneser puts him in prison—when and how is not stated. Finally the Assyrian king marches against the country, besieges Samaria for three years, and captures it in the ninth year of Hoshea's reign.

It cannot be denied that this account presents several historical difficulties. (1) It appears to imply two revolts of Hoshea, and two (if not three) campaigns of Shalmaneser. But the Assyrian records leave room for only one campaign against Israel in the short reign of Shalmaneser IV (727-722). The fall of Samaria took place in the first year of Sargon (certainly not later than 721); hence the siege must have commenced at latest in 723; and it is expressly recorded that in 726 no foreign expeditions were

Hoshea the son of Elah to reign in Samaria over Israel, *and reigned* nine years. And he did that which was evil 2 in the sight of the Lord, yet not as the kings of Israel

undertaken. It is in the highest degree unlikely that all the occurrences of verses 3–5 took place in the years 725–4, if they refer to two different campaigns with a rebellion between. (2) It is thought incredible that Samaria should have held out for three years after the king had been taken prisoner. (3) The capture of the city is dated in the ninth year of Hoshea, showing that in the view of the writer he was still reigning when Samaria was taken. On these last two points the Assyrian inscriptions have so far thrown no light whatever.

Some scholars, following Winckler (*Alttest. Unters.*, p. 15 ff.), explain these difficulties by the hypothesis of two parallel narratives of one campaign: the first (verses 3, 4) describing the fate of the king, and the second (verses 5, 6) the fate of the capital. Of these verses 5, 6 are a duplicate of xviii. 9–11, which may be plausibly assigned to the annals of Judah. To bring verses 3, 4 into line with the theory one or other of two expedients, both suggested by Winckler[1], is adopted. (*a*) Benzinger reads 3^b and 4^a as a retrospective parenthesis—'(for Hoshea had been his vassal and brought him tribute; but the king of Assyria had found, &c.).' The slight emendation necessary to elicit this sense is itself unsatisfactory in point of syntax. (*b*) Kittel adopts the other alternative, which is to delete the name Shalmaneser in verse 3, and take that verse as referring to Hoshea's first submission to Tiglath-pileser immediately after the fall of Pekah. A period of nine years would then intervene between verse 3 and verse 4, which commences the account of Shalmaneser's expedition of 724. But that involves the unnatural assumption that Hoshea, the leader of the Assyrian party, had to be coerced into submission by Tiglath-pileser. It does not appear to us quite certain that verses 3–6 cannot be read as a continuous narrative of Shalmaneser's single campaign, on the lines indicated in the notes below.

xvii. 1, 2. *Introduction.*

1. the twelfth year of Ahaz. This appears to presuppose a ten years' reign of Pekahiah (see on xv. 23). [Nine years of Pekahiah + nineteen of Pekah = two years of Azariah + fifteen of Jotham + eleven of Ahaz.]

3. The grounds of this comparatively lenient estimate of Hoshea do not appear.

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[1] Winckler has now withdrawn his own solution in favour of that of Kittel (see below; cf. *KAT*^{3}, p. 268).

3 that were before him. [**KI**] Against him came up
Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his
4 servant, and brought him presents. And the king of
Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent
messengers to So king of Egypt, and offered no present
to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year:
therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound
5 him in prison. Then the king of Assyria came up
throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and
6 besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea,

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xvii. 3-6. *The Captivity of Israel.*

3. became his servant: or, 'made submission to him.' If the reference be to the invasion of 724, we must suppose that Hoshea went in person to meet Shalmaneser, and tendered his submission in the usual manner by paying tribute. The question is whether the phrase necessarily implies that the submission was accepted. That is certainly the natural implication; and it might fairly enough be urged that any other exegesis unduly strains the language. If so, the attempt to maintain the unity of the passage will have to be abandoned.

4. shut him up: or, 'detained him in custody,' as the word may very well signify (*lit.* 'hindered him'). We may assume, that is, that instead of reinstating Hoshea and releasing him, Shalmaneser holds an investigation into his past conduct; and, finding him to have been in correspondence with the king of Egypt, keeps him a prisoner, and determines to reduce the kingdom to a province of the Assyrian empire.

So should probably read *Sevè* (Assyrian, *Shab'i*). He has commonly been identified with Sabako, the Ethiopian founder of the twenty-fifth dynasty; but this is disputed by Assyriologists, who hold him to have been either one of the petty kings of the Nile Delta (Schrader), or the general of the north-Arabian king of Muẓri (Winckler).

5. Resuming his march, Shalmaneser advances to Samaria; and the army besieges it for three years, he himself having died before its capture (see above).

6. In the ninth year. The chronological difficulty referred to above need not cause much embarrassment. Since Hoshea became king in 732, his nine years' reign would, as a matter of fact, come to an end in 724, two years before the fall of the city. The statement in the text would thus rest on a natural miscalculation of the compiler. Nor is there anything incredible in the

the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away unto Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, *on* the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. [D²] And it was so, because the children of 7

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supposition that the capital offered a strenuous resistance after the arrest of the king.

took Samaria. The following are the words of Sargon's inscription: 'Samaria I besieged and captured; 27,290 of its inhabitants I carried away; fifty chariots I collected from them; the rest I allowed to keep their property; I set my governor over them, and imposed the tribute of the former king upon them' (*COT*, *ad loc.*). The captives were deported to Northern Mesopotamia and Media.

Habor [on] **the river of Gozan** is the modern *Ḥabûr* (Chaboras of the Greeks), a northern affluent of the Euphrates, entering it about the latitude of Hamath on the Orontes.

Gozan (Assyrian, *Guzanu*) seems to have been a province on the upper waters of that river, west of Nisibis.

Halah (which the LXX takes to have been a river) is less securely identified; though a country called *Ḥalaḥḥu*, near Haran, would suit the conditions (see *COT*). If the LXX were right in taking Halah as a river, a conjecture of Winckler's would deserve consideration—that the name is a mistake for *Baliḥ*, the next tributary of the Euphrates west of the Habur.

xvii. 7–23. *Review of the History of the Northern Kingdom.*

The final extinction of the Northern Israel—the larger and more important section of Yahweh's ancient people—was an event that could not fail to make a deep impression on all thoughtful readers of the national history; and the editor is naturally led into a series of reflections on the religious significance of that great catastrophe. He shows it to have been the inevitable consequence of persistent apostasy from Yahweh, and provocation of Him by a gradual assimilation of the worst features of the surrounding heathenism. The stages of this declension are enumerated nearly in historical order: first the adoption of the Canaanite high places with their idolatrous emblems, leading to the worship of images; then, in defiance of all the warnings of Yahweh through the prophets, the introduction of foreign religions, the astral worship of Babylonia, the cult of the Phoenician Baal, and the sacrifice of children to Molech. Finally, emphasis is laid on the evil influence of Jeroboam I, who had established the worship of the golden calves as the religion of the state.

This epilogue cannot as a whole have been written before the Exile, for in verses 19, 20 not only is Judah involved in the

Israel had sinned against the LORD their God, which brought them up out of the land of Egypt from under the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and had feared
8 other gods, and walked in the statutes of the nations, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of
9 Israel, and of the kings of Israel, which they made. And the children of Israel did secretly things that were not right against the LORD their God, and they built them high places in all their cities, from the tower of the
10 watchmen to the fenced city. And they set them up pillars and Asherim upon every high hill, and under
11 every green tree: and there they burnt incense in all the high places, as did the nations whom the LORD carried

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condemnation of Israel, but the captivity of the whole nation is looked back on as an accomplished fact. The survey includes religious sins which were not prominent in Israel (host of heaven, human sacrifice), but were eminently characteristic of the southern kingdom in the seventh century. The style, moreover, is peculiar, being strongly coloured by the phraseology of Jeremiah (see Driver, *Introd.*⁶ p. 203). These are indications that the passage is mainly the work of the younger Deuteronomic editor, who wrote during or after the Exile. The hand of the original compiler—the author of the framework—is perhaps to be recognized in verses 21-23 (which fit in badly with the context), where the fall of Israel is traced to the one sin on which that writer has most insisted—the calf-worship of Jeroboam I. (So Stade; Kittel assigns verse 18 also to the original compiler.)

7. And it was so, because. Strictly, 'And because,' introducing a long protasis of which the apodosis would not be reached till verse 18. But such a construction is un-Hebraic; and it is much better to read, with LXX (L): 'And the wrath of Yahweh was on Israel, because.'

9. did secretly: Heb. 'concealed.' The text is doubtful. Perhaps it should be altered to 'devised' (Klostermann).

from the tower . . . city: apparently a proverbial expression denoting everything that could be called a city: but see xviii. 8.

10. On **pillars and Asherim** see on 1 Kings xiv. 23.

upon every high hill, &c.: cf. xvi. 4; Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6, 13.

11. burnt incense: 'sacrificed.'

away before them ; and wrought wicked things to provoke
the LORD to anger: and they served idols, whereof the 12
LORD had said unto them, Ye shall not do this thing.
Yet the LORD testified unto Israel, and unto Judah, by 13
the hand of every prophet, and of every seer, saying,
Turn ye from your evil ways, and keep my commandments
and my statutes, according to all the law which I commanded
your fathers, and which I sent to you by the
hand of my servants the prophets. Notwithstanding 14
they would not hear, but hardened their neck, like to
the neck of their fathers, who believed not in the LORD
their God. And they rejected his statutes, and his 15
covenant that he made with their fathers, and his
testimonies which he testified unto them; and they
followed vanity, and became vain, and *went* after the
nations that were round about them, concerning whom
the LORD had charged them that they should not do like
them. And they forsook all the commandments of the 16
LORD their God, and made them molten images, even
two calves, and made an Asherah, and worshipped all
the host of heaven, and served Baal. And they caused 17
their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire,
and used divination and enchantments, and sold themselves
to do that which was evil in the sight of the LORD,
to provoke him to anger. [D] Therefore the LORD was 18

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13. Cf. the phrases with Jer. vii. 25, xi. 7, xviii. 11, xxv. 4 f., xxxv. 15, xxxvi. 3, 7.

and of every seer is perhaps an explanatory gloss.

14. would not hear: Jer. vii. 26, xi. 8, &c.

hardened their neck: Deut. x. 16; Jer. vii. 26, xvii. 23, xix. 15.

15. followed vanity . . . vain: Jer. ii. 5.

16. even two calves is a reader's gloss, unduly restricting the reference of the preceding word ('molten images').

all the host of heaven. See later on xxi. 3.

17. caused their sons . . . See on xvi. 3.

very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his
sight: there was none left but the tribe of Judah only.
19 [**D²**] Also Judah kept not the commandments of the
LORD their God, but walked in the statutes of Israel
20 which they made. And the LORD rejected all the seed
of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the
hand of spoilers, until he had cast them out of his sight.
21 [**D**] For he rent Israel from the house of David; and
they made Jeroboam the son of Nebat king: and
Jeroboam drave Israel from following the LORD, and
22 made them sin a great sin. And the children of Israel
walked in all the sins of Jeroboam which he did; they
23 departed not from them; until the LORD removed Israel
out of his sight, as he spake by the hand of all his
servants the prophets. So Israel was carried away out
of their own land to Assyria, unto this day.

24 [**KI**] And the king of Assyria brought men from

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18. the tribe of Judah only. See on 1 Kings xii. 20.

19, 20 are evidently a later comment on verse 18, of which verse verses 21–23 are perhaps the natural sequel. If Kittel be right in thinking that verse 18 is part of the original pre-Exilic epilogue, there is no reason to doubt that verses 19 f. are by the same author as verses 7–17.

21–23 give a new and simpler account of the reasons of Israel's fall: viz. that from the time it became a separate kingdom its public religion had been vitiated by the **great sin** of calf-worship into which Jeroboam I had led it. This harmonizes so completely with the compiler's reiterated condemnation of the offence as to make it highly probable that the verses were written by him.

xvii. 24–41. *The Origin of the Samaritans.*

In accordance with the policy of the later Assyrian kings Sargon repeopled the subjugated province with captives from distant parts of his empire. The new colonists found the country infested with lions, and concluded that they had incurred the displeasure of the local deity, of whose religion they were naturally ignorant. The king of Assyria accordingly sent them one of the exiled Israelitish priests, who took up his residence in Beth-el, and instructed them

Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities

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in the traditional worship of Yahweh. They at the same time continued their ancestral heathen rites, and transformed the ancient high places into sanctuaries of the various gods they had been accustomed to worship. Out of this mixture of races and religions arose the later Samaritan community, which caused so much trouble to the Jews after their return from Exile.

Recent critics (Stade, &c.) distinguish three strata in the narrative: (*a*) verses 24-28, an account of the repopulation of the land, supposed to be taken from an ancient source, probably the chronicles of the kingdom of Israel. To this verse 41 is taken to be the editorial conclusion. (*b*) Verses 29-34^a, an enumeration of the deities worshipped by the colonists, assigned to the younger Deuteronomist. (*c*) Verses 34^b-40 are plainly a late addition, which has indeed no explicit reference to the Samaritans at all. The grounds for separating (*a*) and (*b*), as the work of different authors, are however not very cogent.

xvii. 24–28. *The Foreign Colonists in Samaria.* Winckler has tried to show that the incident belongs to the reign of Asshurbanipal (668–626), on the ground mainly that Sargon took no captives from Babylonia, whereas Asshurbanipal expressly mentions Babylon, Cutha, and Sippar, as cities subdued by him (c. 648), although he says also that he allowed their inhabitants to remain in Babylonia (*KIB*, p. 193). This view is not inconsistent with the terms of the passage before us; and it derives some confirmation from Ezra iv. 10, where the Samaritans trace their foundation to 'the great and noble Osnappar' (i. e. Asshurbanipal). But in verse 2 of the same chapter they trace their ancestry to Esarhaddon. It would appear, therefore, that the colonization of Samaria was effected by successive stages under different Assyrian kings; and Sargon's own inscriptions contain several references to the settlement of captives in *Bit Humri* or Samaria (see *COT*, p. 276 ff.).

24. The **king of Assyria** would naturally be Sargon, the conqueror of Samaria; but there is no difficulty in supposing that the narrative belongs to a later time, and that Asshurbanipal is to be understood.

Cuthah or **Cuth** (verse 30), one of the most ancient cities of Babylonia, is identified with *Tell Ibrāhīm*, north-east of Babylon. The Babylonian name is *Kutu*. In later times the Samaritans were called 'Cuthaeans' by the Jews.

Avva is the same as 'Ivvah (xix. 13), and, though unknown, was probably a Syrian city, like

Hamath, on the Orontes (see on 1 Kings viii. 65).

of Samaria instead of the children of Israel: and they
25 possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof. And
so it was, at the beginning of their dwelling there, that
they feared not the LORD: therefore the LORD sent lions
26 among them, which killed some of them. Wherefore
they spake to the king of Assyria, saying, The nations
which thou hast carried away, and placed in the cities of
Samaria, know not the manner of the God of the land:
therefore he hath sent lions among them, and, behold,
they slay them, because they know not the manner of
27 the God of the land. Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom
ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell
there, and let him teach them the manner of the God of
28 the land. So one of the priests whom they had carried
away from Samaria came and dwelt in Beth-el, and
29 taught them how they should fear the LORD. [**D^2 ?**] How-

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Sepharvaim is also mentioned in xix. 13 (cf. xviii. 34), along with Hamath and 'Ivvah, whence it has been concluded that it too must have been a city of Syria, perhaps the *Shabarain* conquered by Shalmaneser IV (cf. *Sibraim* in Ezek. xlvii. 16). More probably in this passage it is the Babylonian *Sippara*, midway between the Euphrates and the Tigris, north-west of Kutu. Winckler argues that a transportation of Syrians to Palestine is unlikely, on account of the proximity of the two countries; and considers that Hamath and 'Avva have been inserted by mistake from xix. 13. There then remain Babylon, Cuthah, and Sippara, three neighbouring cities of Babylonia, mentioned together in the annals of Asshurbanipal (see above).

26. the manner of the God of the land: the customs by which intercourse with the local deity was regulated. In ancient Semitic religion, not only had each land its own god, but each god had his own ceremonial code, which had to be observed by his worshippers (cf. 1 Kings xx. 23).

27. whom ye brought: better, as LXX (L), 'whom I carried away.' The two following verbs should probably be changed to the singular.

28. taught them how they should fear. Cf. Isaiah's description

beit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt.
And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the 30
men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath
made Ashima, and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak, 31
and the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to
Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim.
So they feared the LORD, and made unto them from 32
among themselves priests of the high places, which
sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places.
They feared the LORD, and served their own gods, after 33
the manner of the nations from among whom they had
been carried away. Unto this day they do after the 34
former manners: [Z] they fear not the LORD, neither do
they after their statutes, or after their ordinances, or after
the law or after the commandment which the LORD
commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named
Israel; with whom the LORD had made a covenant, and 35
charged them, saying, Ye shall not fear other gods, nor

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of the conventional religion of his time (xxix. 13): 'Their fear of me is a human tradition learned by rote.'

xvii. 29-34 [a]. *The Foreign Cults of Samaria.*

30. Succoth-benoth. This name has not been explained. The first part is possibly that of a Babylonian deity *Sakkuth* (see the Commentaries on Amos v. 26); the second has been supposed to be a form of *Bānītu,* a title of the goddess Istar.

Nergal, a war-god in the Babylonian pantheon, also the god of the nether-world, is known to have been the tutelary deity of the city of Kutu (*COT*, p. 283). The remaining Divine names are altogether obscure.

32. sacrificed: *lit.* 'acted,' i. e. 'officiated.'

xvii. 34 [b]-40. *Further Condemnation of the Northern People.* The passage has no obvious connexion with what immediately precedes. The opening words, 'They fear not the Lord,' are in direct opposition to verses 32, 33, 41; and there is hardly anything

bow yourselves to them, nor serve them, nor sacrifice to
36 them: but the LORD, who brought you up out of the
land of Egypt with great power and with a stretched out
arm, him shall ye fear, and unto him shall ye bow your-
37 selves, and to him shall ye sacrifice: and the statutes
and the ordinances, and the law and the commandment,
which he wrote for you, ye shall observe to do for ever-
38 more; and ye shall not fear other gods: and the
covenant that I have made with you ye shall not forget;
39 neither shall ye fear other gods: but the LORD your God
shall ye fear; and he shall deliver you out of the hand
40 of all your enemies. Howbeit they did not hearken, but
41 they did after their former manner. [**D** ?] So these
nations feared the LORD, and served their graven
images; their children likewise, and their children's
children, as did their fathers, so do they unto this day.

18 [**D**] Now it came to pass in the third year of Hoshea

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from beginning to end to show whether the writer has the Samaritans in view. He goes back on the whole history of the northern kingdom, and supplements the indictment of verses 7–23.

xvii. 41 is a note either of the compiler, or of another editor. **unto this day:** cf. verse 34^{a}.

xviii–xxv. HISTORY OF JUDAH ALONE.

xviii–xx. *Hezekiah and Isaiah.* (Cf. 2 Chron. xxix–xxxii.)

For the history of Hezekiah the compiler had at his disposal an important prophetical work, which enabled him to supplement the bare chronicle of current events supplied by his annalistic authorities. This was a biography of the great contemporary prophet Isaiah, similar in general character to the prophetic narratives of Elijah and Elisha which enrich the history of the northern kingdom. To this source we owe the whole of the section xviii. 17—xx. 19, which relates three incidents, in each of which Isaiah plays a conspicuous part. Since this passage is reproduced without material variation in the Book of Isaiah (ch. xxxvi–xxxix), it was a natural conjecture that it was

son of Elah king of Israel, that Hezekiah the son of Ahaz king of Judah began to reign. Twenty and five years 2
old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Abi the daughter of Zechariah. And he did 3
that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done. He removed the 4

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written by Isaiah himself, and had been copied from his pages by the compiler of Kings. A comparison of the two texts, however, proves that on the contrary the editor of the Book of Isaiah found the narrative in the Book of Kings, and transferred it thence to his own work (see Driver, *Introd.*^{6} p. 226 f.). There are, besides, insurmountable historical and literary objections to the theory that the author was Isaiah himself. It is equally certain that the passage is not the composition of the compiler of Kings, but was borrowed by him from an older writing, which may perhaps be identified with the 'Vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz' referred to in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32.

The record of the reign falls into the following divisions: (1) The introduction, including notices of Hezekiah's reforms in the public religion, and his conquest of Philistine territory, xviii. 1-8; (2) a second account of the fall of Samaria, xviii. 9-12; (3) narratives of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, xviii. 13—xix. 37; (4) Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, xx. 1-11; (5) embassy of Merodach-baladan, xx. 12-19; and (6) conclusion, xx. 20, 21.

xviii. 1-8. *Introduction.* The reign of Hezekiah was memorable for the first attempt at a thorough reformation of the cultus, by the suppression of the provincial sanctuaries and the destruction of idolatrous emblems (verse 4). The accuracy of this statement has been widely disputed, but on grounds which seem very insufficient. The notice gives no indication of the period of the reign when the work was undertaken. There is much probability in the view that it took place after the Assyrian invasion of 701, and in consequence of the signal deliverance which Jerusalem, alone of the fenced cities of Judah, then experienced (see W. R. Smith, *Prophets*^{2}, pp. 359-364). That it was due largely to the influence of Isaiah on the king can hardly be doubted.

1. The synchronism is not in agreement with xvi. 1. It was probably arrived at by reckoning backwards from the data of xviii. 9: the sixth year of Hezekiah being the ninth of Hoshea, his first (complete) year would be the fourth of that king, so that his reign would commence in the third of Hoshea.

2. For **Abi**, read 'Abijah,' as 2 Chron. xxix. 1.

high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah: and he brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it; and he called it Nehushtan.
5 He trusted in the LORD, the God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor
6 *among them* that were before him. For he clave to the LORD, he departed not from following him, but kept his commandments, which the LORD commanded Moses.
7 And the LORD was with him; whithersoever he went forth he prospered: and he rebelled against the king of Assyria,
8 and served him not. He smote the Philistines unto Gaza and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.

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4. The word **Asherah** should probably be plural, as in LXX. See further on 1 Kings xiv. 23.

the brasen serpent that Moses had made: cf. Num. xxi. 9.

and he called it: better, as marg., 'and it was called.' Either rendering is defensible, but a statement regarding the real name of the idol is much more to be expected than one as to what Hezekiah called it in the act of destroying it. Only, in this case we must not take the name **Nehushtan** as a diminutive of contempt (= 'piece of brass'). It is not at all certain that the word is a derivative of *neḥôsheth* (brass), although the Massoretes understood it so. More probably it is connected with the word *nāḥāsh* (meaning 'serpent'). Nöldeke considers it a compound of this word with *tan* (dragon); while Klostermann takes the latter element of the compound to be *yathan*, and explains the name as 'primaeval serpent.'

burn incense: 'sacrifice.' We have here an interesting proof of the persistence of serpent-worship in Israel down to this comparatively late date. That the idol stood in the temple and was an emblem of Yahweh, as is often assumed, is not stated.

7. he rebelled: anticipating the fuller account in verses 13 ff.

8. This Philistine campaign may also belong to the latter half of Hezekiah's reign. In 701 Sennacherib assigned a portion of Judaean territory to his faithful vassal the king of Gaza; and it is not improbable that the re-conquest of this territory was the occasion of the struggle which ended in the defeat of Gaza.

from the tower: cf. xvii. 9.

[**KJ**] And it came to pass in the fourth year of king 9
Hezekiah, which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of
Elah king of Israel, that Shalmaneser king of Assyria
came up against Samaria, and besieged it. And at the 10
end of three years they took it: even in the sixth year of
Hezekiah, which was the ninth year of Hoshea king of
Israel, Samaria was taken. And the king of Assyria 11
carried Israel away unto Assyria, and put them in Halah,
and in Habor, *on* the river of Gozan, and in the cities of
the Medes: [**D**] because they obeyed not the voice of 12
the LORD their God, but transgressed his covenant, even
all that Moses the servant of the LORD commanded, and
would not hear it, nor do it.

[**KJ**] Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did 13

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xviii. 9-12. *The Fall of Samaria.* Verses 9-11 are almost identical with xvii. 5, 6, and may possibly be an extract from the annals of Judah, which was repeated in the account of the northern kingdom: see on xvii. 3-6 above. The dates, however, must have been added by the compiler; we have already seen that they are historically incorrect so far as Hoshea is concerned, and it is doubtful if they are reliable as regards Hezekiah. They are certainly irreconcileable with xviii. 13; for if 722 (the year of Samaria's fall) was the sixth of Hezekiah, his fourteenth year cannot have been 701 (the year of Sennacherib's invasion). How to adjust this important discrepancy is one of the standing problems of the chronology of Kings (see on verse 13; and Introd., p. 42 ff.).

xviii. 13—xix. 37. ***Sennacherib's Campaign.*** (Cf. Isa. xxxvi, xxxvii.)

The passage is divided by recent critics into three independent narratives, of which the first (A) was added by the compiler of Kings, while the other two (B and C) were perhaps found by him already amalgamated in the prophetical document (see above, p. 382) which he used as a source.

(A) Ch. xviii. 13-16 is an annalistic account of the invasion, obviously of the same character as verses 9-11 and many other notices which we have assigned to the royal annals. It has long been recognized that verses 14-16, which are not found in Isa. xxxvi, are distinct in origin from the rest of the section; but it is impossible to separate verse 13 from verses 14-16; and the

Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the
14 fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah

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omission of the latter by the editor of Isaiah is simply a proof that he borrowed from the Book of Kings, and left out an incident which had no immediate bearing on the life of the prophet. An external mark of the diversity of sources is found in the spelling of the name Hezekiah (in 13–16, *Ḥizḳiyyāh* : in 17 ff. *Ḥizḳiyyāhû*).

(B) The second narrative begins at xviii. 17 and ends either with xix. 8 or xix. 9^a. It describes with great fullness an attempt of Sennacherib to obtain the surrender of Jerusalem by threats and cajolery, backed by some display of force. The summons was refused on the advice of Isaiah, who predicted that Sennacherib would hear a rumour that would cause him to return to his own land. The question whether this 'rumour' refers to the advance of Tirhakah, or to something else not mentioned, determines whether xix. 9^a belongs to this narrative or the following. On either view, the conclusion of the one and the beginning of the other will have been removed in the process of amalgamation.

(C) In the third narrative, xix. 9 (or 9^b)-35, we read of a threatening letter sent to Hezekiah by Sennacherib with the same object of inducing him to surrender. Again Isaiah encourages him to resistance by an announcement that the king of Assyria would not invest the city, but would return 'by the way that he came.' Then follows (verses 36, 37) the account of the outbreak of pestilence in the Assyrian camp, the retreat of Sennacherib, and his subsequent assassination at Nineveh (681 B. C.). These verses may be the conclusion of (B).

In order to assign their proper historical place and value to these three narratives, it would be necessary to compare them closely with the Assyrian accounts of the campaign, which may be summarized as follows (see *COT*, p. 286 ff., *KIB*, ii. p. 95 ff., and Burney, p. 377 ff.). In his third campaign (701 B. C.) Sennacherib marched against the Western Syrian states, which had been in rebellion since the death of Sargon (705). After subduing Phoenicia, he proceeded southward to the Philistine country, where he encountered a stubborn but ineffectual resistance. After most of their strongholds had been reduced, he met and defeated at Eltekeh (*Altaḳu*) a large army which the 'kings of Egypt and the king of Meluḫḫa' had brought to the assistance of their allies. The remaining cities were then captured, the last to fall being Ekron; and Sennacherib was now free to turn his attention to Hezekiah of Judah, the leading member of the confederacy. Forty-six of his fortresses were taken, Jerusalem was blockaded (though not regularly besieged), the devastated territory was apportioned to various Philistine vassals; when at last Hezekiah, 'overwhelmed king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which

by fear,' made his submission, and paid as tribute 30 talents in gold and 800 in silver, which Sennacherib caused to be sent after him to Nineveh. The circumstances which led to his return to Nineveh are not stated.

1. Now, the first thing that strikes us here is the close correspondence between the latter part of the Assyrian record and the account of (A). There is no item of difference between them for which it would not be easy to suggest an explanation. Even if we suppose the former to mean that Hezekiah sent his tribute direct to Nineveh (which is not at all a necessary conclusion), there would still be no discrepancy; for (A) simply states that Hezekiah made the offer of submission while Sennacherib was in Lachish, but says nothing about the time when the tribute was actually paid. It is important to observe that if we assume the order of Sennacherib's account to be in the main chronological, Hezekiah's submission was subsequent to the battle of Eltekeh, when all hope of succour from Egypt was taken away.

2. The narrative of (B), on the other hand, presents no single point of contact with the cuneiform record. It is tempting at first sight to suppose that the expedition under the Rabshakeh is identical with the blockading corps referred to by Sennacherib, and therefore preceded the submission of Hezekiah. This, however, is inconsistent with the sense of the biblical narrative, which plainly implies that Hezekiah never yielded to this demand for the surrender of his capital. Again, it has been thought that the approach of Tirhakah (xix. 9) corresponds to the advance of the Egyptian army that was defeated at Eltekeh; but the suggestion only adds to the difficulty of the problem, and is itself irreconcileable with the language of Sennacherib[1]. We seem, therefore, shut up to the conclusion that (B) describes an incident regarding which the Assyrian annals are absolutely silent, and belonging to a subsequent stage of the campaign. The demand for the surrender of Jerusalem which Hezekiah successfully resisted must be explained as an afterthought on the part of Sennacherib, the motive for which would be found in the rumoured advance of Tirhakah, if xix. 9^a belongs to this document (see below).

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[1] It rested on the identification (now generally abandoned by Assyriologists) of *Meluḫḫa* (really Western Arabia) with Ethiopia. Sennacherib's account distinctly subordinates the king of Meluḫḫa to the kings of Egypt, which would be impossible if he meant Tirhakah, the supposed over-lord of Egypt.

thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred
15 talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave *him* all the silver that was found in the house of
16 the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house. At

3. With regard to (C), there are two questions: (*a*) Did the original narrative belong to the campaign of 701 at all, or to some later expedition of Sennacherib, in which Jerusalem was again threatened? The latter opinion is ably maintained by Winckler (and accepted by Benzinger), but the evidence appears insufficient to justify so radical a departure from what was admittedly the Hebrew tradition[1]. (*b*) Assuming that (B) and (C) both refer to the year 701, do they describe two successive incidents of that campaign, or are they parallel accounts following different traditions of the same event? The second alternative commends itself to most recent writers (since Stade, 1886), and is here adopted.

xviii. 13–16. *The Annalistic Account.*

13. in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah: implying that his accession was in the year 714. The statement has even less claim to be traditional than verse 9 f., for it is probably a calculation based on xx. 6, and on the assumption that the sickness of Hezekiah happened in the same year as the Assyrian invasion.

14. to Lachish: the most important Judaean fortress in the Shephelah; see on xiv. 19. The siege of Lachish is depicted on a bas-relief of Sennacherib (*COT*, p. 287).

I have offended: *lit.* 'I have sinned.' Sennacherib uses the same word of the disaffection of the Ekronites at this time.

that which thou puttest on me: cf. again Sennacherib: 'To the former tribute . . . I added the tribute befitting my lordship, *and laid it upon him.*'

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[1] Winckler's chief arguments against assigning C to 701 are: (1) The retreat of Sennacherib is ascribed here to a pestilence, whereas in B it is ascribed to a 'rumour'; Winckler explains this as the rumour of a revolt in Babylon which engrossed Sennacherib's attention in the following year. (2) The narrative gives the impression that the death of Sennacherib occurred shortly after his return to Nineveh, whereas it did not take place till 681. (This argument of course falls to the ground if xix. 36 f. are assigned to B.) (3) Tirhakah did not become king of Egypt till 691. (The evidence for this assertion seems incomplete.) Winckler accordingly connects xix. 9^a with C, and brings the events down to a time between 691 and 681.

that time did Hezekiah cut off *the gold from* the doors
of the temple of the LORD, and *from* the pillars which
Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the
king of Assyria. [**I**] And the king of Assyria sent Tartan 17
and Rabsaris and Rabshakeh from Lachish to king
Hezekiah with a great army unto Jerusalem. And they
went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were
come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the
upper pool, which is in the high way of the fuller's field.
And when they had called to the king, there came out 18
to them Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the
household, and Shebnah the scribe, and Joah the son of
Asaph the recorder. And Rabshakeh said unto them, 19

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16. which Hezekiah . . . overlaid. Should it be 'Solomon'?

xviii. 17—xix. 9^{a}. *First Prophetic Narrative.* We take it to have been after the submission of Hezekiah, and in consequence of another threatened attack from Egypt, that Sennacherib sent a detachment of his army to Jerusalem under the Rabshakeh and other officers. The object of the demonstration was to obtain possession of the city, partly by a display of force, and partly by incitements to the populace to rebel against their king. Hezekiah, in deep distress, sends a deputation to the prophet Isaiah, who gives a reassuring answer, predicting a speedy withdrawal of the invaders, and the death of the king of Assyria. The Rabshakeh returns to his master at Libnah; and soon after Sennacherib hears a rumour of the approach of Tirhakah the Ethiopian. Here the first narrative is broken off.

17. Of the three Assyrian officers mentioned here, Isa. xxxvi. 2 names only the **Rabshakeh** (so xix. 8). This title is said to mean 'Chief of the Officers.' The **Tartan** was the commander-in-chief (Isa. xx. 1). **Rabsaris** ought to mean 'Chief of the Eunuchs,' but the word has not been found in Assyrian.

the conduit . . . &c.: cf. Isa. vii. 3. The spot cannot be certainly located, but must have been within earshot of the wall. For the various conjectures, see the Commentaries on Isaiah.

18. On **Eliakim** and **Shebnah,** cf. Isa. xxii. 15 ff. On the three offices, see 1 Kings iv. 1 ff.

19. The speech of the Rabshakeh discusses two possible grounds of confidence which might be in the minds of Hezekiah and his

Say ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the
king of Assyria, What confidence is this wherein thou
20 trustest? Thou sayest, but they are but vain words,
There is counsel and strength for the war. Now on whom
dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against me?
21 Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised
reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go
into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt
22 unto all that trust on him. But if ye say unto me, We
trust in the LORD our God: is not that he, whose high
places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and
hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall worship
23 before this altar in Jerusalem? Now therefore, I pray
thee, give pledges to my master the king of Assyria, and
I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on
24 thy part to set riders upon them. How then canst thou
turn away the face of one captain of the least of my

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advisers: expectation of help from Egypt, and faith in the power of Yahweh.

20. Render, 'Thou thinkest that a mere word of the lips is counsel and strength for war!'—referring (probably) to the empty promises of the Egyptians.

21. For the idea, cf. Isa. xxx. 1-5; for the expression, Ezek. xxix. 6, 7.

22. Cf. verse 4. The argument is a somewhat singular one in the mouth of a heathen soldier, and if really used by him would show how closely the Assyrians watched the internal affairs of the nations within their sphere of influence. The speech, however, is a free composition of the narrator; and only proves that in his view the reformation of Hezekiah was accomplished before 701. At the same time, the verse certainly affords independent evidence that such a reformation actually took place.

23. give pledges to: better, as marg., 'make a wager with.' Want of cavalry was the weak point in the armament of Judah at this time (verse 24; Isa. xxx. 16, xxxi. 1, 3).

24. The word for **captain** (strictly 'governor' of a province) is here both unsuitable and grammatically harsh: it should probably be deleted as a gloss.

master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots
and for horsemen? Am I now come up without the 25
LORD against this place to destroy it? The LORD said
unto me, Go up against this land, and destroy it. Then 26
said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebnah, and Joah,
unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the
Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not
with us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people
that are on the wall. But Rabshakeh said unto them, 27
Hath my master sent me to thy master, and to thee, to
speak these words? *hath he* not *sent me* to the men which
sit on the wall, to eat their own dung, and to drink their
own water with you? Then Rabshakeh stood, and cried 28
with a loud voice in the Jews' language, and spake, saying,
Hear ye the word of the great king, the king of Assyria.
Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you; for 29
he shall not be able to deliver you out of his hand:
neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the LORD, saying, 30
The LORD will surely deliver us, and this city shall not
be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. Hearken 31

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and put thy trust: better perhaps, 'seeing thou hast put thy trust.' But the sequence is difficult.

25. The Assyrian represents himself as commissioned by Yahweh to avenge the destruction of his sanctuaries. A precisely similar sentiment was expressed by Cyrus in connexion with his conquest of Babylon. That the words embody no serious conviction is clear from verse 35.

26. Syrian, or 'Aramaic,' was the language of commerce and diplomacy in Western Asia, though not yet understood by the common people. Hebrew is called **Jewish** in only one other (post-Exilic) passage, Neh. xiii. 24.

27. to eat . . . The words, of course, express not the desire or intention of the king of Assyria (observe the antithesis in verse 31), but the inevitable result of fidelity to Hezekiah's ruinous policy.

29. out of his hand must either be read 'out of my hand' (so LXX (L), &c.), or omitted entirely, as in Isa. xxxvi. 14.

not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, Make your peace with me, and come out to me; and eat ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern;
32 until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil olive and of honey, that ye may live, and not die: and hearken not unto Hezekiah, when he
33 persuadeth you, saying, The LORD will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations ever delivered his land
34 out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah? have they delivered
35 Samaria out of my hand? Who are they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of my hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem
36 out of my hand? But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the king's commandment
37 was, saying, Answer him not. Then came Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and

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31. Make your peace with me: *lit.* as marg. 'Make with me a blessing.' The phrase is not found elsewhere, and is not easy to explain.

come out to me: the regular expression for surrendering a city (1 Sam. xi. 3; Jer. xxi. 9, &c.).

and eat ye: 'that ye may eat,' by resuming the cultivation of your fields and vineyards.

32. The Rabshakeh is very honest: he does not conceal from them that their ultimate fate will be deportation.

34. On **Hamath, Sepharvaim,** and **Ivvah,** see xvii. 24. Sepharvaim must here be a Syrian city, and also **Hena,** of which nothing is known.

Arpad is now *Tell 'Erfād*, near Aleppo. The conquests must have been all recent, since the time of Tiglath-pileser: Hamath fell in 720, Arpad about 740.

have they delivered Samaria. It is quite necessary here to restore a clause preserved in LXX (L), and read: 'Where are the gods of the land of Samaria? Have they delivered?' &c.

Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder, to Hezekiah with their clothes rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

And it came to pass, when king Hezekiah heard it, 19
that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with
sackcloth, and went into the house of the LORD. And 2
he sent Eliakim, which was over the household, and
Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests, covered
with sackcloth, unto Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz.
And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, This day 3
is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of contumely: for
the children are come to the birth, and there is not
strength to bring forth. It may be the LORD thy God 4
will hear all the words of Rabshakeh, whom the king of
Assyria his master hath sent to reproach the living God,
and will rebuke the words which the LORD thy God hath
heard: wherefore lift up thy prayer for the remnant that
is left. So the servants of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah. 5
And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say to your 6
master, Thus saith the LORD, Be not afraid of the words

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xix. **1. went into the house of the LORD.** See verse 14. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 33, 34.

2. unto Isaiah. Isaiah had for years been straining all his influence to avert the suicidal policy of rebellion against Assyria; but his counsels had been overborne by the war-party in the court. The hour of his vindication has come, when a deputation, including one of his bitterest opponents (Shebna: Isa. xxii. 15 ff.), waits upon him from the king, beseeching his intercession and advice.

3. of trouble . . . contumely: better, 'of distress and punishment and rejection.'

the children are come: obviously a proverbial figure for a dangerous crisis which there is no strength to meet: cf. Hos. xiii. 13; Isa. lxvi. 9.

4. the LORD thy God. The prophet stands nearer to God than other men; hence his intercession may be efficacious when the prayers of worldly men are of no avail.

6. Isaiah has his answer ready, having already received a revelation from Yahweh.

that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king
7 of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will put
a spirit in him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall
return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by
the sword in his own land.

8 So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria
warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was
9 departed from Lachish. And when he heard say of
Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to
fight against thee: [I²] he sent messengers again unto

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the servants: *lit.* 'the young men,' as 1 Kings xx. 14.

7. put a spirit in him: a spirit of craven fear, depriving him of his natural resolution and courage. How the spirit will work is explained by what follows, **he shall hear a rumour.** The rumour is no doubt that of the approach of Tirhakah (verse 9). It is certainly remarkable that there is no allusion to the pestilence by which Sennacherib's enterprise was shattered.

8. On **Libnah,** see viii. 22. The neighbouring Lachish had apparently capitulated in the interval.

9ᵃ. Tirhakah (Assyrian, *Tarḳu*) is mentioned only here (and Isa. xxxvii. 9) in the O. T. The difficulty as to the year of his accession (see p. 388 above) still awaits final solution; but it is to be observed that he is not here called 'king of Egypt,' and the event may very well have preceded the establishment of his definite suzerainty in the Nile valley. It may be held, at all events provisionally, that he was a power in the background acting in concert with the Egyptian princes; and that after the defeat of his allies at Eltekeh he prepared himself for a struggle with the Assyrian.

xix. 9ᵇ-35. *Second Prophetic Narrative.* This account differs from the first chiefly in these particulars: (1) Sennacherib's demand is conveyed by a letter, and is not backed by military force. (2) Isaiah's interposition is spontaneous. (3) His message to the king is different, both in form and substance. It consists, indeed, of two distinct oracles; one (verses 21-28) being a metrical composition in what is commonly called the elegiac measure; and the other (verses 32-34), a short prophetic utterance, in ordinary prose style. The intervening verses (29-31), though also in prose, are an appendix to the poetical passage. Since verses 32-34 contain the direct answer to Hezekiah's prayer, and are the natural continuation of verse 20, it is almost

Hezekiah, saying, Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king 10
of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trustest
deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into
the hand of the king of Assyria. Behold, thou hast 11
heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands,
by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered?
Have the gods of the nations delivered them, which my 12
fathers have destroyed, Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph,
and the children of Eden which were in Telassar? Where 13
is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the
king of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah?
And Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the 14
messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up unto
the house of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD.

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certain that verses 21–31 are an insertion from an unknown independent source.

9ᵇ. he sent messengers again. The word represented by 'again' does not appear in the corresponding verse in Isaiah, where it is replaced by 'And he heard.' Both words are doubtless editorial insertions to connect this narrative with the preceding, the original text having been simply 'And he sent messengers.' The narrative on which we are entering has been, of course, abridged by omission of the introduction.

10. Thus shall ye speak . . . saying. The clause is omitted by the LXX, and the direction appears superfluous: though it is not impossible that the letter (verse 14) was accompanied by an oral message.

12, 13. Most of the names here mentioned have already occurred: see xvii. 6, 24, xviii. 33 f. **Haran** (Gen. xi. 31, &c.) was the great commercial emporium of Northern Mesopotamia; it was situated on the Baliḥ, a northern tributary of the Euphrates (see on xvii. 6). **Rezeph** (Assyrian, *Raṣappa*, now *Ruṣāfe*) lies south of the Euphrates on the road from Haran to Palmyra. **Eden** is the small kingdom called *Bit 'Adini*, on the upper Euphrates; and **Telassar,** apparently one of its cities, though not certainly identified. The whole of these provinces had long been incorporated in the Assyrian empire.

14. spread it before the LORD: that Yahweh might see, and take notice of its blasphemous arrogance.

15 And Hezekiah prayed before the LORD, and said, O
LORD, the God of Israel, that sittest upon the cherubim,
thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms
16 of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth. Incline
thine ear, O LORD, and hear; open thine eyes, O LORD,
and see: and hear the words of Sennacherib, wherewith
17 he hath sent him to reproach the living God. Of a truth,
LORD, the kings of Assyria have laid waste the nations
18 and their lands, and have cast their gods into the fire:
for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands,
wood and stone; therefore they have destroyed them.
19 Now therefore, O LORD our God, save thou us, I beseech
thee, out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth
may know that thou art the LORD God, even thou only.
20 Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah, saying,
Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Whereas thou
hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria,

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15. sittest (enthroned) **upon** (or, 'over') **the cherubim.** Whatever the original idea of the cherubim may have been (see p. 113), the reference here is merely to the two figures in the inner shrine of the temple. Cf. 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; Ps. lxxx. 2, xcix. 1.

16. hath sent him. Omit 'him' with Isa. xxxvii. 17. The clause seems to be borrowed from verse 4.

17. have laid waste. It is better to read 'have devoted them,' as in verse 11 (marg.). The two Hebrew verbs differ but in a single letter, and the one here found is hardly ever used of nations.

18. wood and stone: cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64, xxix. 17, &c.

19. Let Yahweh now show, in contrast with the deities of the heathen, that he alone possesses true Godhead! The last clause is better rendered: 'that thou, Yahweh, art God alone.'

20. The answer to the prayer comes in the form of a message from Isaiah. The verse was originally the protasis to verse 32, though the construction is now obscured by the addition of the words **I have heard** thee, which are not in Isaiah, and should be omitted.

I have heard *thee.* [?] This is the word that the LORD 21
hath spoken concerning him: The virgin daughter of
Zion hath despised thee and laughed thee to scorn; the
daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee.
Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and 22
against whom hast thou exalted thy voice and lifted up
thine eyes on high? *even* against the Holy One of Israel.
By thy messengers thou hast reproached the Lord, and 23
hast said, With the multitude of my chariots am I come
up to the height of the mountains, to the innermost parts
of Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof,
and the choice fir trees thereof: and I will enter into his
farthest lodging place, the forest of his fruitful field.
I have digged and drunk strange waters, and with the 24
sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of Egypt.
Hast thou not heard how I have done it long ago, and 25
formed it of ancient times? now have I brought it to
pass, that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities

21^b commences the poetic oracle, which is a taunt-song over the ignominious defeat of the Assyrian. The so-called elegiac rhythm, which can be traced to the end of verse 28, consists in the alternation of longer and shorter lines, generally in the proportion of three pulses to two, thus:

'She mócks thee, she púts thee to scórn—the vírgin of Zíon;
Behínd thee sháking her heád —Jerúsalem's daúghter.'

shaken her head: a gesture of derision; Ps. xxii. 7, cix. 25; Jer. xviii. 16; Lam. ii. 15, &c.

23, 24. am I come up . . . Lebanon. It was a favourite boast of Assyrian monarchs that they had penetrated 'trackless paths and difficult mountains on wheels of iron and bronze' (see Cheyne, *Proph. of Isaiah*, i. p. 219). The verbs in the two verses should be pointed and translated as perfects.

24. strange (or, 'foreign') **waters:** cf. Prov. v. 15, ix. 17.

rivers of Egypt is undoubtedly more correct than the marginal 'defence,' though in Sennacherib's time no Assyrian army had set foot in Egypt.

25. The Divine answer to the impious boast: in all his successes the Assyrian had been the instrument of Yahweh's eternal purpose.

26 into ruinous heaps. Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as corn blasted before it
27 be grown up. But I know thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy raging against me.
28 Because of thy raging against me, and for that thine arrogancy is come up into mine ears, therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.
29 And this shall be the sign unto thee: ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit

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Cf. Isa. x. 6 ff., xlv. 1 ff. It is better to render: 'Hast thou not heard? Long ago have I made it; from the days of old have I formed it,' &c.

26. Render, 'while their inhabitants, being of small power, were terrified,' &c.

grass on the housetops. See Ps. cxxix. 6–8.

corn blasted . . . grown up. The words in the Hebrew give no sense: there is obviously some confusion between the end of this verse and the beginning of the next. The best reading is perhaps that given by Kittel, combining a conjecture of Thenius with another by Wellhausen, and changing the first word in accordance with Isa. xxxvii. 27. Read accordingly, 'like a corn-field before the east wind,' continuing in verse

27, 'Before me is thy rising up and thy sitting down (cf. Ps. cxxxix. 2), and thy going out and thy coming in I know.' The remaining words, **and thy raging against me,** have to be struck out, for metrical reasons (see next verse).

28. my hook in thy nose: cf. Ezek. xix. 4, xxix. 4, xxxviii. 4.

the way by which thou camest. See verse 33.

29. The **sign** offered to Hezekiah is of the same nature as that of Exod. iii. 12, &c.; i. e. it consists of a natural series of events which when they happened would attest that the circumstances had been accurately foreseen by the prophet. It refers to the suspension of regular husbandry till the third year from the time of prediction. In the current year the people would eat *ṣāphîăḥ*

thereof. And the remnant that is escaped of the house 30
of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit
upward. For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, 31
and out of mount Zion they that shall escape: the zeal
of the LORD shall perform this. [I^2] Therefore thus saith 32
the LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not
come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither
shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount
against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall 33
he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith the
LORD. For I will defend this city to save it, for mine 34
own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the 35
LORD went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians

(Lev. xxv. 5, 11), the growth from shaken ears of corn; in the following year, *ṣāḥîsh* (in Isaiah *shāḥîs*, the word does not occur elsewhere), i. e. grain that shoots up of itself; only in the third year will the fields be sown and reaped in the usual way. This implies that the Assyrians had been in the land in time to destroy one harvest (April, May), and would stay long enough to prevent the ploughing and sowing for the next. The proper sowing time was from October to November; but Wetzstein states that unless the ground be repeatedly broken up during the summer the next crop will not mature. If therefore the occupation lasted well through the summer of 701, there would be no harvest in 700—the year of the *ṣāḥîsh*. The year of the *ṣāphîăḥ* is that in which Isaiah speaks—the old Hebrew year commencing in the autumn.

30, 31. The idea of the remnant is a characteristic doctrine of Isaiah.

the zeal of the LORD: cf. Isa. ix. 7.

32. Therefore, resuming the 'whereas' of verse 20, introduces the original oracle of Isaiah, according to this narrative.

33. Cf. verse 28. It is singular that none of these predictions of Isaiah goes beyond the withdrawal of Sennacherib to his own land. There is no hint of the appalling disaster recorded in verse 35.

35. the angel of the LORD is associated with the pestilence in 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f. The main fact is confirmed by an Egyptian legend recorded by Herodotus (ii. 141), according to which

an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when men
arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead
36 corpses. [I] So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed,
37 and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it
came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of
Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer smote
him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of
Ararat. And Esar-haddon his son reigned in his stead.

20 [I^2] In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And

Sennacherib's invasion of Egypt was frustrated by field-mice (symbol of pestilence) gnawing the bows of the soldiers and the thongs of their shields during the night.

xix. **36, 37** are the conclusion of the first narrative, continuing verse 9^a. The death of Sennacherib took place in 681: a notice of the assassination is found in the Babylonian chronicle (*KIB*, ii. p. 281 ff.). An Assyrian god **Nisroch** is not known: the name might be a corruption of *Nusku*, a solar deity.

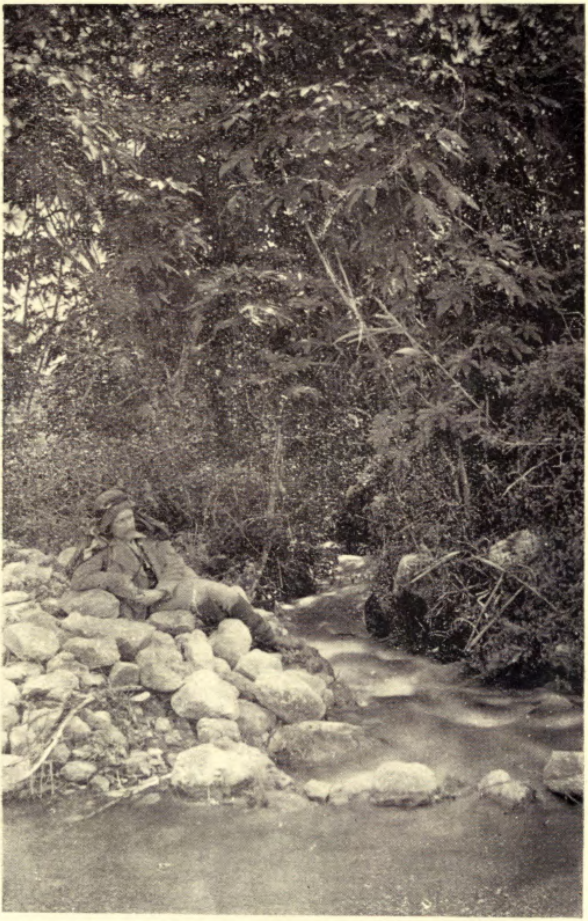
Adrammelech is named as the parricide by profane historians (though the inscriptions mention only one son and give no name); **Sharezer** is mentioned only here.

the land of Ararat is Armenia (Assyrian, *Urartu*).

Esar-haddon reigned from 681–668.

xx. 1–11. *Hezekiah's Sickness and Recovery* (Isa. xxxviii. 1–8, 21, 22). The narrative certainly belongs to one of the Isaiah-biographies—most probably the second. In verse 6^b there is an allusion to the Assyrian peril, which would indicate that the incident took place during the invasion, though it shows at the same time that it cannot have been subsequent to the deliverance of xix. 35 ff. The verse, however, is largely a reproduction of xix. 34, and is on other grounds strongly suspected of being an interpolation. Historical probability points to the conclusion that the events happened long before 701: see further on verses 12–19. Comparing the text with Isa. xxxviii, we discover important differences, which cannot be wholly explained by disturbance due to the insertion in Isaiah of the Psalm of Hezekiah. They rather indicate that the latter part of the narrative (referring to the sign) has undergone considerable modification at the hands of successive editors.

1. In those days. Many commentators are of opinion that in the original life of Isaiah this chapter preceded the account of the invasion; and that the opening phrase refers to some other



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JERICHO: ELISHA'S FOUNTAIN

Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz came to him, and
said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in
order; for thou shalt die, and not live. Then he turned 2
his face to the wall, and prayed unto the LORD, saying,
Remember now, O LORD, I beseech thee, how I have 3
walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart,
and have done that which is good in thy sight. And
Hezekiah wept sore. And it came to pass, afore Isaiah 4
was gone out into the middle part of the city, that the
word of the LORD came to him, saying, Turn again, and 5
say to Hezekiah the prince of my people, Thus saith the
LORD, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy
prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will heal thee:
on the third day thou shalt go up unto the house of the
LORD. And I will add unto thy days fifteen years; and 6
I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the

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incident which had been previously related. At all events, the expression cannot be taken to prove that the sickness of Hezekiah followed the invasion of Sennacherib.

Set thine house in order: the last duty of a dying man (1 Kings ii. 1-9; 2 Sam. xvii. 23).

2. turned his face. Cf. 1 Kings xxi. 4.

3. with a perfect heart and **good in thy sight:** favourite expressions of the compiler of Kings (1 Kings viii. 61, xi. 4, 38, xv. 3, 14, &c.).

4. gone out into. . . . Read, with marg., 'gone out of the middle court.' On the 'middle court' see on 1 Kings vii. 8. The verse is greatly abridged in Isa. xxxviii. 4.

5. prince of my people: cf. 1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 1; 1 Kings i. 35.

6. fifteen years: agreeing with xviii. 2 and 13. It is extremely probable that the date in xviii. 13 was arrived at by calculation based on xviii. 2 and this verse (deducting fifteen years from the twenty-nine years of the reign gives the fourteenth year as the date of the sickness). On the further question whether the calculation is erroneous, or whether an editor has merely transferred the date of the sickness to the invasion of 701, see note on xx. 12-19 below.

and I will deliver . . . sake. Since these words somewhat

king of Assyria; and I will defend this city for mine own
7 sake, and for my servant David's sake. And Isaiah said,
Take a cake of figs. And they took and laid it on the
8 boil, and he recovered. And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah,
What shall be the sign that the LORD will heal me, and
that I shall go up unto the house of the LORD the third
9 day? And Isaiah said, This shall be the sign unto thee
from the LORD, that the LORD will do the thing that he
hath spoken: shall the shadow go forward ten steps, or
10 go back ten steps? And Hezekiah answered, It is a light
thing for the shadow to decline ten steps: nay, but let
11 the shadow return backward ten steps. And Isaiah the
prophet cried unto the LORD: and he brought the shadow

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mar the connexion with verse 7, and are partly repeated from xix. 34, it is reasonable to suppose that they have been inserted by the compiler.

7. The medicinal use of figs is mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxiii. 7: 'ad aperienda ulcera'), and is kept up by Oriental physicians to the present day. There is nothing to warrant the opinion that the sickness was a sporadic case of the pestilence that had destroyed Sennacherib's host.

8. The request for a sign is not unnatural, even after the crisis of the disease had passed, though it may have been some feeling of that kind that induced the editor of Isaiah to omit verse 7. The account of the sign, however, is given in Isaiah in a much simpler form; and it is difficult to resist the impression that the tradition has been amplified in Kings. Thus it is probable that verse 9 followed immediately on verse 7, and that the sign was voluntarily appointed by Isaiah (cf. xix. 29), without the offer of an alternative between two miracles.

9. shall the shadow, &c. The Hebrew reads (as in marg.), 'the shadow is gone forward ten steps'; to which the only natural continuation would be: 'it shall go back ten steps' (omitting the particle *'im* = 'or'). This corresponds to the representation in Isaiah (xxxviii. 8).

10 belongs to the later version of the incident, being based on the misconception of verse 9 just pointed out.

decline is the same as 'go forward' in verse 9; this is **a light thing,** being at the most only an acceleration, not easily verified, of the natural order of things.

ten steps backward, by which it had gone down on the dial of Ahaz.

At that time Berodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, 12

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11. by which it had gone down. The Hebrew verb is feminine, whereas 'shadow' (the antecedent to 'it') is masculine. The text has evidently been accommodated to Isa. xxxviii. 8, where the sun itself (often feminine in Hebrew) is said to have turned back.

the dial of Ahaz: *lit.* 'the steps of Ahaz' (marg.). There is little in the passage to suggest that a regularly constructed sundial is meant, although such implements were known to the Babylonians (Herod. ii. 109) and might have been introduced in Jerusalem. A shadow falling on a flight of steps in the palace court, and affording a rough measure of time, would sufficiently explain the terms used.

xx. 12–19. *The Embassy of Merodach-baladan* (Isa. xxxix). Merodach-baladan was the ruler of Bit Yakin, a small Chaldaean state at the head of the Persian Gulf. With the help of the Elamites he had seized Babylon in the year 721, and reigned there till 710, when he was expelled by Sargon. In the beginning of Sennacherib's reign (*c.* 702) he again established himself in Babylon, but held the throne only about nine months. Since his final overthrow by Sennacherib preceded the campaign of 701, it is clear that the narratives of ch. xx belong to an earlier date than those of chs. xviii, xix. It is important to determine whether the embassy here recorded was sent during his earlier reign of twelve years (721–710), or during his short tenure of power in 702. The probabilities of the case are all in favour of the earlier date. Merodach-baladan's position in 702 was too insecure to afford opportunities for negotiations with distant enemies or disaffected provinces of the Assyrian Empire. We may therefore assume that the incident took place some time between 721 and 710; and we have to consider how the assumption bears on the serious difficulty presented by the chronology of Hezekiah's reign. If the accession of Hezekiah be put in 727 (see Introd. p. 43 f.), then the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (*c.* 714) might be the correct date of his sickness and of Merodach-baladan's embassy; and the mistake of the editor in xviii. 13 might have arisen solely from the erroneous assumption that these events were the immediate sequel of the invasion of Judah, which actually occurred thirteen years later. If, however, Hezekiah's accession is brought down to 720, it is plain that the Babylonian mission cannot be assigned even approximately to his fourteenth year. (See further Winckler, *Alttest. Unters.* p. 138 ff.)

12. For **Berodach-baladan,** read 'Merodach-baladan,' as in

king of Babylon, sent letters and a present unto Hezekiah: for he had heard that Hezekiah had been sick.
13 And Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and shewed them all the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oil, and the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion,
14 that Hezekiah shewed them not. Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country,
15 even from Babylon. And he said, What have they seen in thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All that is in mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my
16 treasures that I have not shewed them. And Isaiah said
17 unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of the Lord. Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that

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Isa. xxxix. 1 (so also LXX). The Babylonian form is 'Marduk-habal-iddina.'

that Hezekiah had been sick. Read, as Isa. xxxix. 1, 'that he had been sick and had recovered.' The motive alleged was merely a pretext to cover the real political object of the mission, which was to form a league against Assyria.

13. For **hearkened unto them** we should again read as in Isaiah (and LXX): 'was glad because of them'—his vanity was flattered.

the house of his precious things. The Hebrew *bêth nĕkôth* is the equivalent of the Assyrian *bīt nakanti*, i. e. 'treasure-house' (so LXX (L), &c.). The resemblance to the word for 'spices,' on which the marginal rendering reposes, is accidental.

the spices . . . oil: natural products of the land, stored for commerce; cf. 1 Kings x. 10.

the house of his armour is possibly the same as the House of the Forest of Lebanon (1 Kings vii. 2 ff.; cf. Isa. xxii. 8).

14. The prophet's interposition shows that he suspected the king of a disposition to join an alliance against Assyria—a policy to which Isaiah was always resolutely opposed.

17, 18 are a prophecy of the Babylonian Captivity, not of the imprisonment of Manasseh in Babylon in the reign of Asshur-

which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the LORD. And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, 18
which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.
Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good is the word of the 19
LORD which thou hast spoken. He said moreover, Is it not so, if peace and truth shall be in my days? [**D**] Now 20
the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made the pool, and the conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And Hezekiah 21
slept with his fathers: and Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

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bani-pal (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). It is, however, the only case where such a prediction is attributed to Isaiah; and it is not possible to reconcile it with his known anticipation of the course of events. We must suppose that the message of the prophet on this occasion had reached the late writer of the narrative in a form coloured by subsequent history.

18. The words **which thou shalt beget** imply that the calamity would fall on Hezekiah's own children. They are possibly an explanatory gloss.

19. Good is the word of the LORD: an expression of pious resignation. The second half of the verse is wanting in the LXX, and is given in a somewhat different form in Isa. xxxix. 8. On the postponement of a calamity as a mitigation of punishment, see xxii. 18 ff., 1 Kings xxi. 28 f.

xx. 20, 21. *Concluding Notice on Hezekiah.*

20. how he made the pool, &c. The reference is undoubtedly to the so-called Siloam canal, by which the water of the Virgin's Spring (Gihon, 1 Kings i. 33) was conducted through the temple mount to the Pool of Siloam on the west side of the hill. Cf. the fuller statement of 2 Chron. xxxii. 30: 'Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon, and brought them straight down on the west side of the city of David.' (See also Ecclus. xlviii. 17). That this important work was really executed by Hezekiah there is no good reason to doubt. Its purpose was to secure the water of the spring (which lay outside the eastern wall) for the inhabitants of the city during a siege.

21 Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign; and he reigned five and fifty years in Jerusalem:

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xxi. 1–18. *The Reign of Manasseh.* (2 Chron. xxxiii. 1–20.)

With the accession of Manasseh at the early age of twelve the idolatrous and anti-prophetic party in the state seems to have recovered its influence in the royal councils. The note of the reign was reaction against the religious policy pursued by the last king in his effort to centralize and purify the national worship. The reforming measures of Hezekiah were reversed, the worst abuses of former times were revived, and new forms of heathenism and superstition, partly due to prolonged contact with Assyria, were introduced. It is probable that verse 16 refers to a wholesale persecution of prophets and others who set themselves against the current which threatened to efface everything distinctive of the nationality and religion of Israel. After ages looked back on this long and evil reign as the time when the doom of the nation was irrevocably sealed, and the captivity of Israel decreed by Yahweh. (Cf. xxiii. 26.)

The account of the reign appears to be wholly the work of the two chief editors of Kings, and contains no statement that can be definitely assigned to an independent source, although one at least was available (verse 17). The introductory and closing formulas are of course to be assigned to the main compiler, and probably also verse 16. Verses 7–15, which presuppose the Exile, and show how that calamity was rendered inevitable by the sins of Manasseh, in spite of Yahweh's promises regarding the temple, are supposed to have been added by the Exilic redactor from whose hand the book was finally issued. In the remaining verses (2^b–6) it is quite impossible to discriminate between the two editors.

It may be noted that the reign of Manasseh coincides with the highest development of Assyrian power in the west. The long-coveted conquest of Egypt was effected by Esar-haddon (681–668) in 670, and was maintained in the early years of Asshur-bani-pal (668–626). That Manasseh was a vassal of Assyria might safely be taken for granted; and we have monumental evidence of the fact in two lists of tributary princes (one of Esar-haddon's reign, and the other of Asshur-bani-pal's) where his name occurs (*COT*, *ad loc.*). The account of his being taken as a prisoner to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11–13) is thought to be connected with his participation in the revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin, brother of Asshur-bani-pal (*c.* 647). There is no reason to question the historicity of the notice in Chronicles, although the further statement that he repented and reversed the policy of his earlier reign is harder to believe in the face of the silence of Kings.

and his mother's name was Hephzi-bah. And he did 2
that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, after the
abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out
before the children of Israel. For he built again the 3
high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed;
and he reared up altars for Baal, and made an Asherah,
as did Ahab king of Israel, and worshipped all the host
of heaven, and served them. And he built altars in the 4
house of the LORD, whereof the LORD said, In Jerusalem
will I put my name. And he built altars for all the host 5
of heaven in the two courts of the house of the LORD.
And he made his son to pass through the fire, and 6
practised augury, and used enchantments, and dealt with

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2. did that which was evil. . . . The expression refers as usual to sins of *cultus* committed by Manasseh. These are enumerated in the succeeding verses, and are condemned from three points of view: (*a*) as a repetition of the abominations of the aboriginal Canaanites (verses 2, 9, 11: cf. xvi. 3, xvii. 8, 11); (*b*) as an imitation of the heathenism of the house of Ahab (verse 3: cf. xvi. 3); and (*c*) as a profanation of the temple (verses 7 ff.).

3. On Hezekiah's reformation, see xviii. 4; on Ahab's Baal-altar and Asherah, 1 Kings xvi. 32 f. For **altars** the LXX has, here and in verses 4, 5, 'altar.'

all the host of heaven: the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, and stars), as xvii. 16; Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3, &c. This astral worship had its origin and centre in Babylonia, and was naturalized in Judah in consequence of its long subjection to the influence of Assyrian civilization. The allusions in the contemporary literature (Deut.; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13: cf. Jer. xliv. 17 ff., &c.) show how prevalent it became in the century preceding the Exile.

4. In Jerusalem . . . name: referring to the building of the temple; cf. 1 Kings viii. 16, ix. 3.

5. in the two courts. So far as we know the pre-Exilic temple had only one court. Either the expression includes the palace-court, or the language is accommodated to the arrangement of the second temple, in which case it would be an interpolation (superfluous in any case after verse 4).

6. On child-sacrifice, see xvi. 3.

practised . . . enchantments. See Deut. xviii. 10, 11, where all the offences specified in this verse are expressly forbidden.

dealt with. Render, as marg., 'appointed,' legalizing a

them that had familiar spirits, and with wizards: he
wrought much evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke
7 him to anger. [D^2] And he set the graven image of
Asherah, that he had made, in the house of which the
LORD said to David and to Solomon his son, In this
house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all
8 the tribes of Israel, will I put my name for ever: neither
will I cause the feet of Israel to wander any more out of
the land which I gave their fathers; if only they will
observe to do according to all that I have commanded
them, and according to all the law that my servant
9 Moses commanded them. But they hearkened not: and
Manasseh seduced them to do that which is evil more
than did the nations, whom the LORD destroyed before
10 the children of Israel. And the LORD spake by his
11 servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh king of
Judah hath done these abominations, and hath done
wickedly above all that the Amorites did, which were
before him, and hath made Judah also to sin with his

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practice that had long been recognized as opposed to the religion of Yahweh (1 Sam. xxviii. 3). The Hebrew word *'ôb* seems to have originally denoted the 'familiar spirit' itself, i. e. the ghost of a person deceased; the medium through whom its communications were given was strictly *ba'al 'ôb*, or *ba'alath 'ôb* (possessor of an *'ôb*). Here we have an instance of the secondary usage, in which the name *'ôb* is applied to the medium himself (or herself).

7. the graven image of Asherah. See on 1 Kings xiv. 23. Asherah is here plainly used as the proper name of a goddess.

the LORD said . . . son: 1 Kings viii. 15-26, ix. 1 ff.

9. After **evil** the LXX adds, 'in the eyes of the Lord' (as verses 2, 15, &c.).

10. The following verses (11-15) are a summary of the messages of the prophets of this period, of whom there were doubtless many more than we know of: cf. the oracle of Huldah, xxii. 15 ff., Jer. xxvi. 20.

11. and hath done wickedly above . . . Better, as LXX, 'which are worse than . . .'

idols: therefore thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, 12
Behold, I bring such evil upon Jerusalem and Judah,
that whosoever heareth of it, both his ears shall tingle.
And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, 13
and the plummet of the house of Ahab: and I will wipe
Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning
it upside down. And I will cast off the remnant of mine 14
inheritance, and deliver them into the hand of their
enemies; and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all
their enemies; because they have done that which is evil 15
in my sight, and have provoked me to anger, since the
day their fathers came forth out of Egypt, even unto this
day. [**D**] Moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very 16
much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to
another; beside his sin wherewith he made Judah to sin,
in doing that which was evil in the sight of the LORD.
Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and all that he 17
did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in
the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And 18
Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the
garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza: and
Amon his son reigned in his stead.

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12. both his ears shall tingle: 1 Sam. iii. 11; Jer. xix. 3.

13. The first part of the verse says simply that the fate of Samaria and its chief dynasty shall be meted out to Jerusalem. That measuring line and plummet should in themselves have been current emblems of destruction is hardly conceivable, in spite of Isa. xxxiv. 11; Lam. ii. 8. Amos vii. 8 does not suggest such an idea, any more than the verse before us.

as a man wipeth a dish. Isa. xxiv. 1 seems to contain a reminiscence of this strong simile.

16. innocent blood: see xxiv. 4, and cf. Deut. xix. 10, &c.

from one end to another: *lit.* 'mouth to mouth'; as in x. 21. Amongst those slain by Manasseh Jewish legend places Isaiah the prophet.

18. in the garden of Uzza. The interment of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 33) seems to have been the last that took place

19 Amon was twenty and two years old when he began to reign; and he reigned two years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Meshullemeth the daughter of
20 Haruz of Jotbah. And he did that which was evil in
21 the sight of the LORD, as did Manasseh his father. And he walked in all the way that his father walked in, and served the idols that his father served, and worshipped
22 them: and he forsook the LORD, the God of his fathers,
23 and walked not in the way of the LORD. [**KJ**] And the servants of Amon conspired against him, and put the
24 king to death in his own house. But the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his son
25 king in his stead. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Amon which he did, are they not written in the book of
26 the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And he was buried

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in the ancient sepulchre of the kings of Judah 'in the city of David.' 'Uzza' is supposed to be a corruption of Azariah (Uzziah), and the garden here referred to must have been one laid out by that king in the court of the palace. Since it is also called **the garden of his own house,** we may suppose that Manasseh had built a house within it, in the grounds of which he made a private sepulchre for himself. Here Amon also was buried (verse 26); Josiah was buried 'in his own sepulchre' (xxiii. 30); the burial of Jehoiakim is not recorded (but see on xxiv. 6); and of the remaining kings none died in Canaan. It is probably these graves that Ezekiel alludes to in xliii. 7 as contaminating the temple by their proximity—with 'but the wall between me and them.'

xxi. 19-26. *The Reign of Amon.* (2 Chron. xxxiii. 21-25.) Of this king's reign nothing is recorded except that he followed in the footsteps of his father. Like his ancestor Jehoash he fell by a conspiracy amongst the courtiers, of the cause of which we are not informed. The crime was avenged by the body of the people, who set his young son Josiah on the throne. It is hardly to be supposed, therefore, that dissatisfaction with the idolatrous tendencies of the court was the motive of the assassination, or had anything to do with the complete reversal of religious policy which marked the succeeding reign.

in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza: and Josiah his son reigned in his stead.

Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign; **22**

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26. Instead of **in his sepulchre** LXX (L) reads, 'in the sepulchre of his father.' See on verse 18.

xxii. 1—xxiii. 30. *Josiah and the Deuteronomic Reformation.* (2 Chron. xxxiv. 1—xxxv. 27.)

The events which make the reign of Josiah memorable in the religious history of Israel are the discovery of a lost law-book in the temple, the formation of a national covenant on the basis of that document, and a thorough-going reform of the public religion in accordance with its requirements. The record of the reign is occupied almost entirely with a circumstantial account of these occurrences. The basis of the narrative is in all probability the Judaean document which appears in ch. xii and xvi. This has been slightly altered and supplemented here and there by editors; but on the whole it remains intact; and, being older than the first compiler of Kings, must be very nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated.

That the legal code then promulgated corresponds in the main with some form of our Book of Deuteronomy was perceived by Jerome and other patristic writers, and is rendered practically certain by critical evidence. It is impossible here to summarize the arguments by which that conclusion is supported (see Driver, *Commentary on Deuteronomy*); but one important element is the numerous coincidences (to be pointed out below) between the reforms actually carried out by Josiah and the provisions of Deuteronomy. No other part of the Pentateuch is involved in Josiah's reformation; and indeed the code must have been comparatively short to admit of its being read twice in succession by different persons in one day. The narrative, of course, throws no light on the date or authorship of the book. It is noticeable that its Mosaic origin is nowhere asserted; the only place where it is spoken of as 'the law of Moses' being xxiii. 25, which is plainly an editorial addition. It can hardly be the case, therefore, that the belief in its Mosaic authorship had very much to do with its ready acceptance, although it be true that no part of the Pentateuch so ostensibly claims to be the work of Moses as Deuteronomy. The profound impression which it created must be explained rather by its appeal to the national conscience, enlightened by a succession of prophetically minded men from Isaiah downwards. That being so, the theory of forgery or pious fraud—that Hilkiah the priest had been a party to the preparation of the book, and only pretended to have found it—becomes something of

and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jedidah the daughter of Adaiah
2 of Bozkath. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and walked in all the way of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left.

3 [J] And it came to pass in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, that the king sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, the son of Meshullam, the scribe, to the house of the
4 LORD, saying, Go up to Hilkiah the high priest, that he

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an irrelevance: men do not perpetrate literary forgeries except to invoke the authority of some great name. On the other hand, the internal evidence of the Book of Deuteronomy makes it impossible to assign it to an earlier date than the age of Manasseh; and the hypothesis that it was composed during that reign, and deposited in the temple for safety, and afterwards lost sight of, is perhaps the one that best satisfies all the conditions of the problem.

xxii. 1, 2. *Introduction.* The compiler's unqualified approval of this reign, along with that of Hezekiah, is a measure of his absorbing interest in the purity of worship. These kings are unreservedly commended as the only two who seriously undertook the suppression of the high places, those last and almost impregnable strongholds of false religion in Israel.

xxii. 3-11. *The Discovery of the Law-Book.* In his eighteenth year Josiah sends his secretary Shaphan to the temple, to see to the distribution of the money collected for the repair of the sanctuary, in accordance with the regulations introduced by Jehoash (xii. 9 ff.). After this business had been satisfactorily arranged the priest Hilkiah produced a book of law which he had found in the temple. Shaphan, on reading it, perceived its importance, and determined to bring it under the notice of the king, to whom he read it aloud, after giving in his official report. The contents made a profound impression on the mind of Josiah, in whom its threats against prevalent abuses excited the gravest apprehensions for the future of the state.

3. the eighteenth year of king Josiah would be 621 B.C. The LXX dates the incident more precisely, 'in the eighth month'; but see on xxiii. 23 below.

4. the high priest. The title recurs in verse 8 and xxiii. 4;

may sum the money which is brought into the house of the LORD, which the keepers of the door have gathered of the people: and let them deliver it into the hand of 5 the workmen that have the oversight of the house of the LORD: and let them give it to the workmen which are in the house of the LORD, to repair the breaches of the house; unto the carpenters, and to the builders, and to 6 the masons; and for buying timber and hewn stone to repair the house. Howbeit there was no reckoning 7 made with them of the money that was delivered into their hand; for they dealt faithfully. And Hilkiah the 8 high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan, and he read it. And Shaphan the scribe came to the king, and brought 9 the king word again, and said, Thy servants have emptied out the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of the workmen that have the oversight of the house of the LORD. And Shaphan the 10 scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath

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elsewhere (verses 10, 12, 14, xxiii. 24) Hilkiah is simply called 'the priest.'

For **sum** LXX (B) has 'seal up'; LXX (L) 'pour out.' The last agrees with verse 9, and is probably the most suitable reading.

5-7. See the notes on xii. 9 ff.

8. the book of the law (cf. the indeterminate 'a book' in verse 10). The rendering 'a book of the law' is grammatically admissible, though hardly natural. The definite expression would be difficult to explain in the mouth of the priest: it suggests the 'idea of an ancient book of law known in former times and now merely rediscovered' (Ewald). That sense is not impossible, on the supposition that Deuteronomy had actually been lost in the reign of Manasseh; and is, at any rate, as consistent with that hypothesis as with the belief that the book was written by Moses. At the same time, since Deuteronomy was known for more than a century after this as *the* book of the law, we may suppose that the

delivered me a book. And Shaphan read it before the
11 king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard
the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes.
12 And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam
the son of Shaphan, and Achbor the son of Micaiah, and
Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant, saying,
13 Go ye, inquire of the LORD for me, and for the people,
and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that

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writer has employed the expression familiar to himself, instead of reporting the *ipsissima verba* of Hilkiah.

10. read it. In 2 Chron. xxxiv. 18 the phrase is altered to 'read *therein*': probably under the impression that the book was the entire Pentateuch, which was seen to be too long to be read through in the course of an interview.

11. The king's consternation proves that the law-book must have contained some fearful denunciations of the neglect of Yahweh's covenant. (Cf. verses 13, 16, 17.) No part of the Pentateuch is so well fitted to inspire such alarm as the closing discourses of Deuteronomy (ch. xxviii, xxix).

xxii. 12–20. *Consultation of the Prophetess Huldah.* On hearing the terrific curses with which the book closed, Josiah immediately seeks prophetic guidance, not of course with regard to the genuineness of the document, but with regard to the possibility of forgiveness for the sins of the past. For this purpose he sends Shaphan and Hilkiah, with three other nobles, to a prophetess named Huldah, the wife of one of his courtiers. The answer of Huldah is to the effect that the judgement is indeed irreversible, but is deferred on account of the devout spirit manifested by Josiah. It is thought by many critics that the original oracle held out brighter prospects, and has been remodelled by the younger editor in accordance with the actual issue. That the speech has been revised appears from the Deuteronomic phraseology; and it is argued that the enthusiasm with which Josiah set about the work of reformation would be unintelligible unless there had been a real hope of attaining an absolutely satisfactory result. It is doubtful, however, how far that argument is valid; and the language of verse 20 is not consistent with the assumption that it is a prophecy after the event.

12. The title of **king's servant** appears on an ancient Hebrew seal, bearing the inscription: 'To Obadiah the servant of the king' (Benzinger, *Archaeologie*, p. 258). It therefore denotes a particular office, though we are ignorant of its precise functions.

is found: for great is the wrath of the LORD that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all
that which is written concerning us. So Hilkiah the 14
priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and Shaphan, and Asaiah, went unto Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the second
quarter;) and they communed with her. And she said 15
unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel:
Tell ye the man that sent you unto me, [**D^2**] Thus saith 16
the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the
book which the king of Judah hath read: because they 17
have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the work of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled
against this place, and it shall not be quenched. But 18
unto the king of Judah, who sent you to inquire of the

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13. great is the wrath, &c. See on verse 11.

For **written concerning us** it is better to read: 'written in it,' as 2 Chron. xxxiv. 21 (so LXX (L)).

14. It has been thought surprising that the prophet Jeremiah was not consulted on this occasion. But Jeremiah was still a young man (Jer. i. 6), and probably little known in the capital. Although he had for five years been conscious of his vocation, there is nothing to show that he acquired much public influence till long after these events. Huldah, on the other hand, must have been a prophetess of established reputation.

in the second quarter: cf. Zeph. i. 10. A division of the city into two districts is also presupposed by Neh. iii. 9, 12; but nothing further is known about them.

they communed with her: *lit.* 'spake to her,' communicating the contents of the newly-discovered book.

16, 17. For the phraseology, see 1 Kings ix. 6, xiv. 9, 10; and cf. Jer. vii. 20, xix. 3 f., xxxii. 30, &c.

18. The verse ends in Hebrew with an unfinished sentence: 'The words which thou hast heard'; the phrase 'as touching'

LORD, thus shall ye say to him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: As touching the words which thou
19 hast heard, because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before the LORD, when thou heardest what I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me;
20 I also have heard thee, saith the LORD. Therefore, behold, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the evil which I will bring upon this place. [J] And they brought the king word again.

23 And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the

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has no equivalent in the original. It is difficult to say how the text should be supplemented. Possibly the best reading is that presupposed by LXX (L) and the Vulgate: 'Inasmuch as thou hast heard my words, and thy heart was tender,' &c.

20. Cf. 1 Kings xxi. 29; 2 Kings xx. 19. The promise that Josiah should be gathered to his grave in peace is hardly in accordance with the actual circumstances of his death; and is not likely to have been composed after that event.

xxiii. 1–3. *Inauguration of the Covenant.* As the first step towards placing the nation on a right footing with Yahweh, Josiah convenes a great popular assembly in the temple; and, after reading the law-book in the audience of the people, enters with them into a solemn covenant to observe this law as the supreme rule of national conduct. With regard to the nature of the transaction, the following points are to be noted: (1) A covenant is not necessarily ***bilateral***, that is to say, it does not necessarily imply reciprocal obligations between two parties. The word (*bĕrîth*) seems to have denoted simply a well-understood and complex religious ceremony, which rendered an undertaking permanently and irrevocably binding on those concerned; and this ceremony was equally applicable to mutual engagements between two parties, to conditions imposed by one party on another, and to obligations assumed by one party for himself. (2) Although covenants between God and men are often mentioned in the O. T., it does not appear that in the present case Yahweh was a party to the covenant. It was made not ***with*** Yahweh, but 'before Yahweh.' Neither was it a covenant between the king on the one

elders of Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king went up 2
to the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah and
all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests,
and the prophets, and all the people, both small and
great: and he read in their ears all the words of the
book of the covenant which was found in the house of
the LORD. And the king stood by the pillar, and made 3
a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and
to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his
statutes, with all *his* heart, and all *his* soul, to confirm

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part and the people on the other, as in xi. 17b. It was nothing more than a solemn engagement on the part of king and people together to keep the law. (3) It is not clear whether this covenant was primarily personal or national. From the fact that the adhesion of the people is only mentioned at the end it has been supposed that it was in the first instance a personal promise of Josiah that he would carry out the requirements of the law, in which the people afterwards concurred. But the exact meaning of the phrase 'stood to the covenant' is obscure; and since the law was read to the people before the covenant, it seems probable that the transaction was in its first intention national, the king acting as the representative of the people. (4) The effect of the covenant was to give to the Deuteronomic Code the force of statute law. It may be an exaggeration to say that 'the ancient Hebrews had no other conception of law except that of a contract,' and that 'a law became binding only when those who were to be bound by it had pledged themselves to its observance'; but that was certainly the manner in which this particular law became authoritative. (See Kraetschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament*; Davidson's article, 'Covenant,' in *DB.*)

2. the book of the covenant. Cf. verse 21, Exod. xxiv. 7. The title is not descriptive of any particular code in itself; it means the book which is made the basis of a covenant—the document in which the terms of the covenant are expressed.

3. by the pillar, as in xi. 14.

made a covenant is *lit.* 'cut a covenant'; the usual technical phrase, derived from the custom of cutting sacrificial victims into pieces, between which the parties to the covenant passed (Gen. xv. 17; Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19).

before the LORD. A covenant was in all cases a religious transaction in which Yahweh was invoked as the presiding deity.

to confirm, or, 'maintain.'

the words of this covenant that were written in this book:
4 and all the people stood to the covenant. And the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the temple of the LORD all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the Asherah, and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them
5 unto Beth-el. And he put down the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to
6 the planets, and to all the host of heaven. And he

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stood to the covenant. The expression does not occur elsewhere, and its origin and significance are obscure.

xxiii. 4–15. *The Reformation of the Cultus.* The inauguration of the covenant was immediately followed by a series of sweeping reforms, which were carried out with every mark of earnestness and even violence. The particulars fall under two heads: (1) the purification of the temple from idolatrous emblems; and (2) the suppression of the provincial sanctuaries or high places. The former gives a startling picture of the extent to which the worship of Yahweh had been invaded by heathenish practices.

4. the priests of the second order should probably be read as singular: 'the second priest'; cf. xxv. 18 (= Jer. lii. 24), where the 'second priest' is named between the 'head priest' and the 'keepers of the threshold' (marg.).

Asherah: here again the female consort of Baal, as xxi. 7; see on 1 Kings xiv. 23.

the host of heaven: see xxi. 3, and Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3.

the fields of Kidron: cf. Jer. xxxi. 40. Some would read 'furnaces,' after LXX (L).

5. the idolatrous priests: Heb. *kĕmārîm*, a word of doubtful etymology, but used in the O. T. only in a contemptuous sense (Hos. x. 5; Zeph. i. 4). This class of functionaries is said to have been appointed by the kings of Judah, and must be distinguished from the Levitical priests of the high places, with regard to whom see below on verses 8, 9.

the planets (Heb. *mazzālôth*: cf. *mazzārôth* in Job xxxviii.

brought out the Asherah from the house of the LORD, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the common
people. And he brake down the houses of the sodomites, 7
that were in the house of the LORD, where the women
wove hangings for the Asherah. And he brought all the 8
priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beer-sheba; and he brake down the high places of the gates that were at the entering in of the gate of

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32), probably 'mansions' in the astronomical sense. Assyriologists are not agreed as to the reference of the Assyrian word supposed to answer to the term here used: some apply it to the signs of the Zodiac, while others think it includes a larger number of stars or constellations (see *KAT*^{3}, p. 628).

6. graves of the common people. While the upper classes had their family sepulchres in their own ground, the poor were buried in a common graveyard (cf. Jer. xxvi. 23).

7. On **the sodomites,** see 1 Kings xiv. 24; cf. Deut. xxiii. 17.

hangings: *lit.* 'houses,' which gives no sense. The clause is obscure; but the best reading is perhaps that of LXX (L): 'tunics.'

8. The high places were abolished, in accordance with the fundamental idea of the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. xii. 1 ff., &c.). The priests who officiated at these sanctuaries belonged to the tribe of Levi (see Ezek. xliv. 10, 12); and are regarded by the Deuteronomist as enjoying the full status of the priesthood. In their interest it was provided that any Levitical priest who chose to transfer his services to the central sanctuary should be admitted to the temple on a footing of equality with his brethren who ministered there (Deut. xviii. 6–8). Although this regulation could not be strictly enforced (see verse 9), it explains Josiah's motive in bringing 'all the priests out of the cities of Judah' (*sc.* to Jerusalem).

from Geba to Beer-sheba, the north and south limits of the kingdom. On the situation of Geba see 1 Kings xv. 22.

For **high places of the gates,** most moderns read, 'high places (*or,* house) of the satyrs' (changing *shĕʿārîm* to *sĕʿîrîm*). The 'satyrs' (or field-devils) were goat-shaped demons to whom sacrifice was offered, as we see from Lev. xvii. 7; 2 Chron. xi. 15.

Joshua the governor of the city, which were on a man's
9 left hand at the gate of the city. Nevertheless the priests
of the high places came not up to the altar of the LORD in
Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among
10 their brethren. And he defiled Topheth, which is in
the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might
make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to
11 Molech. And he took away the horses that the kings of

After **on a man's left hand** read, with LXX (L), 'as he enters the gate,' &c.

9 refers back to the first clause of verse 8. The meaning appears to be that the priests of the high places who had been brought to Jerusalem were denied the privilege of ministering at the altar, though they were permitted to share the temple dues, and were recognized as brethren of the temple priests. It is hardly fair to ascribe this deviation from the Deuteronomic law to mere professional jealousy; it may well have proved impracticable to admit so large a body of men to the highest offices of the priesthood. On **unleavened bread** as the portion of the priests, see Lev. vi. 14-18 (cf. Num. xviii. 9). As a statement of the general fact that the Levites shared the provision of the priests the expression is certainly peculiar; and it is possible that there is a special reference to the Feast of Unleavened Bread (verses 21-23), when the provincial Levites may have been first acknowledged as 'brethren' of the Jerusalem priests (Benzinger).

10. the valley of the children of Hinnom is by most identified with the *Wādi er-Rabābī*, west and south of Jerusalem; W. R. Smith, however, holds that it is the Tyropoeon, the ravine just below the temple on its west side; and Warren thinks it was the Kidron valley on the east. Its shortened name *Gê-hinnōm* (*Gehenna*, Matt. v. 22) became amongst the Jews and Moslems a title of the place of future torment, because of the horror excited by the revolting sacrifices referred to in this verse. The word **Topheth** (properly *Tĕphath*) probably means a fireplace made in the primitive fashion by digging a pit in the ground (W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*², p. 377, *n.* 2): on this the bodies of the human victims were burned.

11. The notice of the **horses** and the **chariots of the sun** is unique, and we cannot tell when or by whom they were introduced. The idea was no doubt borrowed from the Babylonians, amongst whom the sun-god *Shamash* (like the Helios of the Greeks) was represented as riding in a chariot drawn by horses (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 108, 109).

Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the LORD, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the precincts; and he burned the chariots of the sun with fire. And the altars 12
that were on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the LORD, did the king break down, and beat *them* down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron. And the high places that were before 13
Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile. And he brake in pieces the pillars, and 14
cut down the Asherim, and filled their places with the bones of men. Moreover the altar that was at Beth-el, 15

For **given to the sun** read 'set up for the sun.'

the precincts (*parvārîm*): probably the same word as *parbār* in 1 Chron. xxvi. 18, in which case it is the name of a western annexe to the temple building.

12. of the upper chamber of Ahaz. The ungrammatical construction proves the clause to be a gloss: hence **the roof** is in all probability that of the temple. The custom of sacrificing on the roofs of private houses is referred to in Jer. xix. 13, xxxii. 29; and was a common feature of Babylonian worship (*KAT*³, p. 601). It has been conjectured that Ahaz had built an upper chamber on the temple, near to these altars on the roof (Benzinger, Kittel). On the altars of Manasseh, see xxi. 5. There seems to be some error of text in the verb for **beat down** (see marg.).

13. See on 1 Kings xi. 7.

before means 'to the east of,' and **on the right hand,** 'to the south.'

the mount of corruption: strictly, 'the mount of the destroyer' (see marg.). It is probably what is now known as the 'Mount of Offence' (*Jebel Baṭn el-Hawā*), the southern extremity of the ridge of Olivet, across the Kidron from Jerusalem.

15. Josiah's reforming activity extended beyond the boundary

and the high place which Jeroboam the son of Nebat,
who made Israel to sin, had made, even that altar and
the high place he brake down; and he burned the high
place and stamped it small to powder, and burned the
16 Asherah. [Z] And as Josiah turned himself, he spied
the sepulchres that were there in the mount; and he
sent, and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and
burned them upon the altar, and defiled it, according to
the word of the Lord which the man of God proclaimed,
17 who proclaimed these things. Then he said, What
monument is that which I see? And the men of the city
told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God, which
came from Judah, and proclaimed these things that thou
18 hast done against the altar of Beth-el. And he said, Let

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of his own kingdom to Beth-el, the chief seat of Jeroboam's calf-worship. The fact probably indicates some relaxation of central control from Nineveh. The second half of the verse is corrupt. For **and he burned the high place** read, with LXX, 'and he brake in pieces the stones thereof'; a high place could not be destroyed by burning. The two remaining clauses ought perhaps to be reversed, as in verse 6.

xxiii. 16–20. *Josiah in Samaria.* The passage is a late addition to the narrative, based on 1 Kings xiii. That it was not written by the author of verse 15 appears from the fact that the altar, whose destruction is there described, is here mentioned as still existing. It is a relief to think that Josiah's reformation may not have been really stained by such atrocities as are recorded in verse 20.

16. who proclaimed these things. There is an obvious omission before this clause, which we can supply from the LXX. Read: 'according to the word of Yahweh which the man of God proclaimed *when Jeroboam stood at the Feast upon the altar* (see 1 Kings xiii. 1). *And turning round he lifted up his eyes to the grave of the man of God* who proclaimed these things.'

17. monument. The word is used in Ezek. xxxix. 15 of a temporary mark set up over a fragment of a skeleton till it should be buried. The present passage is perhaps the only allusion in the O. T. to gravestones in the proper sense. The Pillar of Rachel's grave (Gen. xxxv. 20) was a maẓẓeba, with religious significance.

him be; let no man move his bones. So they let his bones alone, with the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria. And all the houses also of the high 19 places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke *the LORD* to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Beth-el. And he slew all the priests of 20 the high places that were there, upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them; and he returned to Jerusalem.

[J] And the king commanded all the people, saying, 21 Keep the passover unto the LORD your God, as it is written in this book of the covenant. Surely there was 22 not kept such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah; but in the eighteenth year of 23

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18. Samaria must here (and in verse 19) be the province; see 1 Kings xiii. 32.

20. Cf. 1 Kings xiii. 2, 32.

xxiii. 21–27. *Celebration of the Passover*, &c. A striking feature of the reformation was the observance of the passover in the manner prescribed by the newly-discovered law-book. The Deuteronomic law of the passover is found in Deut. xvi. 1–8, and differs in several important particulars from that of the Priestly Code (Exod. xii). But the innovation to which verse 22 calls attention was undoubtedly the fact of its being held at the central sanctuary. Formerly it had been a household feast which could be observed anywhere throughout the country (Deut. xvi. 5); now for the first time the people were obliged to come up to Jerusalem for the purpose of celebrating it. The narrative closes with the mention of some minor measures of reform (verse 24); verse 25 seems to be redactional; and verses 26, 27 are an addition by the younger editor, explaining why the reform proved ineffectual.

22. there was not kept . . .: *lit.* 'it was not done like this passover'; see above.

23. in the eighteenth year: in the same year, therefore, in which the law was discovered. This is, of course, possible only if the year commenced in autumn, according to the old Hebrew

king Josiah was this passover kept to the LORD in Jerusalem.
24 Moreover them that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the teraphim, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might confirm the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the LORD.
25 [**D** ?] And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the LORD with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.
26 [**D^2**] Notwithstanding the LORD turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that
27 Manasseh had provoked him withal. And the LORD said, I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and I will cast off this city which I have chosen, even Jerusalem, and the house of which I said,
28 My name shall be there. [**D**] Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and all that he did, are they not written in the

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calendar. And in any case the statement of the LXX in xxiii. 3, that the discovery was made in the eighth month, must be incorrect.

24. Cf. xxi. 6 and Deut. xviii. 9–14.

teraphim (not mentioned in Deut.) were images of household deities (see Gen. xxxi. 19 ff.; Judges xvii. f.; 1 Sam. xix. 13 ff., &c.).

25. the law of Moses. See introductory note, p. 411.

neither after him . . . These words could not have been written earlier than the captivity of Judah.

26, 27. See xxi. 10–15.

xxiii. 28–30. *Conclusion: Death of Josiah.* Josiah fell in battle with Necho II of Egypt at Megiddo. The date was probably 608 B. C. The Assyrian Empire, threatened by a coalition of the Chaldeans and Medes, was tottering to its fall; and Necho resolved to seize the opportunity of establishing the Egyptian power over the Syrian provinces. The motive of Josiah's ill-fated

book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? [**KJ**] In his 29
days Pharaoh-necoh king of Egypt went up against the
king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah
went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo, when
he had seen him. And his servants carried him in a 30
chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre. And the
people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and
anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead.

[**D**] Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when 31
he began to reign; and he reigned three months in
Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Hamutal the
daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah. And he did that which 32

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enterprise is nowhere indicated. It is possible he may have merely furnished a contingent to an Assyrian army sent to oppose the Egyptians. But that is not likely. It is much more probable (especially in the light of 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 ff.) that he fought for his own hand, and cherished the ambition of restoring the ancient independence of the Hebrew monarchy. A notice of the battle is found in Herod. ii. 159.

29. Pharaoh-necoh is Necho II, the son of Psammetichus, and the second king of the twenty-sixth dynasty. He reigned from 609 to 594.

at Megiddo. See on 1 Kings iv. 12. Herodotus places the battle at *Magdōlos* (Migdol); but this is probably a mistake on the part of the Greek historian.

when he had seen him. Apparently, 'as soon as he had confronted him in battle'; cf. the expression in xiv. 8.

30. Jehoahaz was a younger son of Josiah (cf. verse 31 with verse 36), and therefore not the natural heir to the throne. His election by the people might be due to his being in sympathy with the national or anti-Egyptian policy of his father: see below.

xxiii. 31-35. *The Reign of Jehoahaz.* (2 Chron. xxxvi. 1-4.)

Continuing verse 30, the annalistic passage, verses 32-35, narrates how, three months after the battle of Megiddo, Necho summoned the young king of Judah to his head quarters at Riblah on the Orontes, put him in chains, and raised an older son of Josiah to the throne. The new king, whose name was changed

was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that
33 his fathers had done. [**KJ**] And Pharaoh-necoh put
him in bands at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he
might not reign in Jerusalem; and put the land to a
tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of
34 gold. And Pharaoh-necoh made Eliakim the son of
Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and changed
his name to Jehoiakim: but he took Jehoahaz away;
35 and he came to Egypt, and died there. And Jehoiakim
gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh; but he taxed
the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he exacted the silver and the gold of
the people of the land, of every one according to his
taxation, to give it unto Pharaoh-necoh.

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to Jehoiakim, accepted the Egyptian lordship, and taxed his subjects heavily to raise the tribute imposed by Necho on the country. The fate of Jehoahaz, who was taken a prisoner to Egypt and died there, is the theme of a striking elegy in ch. xix of Ezekiel.

33 appears the immediate continuation of verse 30, from which it is separated by the compiler's introductory formula.

Riblah (still bearing the name) is in the Orontes valley, about fifty miles south of Hamath. Its strategically important position made it a suitable resting-place for an army operating either from the south against Assyria (as here) or from the north against Israel (as in xxv. 21).

put the land to a tribute: better, 'imposed an indemnity on the land.'

For **a talent of gold** LXX (L) reads 'ten talents,' which is more likely to be correct.

34. Eliakim ('God establishes') and **Jehoiakim** ('Yahweh establishes') being practically identical, the change of name can signify nothing in itself. It is simply a mark of vassalage (cf. xxiv. 17).

35. The method of raising the fine must have resembled that adopted by Menahem of Israel (xv. 20), but the description is obscure. The last clause might be rendered, 'each man according to his taxation extorted the silver and the gold from the common people,' &c. The meaning would then be that the king assessed the landed proprietors according to their ability, and that these in

[**D**] Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he 36
began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Zebidah the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah. And he did that which was evil in the 37
sight of the LORD, according to all that his fathers
had done. [**KJ**] In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of **24**
Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant

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their turn squeezed the money out of their tenants and retainers. But we cannot be certain that this is the sense.

xxiii. 36—xxiv. 7. *The Reign of Jehoiakim.* (2 Chron. xxxvi. 5-8.)

Early in Jehoiakim's reign the fall of Nineveh (between 608 and 606) brought about a new distribution of power in Western Asia. In the partition of the Assyrian Empire, which followed that event, the western half fell to Nabopolassar, the founder of the neo-Chaldean dynasty in Babylon (625-605). We have seen that Necho of Egypt had already seized the provinces west of the Euphrates; and accordingly one of the first acts of Nabopolassar was to expel the Egyptians from Syria. This task he entrusted to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who defeated Necho in the decisive battle of Carchemish (Jer. xlvi. 2) in the beginning of 605. Soon after the battle Nebuchadnezzar was recalled to Babylon by the news of his father's death; but the Egyptian resistance had been utterly broken, and the conquest of Syria was virtually complete. We read that Jehoiakim willingly transferred his allegiance to the king of Babylon, and that after three years he rebelled, and was in consequence harassed by bands of foreign troops till the close of his reign. The dates of these events are uncertain. If the submission took place immediately after the battle of Carchemish, the revolt must have occurred about 602, and five years would have elapsed before a Babylonian army marched against Jerusalem. We know of no reason why Nebuchadnezzar should have delayed so long; and it is perhaps easier to assume that the three years' service are reckoned from a settlement of the affairs of Syria some years subsequent to 605, and that the rebellion was near the end of Jehoiakim's reign.

36, compared with 31, shows that Jehoiakim was only a half-brother of Jehoahaz, and his senior by two years.

xxiv. **1. In his days:** resuming the extracts from the chronicle; see introductory note above. According to Jer. xxv. 1 and xlvi. 2 the fourth year of Jehoiakim coincides with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar and the battle of Carchemish.

three years: then he turned and rebelled against him.
2 [D^2] And the LORD sent against him bands of the
Chaldeans, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the
Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and
sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the
word of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of his
3 servants the prophets. Surely at the commandment of
the LORD came this upon Judah, to remove them out of
his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he
4 did; and also for the innocent blood that he shed; for
he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood: and the LORD
5 would not pardon. [D] Now the rest of the acts of
Jehoiakim, and all that he did, are they not written in
6 the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? So

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2. These predatory bands were doubtless employed by Nebuchadnezzar to keep Jehoiakim in play till a regular army could be sent against him. The **Chaldeans** would be drawn from the Babylonian garrisons stationed in Syria; and instead of **Syrians** (*'Aram*) we should probably read 'Edomites' (*'Edom*). To the nations here mentioned a parallel preserved in the LXX of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5 adds the Samaritans; so that Judah must have been completely isolated in its defection from the Chaldean Empire. The passage referred to says further that the raiders were compelled to withdraw 'according to the word of the Lord by the hands of his servants the prophets.' Klostermann has directed attention to that reading as giving a fuller force to the particle at the beginning of the next verse, which should be rendered 'Howbeit.' If it were correct the situation would present a striking similarity to the Syro-Ephraimitic war in the time of Ahaz, when Isaiah prophesied a collapse of the nearer peril, but pointed to the graver danger of the Assyrian invasion behind it.

3, 4 are from the hand of the younger redactor; cf. xxiii. 26 f.

Surely: or, 'Howbeit': see on verse 2.

at the commandment, &c. Some prefer to read with the LXX, as in verse 20: 'because of the anger of Yahweh it befell Judah,' &c.

5. The Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah is here referred to for the last time; and with this we lose the last sure trace of the original compiler of Kings, who is supposed to have

Jehoiakim slept with his fathers: and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead. [**KJ**] And the king of Egypt came 7
not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken, from the brook of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt.

[D^2] Jehoiachin was eighteen years old when he began 8
to reign; and he reigned in Jerusalem three months: and his mother's name was Nehushta the daughter of Elnathan of Jerusalem. And he did that which was evil in the 9
sight of the LORD, according to all that his father had done. At that time the servants of Nebuchadnezzar 10
king of Babylon came up to Jerusalem, and the city was besieged. And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came 11

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finished his work some time before the Captivity. We cannot determine the exact point at which he laid down his pen; but it is probable that most of what follows was added during the Captivity by the younger editor.

6. LXX (L) adds the statement, which may very well be correct, that he 'was buried in the garden of Uzza with his father.' See on xxi. 18.

7. See introductory note above, p. 427.

xxiv. 8-17. *Jehoiachin and the First Captivity of Judah.* (2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.)

Jehoiakim had died just in time to escape the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar. Soon after the accession of his son Jehoiachin, a Babylonian army appeared before the walls of Jerusalem, and after a short siege the city surrendered. The king and his courtiers, with the *élite* of the upper classes, the men of war and the skilled artisans, were taken captive to Babylon; and the government of the enfeebled kingdom was handed over to a son of Josiah, from whom Nebuchadnezzar exacted a solemn oath of allegiance (Ezek. xvii. 13). This first deportation of Jews to Babylon took place in the year 598 or 597 (see below). Amongst the exiles was the prophet Ezekiel, who dates the Captivity from this event (Ezek. i. 2, &c.), and regards it as the real end of the Judaean state and monarchy.

8. three months: 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9 adds 'and ten days.'

11. The siege appears to have already commenced when Nebuchadnezzar arrived in person.

12 unto the city, while his servants were besieging it; and Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers: and the king of Babylon took
13 him in the eighth year of his reign. [?] And he carried out thence all the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon king of Israel had made in the temple of the LORD, as the LORD had said.
14 And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths; none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land.
15 [D^2] And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon; and

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12. went out: the usual phrase for surrender; see xviii. 31.

the eighth year of his (Nebuchadnezzar's) **reign** is really 597 B.C., 604 being the first complete year of Nebuchadnezzar. This, however, does not agree with xxv. 27, according to which the deportation of Jehoiachin must have happened in 598. It is possible that both in this verse and in xxv. 8, 605 is reckoned the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (in accordance with the usual method of the Hebrew chronologist), so that the first Captivity fell in 598 and the second in 587. The discrepancy of one year at all events exists, and in Jer. lii. 28 the date of the first Captivity is given as the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar.

13, 14 are wrongly inserted here as a duplicate to verses 15, 16, which form the original sequel to verse 12. That a *partial* spoliation of the temple took place in 598 we know from Jer. xxvii. 18 f.; but it cannot have been so complete as is here suggested (see xxv. 15 ff.) Neither was 'all Jerusalem' carried away to Babylon on this occasion. It has been supposed by Stade that the two verses are a fragment taken from an account of the second Captivity under Zedekiah.

13. thence has no antecedent in the preceding narrative; unless, with LXX (L), we supply the sentence: 'And the king of Babylon entered into the city.'

14. even ten thousand captives. It is obviously difficult to reconcile the number with the data of verse 16.

the poorest sort, &c. This also agrees better with the view that the second Captivity is referred to.

the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his officers, and the chief men of the land, carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. And all the men of might, 16
even seven thousand, and the craftsmen and the smiths a thousand, all of them strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon. And 17
the king of Babylon made Mattaniah his father's brother king in his stead, and changed his name to Zedekiah.

Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he began 18

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15. the king's mother: the queen-mother, as she is expressly called in Jer. xxix. 2.

the chief men of the land: the foremost, or leading men; cf. Ezek. xvii. 13.

16. men of might: probably, in this instance, 'men of substance'; see on 1 Kings i. 42.

strong: *lit.* 'heroes,' but probably here with the weakened sense of 'men liable to military service.' It is hardly to be supposed that all the artisans of Jerusalem were 'men of independent means' (so Kittel). The object of the king of Babylon was plainly to remove all the elements of strength from the state, and to leave it incapable of further resistance. The event proved that he had greatly underrated the courage and patriotism of the race with which he had to deal.

17. On the change of name, see xxiii. 34.

xxiv. 18—xxv. 21. *Zedekiah and the Final Captivity.* (2 Chron. xxxvi. 11–23.)

Of the reign of the last king of Judah nothing is here recorded save the events of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. From the Book of Jeremiah (xxvii f.) we learn that as early as the fourth year of his reign Zedekiah was implicated in treasonable negotiations with some of the neighbouring states; and it is highly probable that a journey which he made to Babylon in the same year (Jer. li. 59) was undertaken for the purpose of explaining his conduct to Nebuchadnezzar. Later, however, he gave way to the influence of the war-party, backed by Egyptian intrigue, and openly revolted. Jerusalem was speedily invested by a Chaldean army, but held out stubbornly for a year and a half, when a breach was made in the wall and the city was no longer defensible. The king and the army broke through the lines of the Chaldeans, and sought to save themselves by flight; but Zedekiah was overtaken near Jericho, taken before Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, and then sent in fetters to Babylon. A month later (evidently in consequence of orders

to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Hamutal the daughter of
19 Jeremiah of Libnah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that Jehoiakim
20 had done. For through the anger of the LORD did it come to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence: and Zedekiah rebelled
25 against the king of Babylon. And it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came, he and all his army, against Jerusalem, and encamped against it; and they built forts against it
2 round about. So the city was besieged unto the eleventh
3 year of king Zedekiah. On the ninth day of the *fourth*

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issued by Nebuchadnezzar from Riblah) Jerusalem was razed to the ground by the Chaldean officer in charge of the operations, the bulk of the population were taken captive to Babylon, while about seventy of the leading men were sent to Riblah to be executed. These events took place in 587 or 586. It is impossible to say whether the narrative was taken from an independent source, or written by the (younger) editor himself. The parallel accounts in Jer. xxxix. 1, 2, 4-10 and ch. lii are probably extracted from the Book of Kings, though they have frequently preserved a purer text.

18. Hamutal: as xxiii. 31. Zedekiah, therefore, was a full brother of Jehoahaz, but not of Jehoiakim (xxiii. 36).

20. See on verse 3.

For refers to the wickedness of Zedekiah's reign; the persistence of the king in the evil courses of Jehoiakim was itself a presage of judgement, and a proof of Yahweh's displeasure with the nation.

xxv. **1.** The numbering of the months was a late usage introduced with the Babylonian calendar, in which the beginning of the year was reckoned from the spring season. Hence the investment of the city commenced in the month of January, 588 (or 587).

forts. The meaning of the Heb. *dāyāḳ* is uncertain; possibly a wall of circumvallation (siege-wall).

3. Read: 'In the fourth month, on the ninth day of the month.' The opening words have been dropped in the Hebrew, and must

month the famine was sore in the city, so that there was
no bread for the people of the land. Then a breach was 4
made in the city, and all the men of war *fled* by night by
the way of the gate between the two walls, which was by
the king's garden: (now the Chaldeans were against the
city round about:) and *the king* went by the way of the
Arabah. But the army of the Chaldeans pursued after 5
the king, and overtook him in the plains of Jericho: and
all his army was scattered from him. Then they took 6
the king, and carried him up unto the king of Babylon
to Riblah; and they gave judgement upon him. And 7

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be restored as in Jer. lii. 6 (xxxix. 2). The date is July, 587 (? 586).

the famine was sore: see Jer. xxxvii. 21, xxxviii. 9.

4. and all the men of war. The text is again defective, as a comparison with Jer. xxxix. 4 and lii. 7 shows. We may read: 'and when the king and all the men of war saw it, they fled and went out of the city by night,' &c.

between the two walls denotes a spot on the south-east side of the city at the mouth of the Tyropoeon valley (see Isa. xxii. 11). The expression is explained in two ways: (1) It is supposed that an external wall had been thrown out from the main fortifications in order to enclose the Pool of Siloam and protect it from an enemy. Isa. xxii. 11, however, rather suggests the opposite, viz. that the 'two walls' were in existence before the reservoir between them was made. (2) Another view is that the west wall of the eastern hill and the east wall of the western hill ran parallel to each other for some distance up the Tyropoeon, and that the space between these is referred to. Such a spot would be suitable for deploying the troops after they passed through the gate, if their intention was to fight their way through the Chaldean lines. But it is idle to discuss the question till more is known of the position of the walls of ancient Jerusalem.

and the king **went** should probably be 'and they went' (as Jer. lii. 7).

the Arabah: the Jordan valley; see xiv. 25.

5. and all his army was (read, 'had been') **scattered:** not by the Chaldean attack; they had dispersed on reaching the open country.

6. Riblah. See xxiii. 33.

For **they gave judgement** read 'he gave . . . ,' as Jer. lii. 9.

they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon.

8 Now in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which was the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon,
9 unto Jerusalem: and he burnt the house of the LORD, and the king's house; and all the houses of Jerusalem,
10 even every great house, burnt he with fire. And all the army of the Chaldeans, that were *with* the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about.
11 And the residue of the people that were left in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to the king of Babylon, and the residue of the multitude, did Nebuzaradan the
12 captain of the guard carry away captive. But the captain

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7. Putting out the eyes was a punishment resorted to by the Assyrians in dealing with rebellious vassals.

carried him to Babylon. Jer. lii. 11 adds: 'and put him in prison till the day of his death.'

8. the nineteenth year. Jer. lii. 29 dates the event in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (i. e. 587); on the discrepancy, see above on xxiv. 12 and below on verse 27. The delay of nearly a month from the capture of the city means that express instructions from Nebuchadnezzar had been waited for.

9. The temple and palace are burned, and **all the houses of Jerusalem:** the following clause, which restricts the operation to the principal houses, must be an interpolation.

10. The walls are then broken down.

11. It would seem that the entire population of the capital was led into captivity, and of the rural population all but the very poorest (verse 12). Ewald points out that it is nowhere definitely asserted that the captives were taken to Babylonia.

that fell away: *lit.* 'the deserters that had deserted' during the siege.

the residue of the multitude would be the same as 'the residue of the people' at the beginning of the verse. But instead of 'multitude' Jer. lii. 15 reads 'artificers' (R. V. marg.); cf. xxiv. 16.

of the guard left of the poorest of the land to be vinedressers
and husbandmen. And the pillars of brass that 13
were in the house of the LORD, and the bases and the
brasen sea that were in the house of the LORD, did the
Chaldeans break in pieces, and carried the brass of them
to Babylon. And the pots, and the shovels, and the 14
snuffers, and the spoons, and all the vessels of brass
wherewith they ministered, took they away. And the 15
firepans, and the basons; that which was of gold, in
gold, and that which was of silver, in silver, the captain
of the guard took away. [?] The two pillars, the one 16
sea, and the bases, which Solomon had made for the
house of the LORD; the brass of all these vessels was
without weight. The height of the one pillar was 17
eighteen cubits, and a chapiter of brass was upon it:
and the height of the chapiter was three cubits; with
network and pomegranates upon the chapiter round
about, all of brass: and like unto these had the second
pillar with network. [D^2] And the captain of the guard 18
took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second

13–17. The larger temple utensils were broken up and carried as scrap-metal to Babylon. Neither the enumeration (verses 13–15) nor the description (16, 17) aims at being exhaustive. The latter, however, especially in verse 16, has been curtailed to the point of obscurity. The full text is given in Jer. lii. 21–23, a passage to which we are indebted for valuable information regarding the workmanship of Solomon's pillars (see on 1 Kings vii. 15 ff.). In verse 17 **three cubits** (the height of the chapiters) must be corrected to 'five cubits' (as Jer. lii. 22; 1 Kings vii. 16). The mention of the twelve brasen oxen in Jeremiah seems at variance with xvi. 17, which implies that these had been removed by Ahaz long before. Hence it is possible that the description of verses 16 f. (= Jer. lii. 20–23) has been excerpted literally from an ancient document giving an account of the temple furniture.

18–21. A number of the leading officials and other citizens, who had remained in the city, are apprehended and sent to Riblah, where they are put to death by Nebuchadnezzar.

19 priest, and the three keepers of the door: and out of the
city he took an officer that was set over the men of war;
and five men of them that saw the king's face, which
were found in the city; and the scribe, the captain of
the host, which mustered the people of the land; and
threescore men of the people of the land, that were found
20 in the city. And Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard
took them, and brought them to the king of Babylon to
21 Riblah. And the king of Babylon smote them, and put
them to death at Riblah in the land of Hamath. So
22 Judah was carried away captive out of his land. And as
for the people that were left in the land of Judah, whom
Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had left, even over

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18. The five officials here named were doubtless the heads of the temple hierarchy; cf. xxiii. 4, xii. 9.

the second priest. The Hebrew might be rendered '*a* priest of the second rank' (see on xxiii. 4); but the parallel in Jeremiah (lii. 24) has the definite article.

19. an officer: 'a certain eunuch' (marg.), probably a civilian minister of war.

of them that saw the king's face: i. e. belonging to the inner circle of the king's advisers. Jeremiah gives the number as *seven*.

the scribe. Read, as in Jeremiah, 'the scribe (secretary) of the captain of the host' (marg.).

The word for **mustered** is peculiar, and means apparently something like 'mobilized.'

21. So Judah was carried away: *lit.* 'went into exile.' In Jer. lii. 28-30 there follows (but from an independent source) a list of the numbers of Judaeans carried captive on various occasions by Nebuchadnezzar.

xxv. 22-26. *Judah under a Babylonian Governor.*

The passage is an abridgement (made perhaps by the younger redactor) of the minute and thrilling narrative of Baruch in Jer. xxxix. 11-xliii. 7. Gedaliah, a Judaean of noble birth and a friend of Jeremiah (see below), was appointed governor of the desolated province. He fixed his residence at Mizpah, in the vicinity of Jerusalem; and speedily gained the confidence of the scattered commandos in the field, whom he induced to accept the new régime and settle down as peaceful cultivators of the soil.

them he made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, governor.

Now when all the captains of the forces, they and their men, heard that the king of Babylon had made Gedaliah governor, they came to Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan the 23

This hopeful beginning of a new social order was, however, ruined by a mad act of revenge on the part of a scion of the Davidic house named Ishmael, who treacherously murdered Gedaliah and those who were about him, including some Chaldean soldiers. The fuller account in Jeremiah relates how one of Gedaliah's captains overtook Ishmael on his flight towards Ammon, and brought back the Jewish prisoners whom he was dragging into captivity. But the feeble community had received a shock from which it could not recover. Fearing that they would be held responsible by Nebuchadnezzar for the murder of his deputy, the leaders resolved to migrate to Egypt; and thither accordingly they went, carrying with them the aged Jeremiah, who had vainly endeavoured to turn them from their purpose.

22. Gedaliah the son of Ahikam. Ahikam was one of the nobles who, on a memorable occasion, intervened to protect Jeremiah from the fury of the priests and the people (Jer. xxvi. 24). At an earlier period he had been one of the deputation who went to consult the prophetess Huldah regarding the book of the law discovered in the temple (xxii. 12). These incidents help to explain the choice of Gedaliah for the difficult post of governor under a foreign rule. His family stood high in the esteem both of the court and of the people, and probably belonged to the moderate party which was friendly to Jeremiah and opposed to the insensate policy which had brought about the conflict with Babylon. His fitness for the position appears clearly from the sympathetic narrative in Jeremiah.

23. the captains of the forces are, as we see from Jer. xl. 7, the commanders of armed bands in the open country which had not as yet surrendered to the Chaldeans. But whether they had been conducting guerilla warfare during the siege, or were detachments of the garrison of Jerusalem that had escaped, there is no evidence to decide.

On **Mizpah** see on 1 Kings xv. 22.

Ishmael the son of Nethaniah was soon discovered by the other captains to be a traitor, in league with the king of Ammon (Jer. xl. 14) to assassinate Gedaliah.

Johanan took the lead in exposing the plot, and afterwards

son of Kareah, and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite, and Jaazaniah the son of the Maacathite,
24 they and their men. And Gedaliah sware to them and to their men, and said unto them, Fear not because of the servants of the Chaldeans: dwell in the land, and serve the king of Babylon, and it shall be well with you.
25 But it came to pass in the seventh month, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal, came, and ten men with him, and smote Gedaliah, that he died, and the Jews and the Chaldeans that were
26 with him at Mizpah. And all the people, both small and great, and the captains of the forces, arose, and came to Egypt: for they were afraid of the Chaldeans.
27 And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of

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headed the expedition which intercepted Ishmael and recovered his captives.

24. Fear not because of the servants. Read, as in Jer. xl. 9, 'Fear not to serve.'

25. in the seventh month: of the same year in which Jerusalem was destroyed. The complete account of the incidents must be read in Jer. xl. 8 ff.

xxv. 27–30. *The Release of Jehoiachin.*

The Book of Kings, which has been on the whole a history of national decline and misfortune, nevertheless closes with a note of hope. The legitimate sovereign Jehoiachin, who had languished in a Babylonian prison till the death of Nebuchadnezzar (562), was set free at the very commencement of the following reign, and for the remainder of his life was entertained with regal honours at the court of Babylon. The precise significance of the event is obscure; and little is to be gained by speculation regarding the motives, political or other, of so remarkable an act of clemency on the part of Evil-merodach. But it is obvious that it must have excited the liveliest expectations in the Jewish community. The bestowal of royal honours on their king was at once a recognition of their nationality and, from a higher point of view, a pledge of Yahweh's continued favour to the dynasty of David, round which the Messianic hope had entwined itself (Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 78). It was, in fact, the first indication of a better future for the people of Israel; and we can understand how

the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, that Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of prison; and he spake kindly to him, and 28
set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon. And he changed his prison 29
garments, and did eat bread before him continually all the days of his life. And for his allowance, there was 30
a continual allowance given him of the king, every day a portion, all the days of his life.

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a contemporary historian should signalize the incident as a proof that Jerusalem's warfare was accomplished and her sin pardoned. It is probable that the book was concluded soon after the death of Jehoiachin, and before other and more decisive signs of the coming deliverance had appeared.

27. in the seven and thirtieth year. Nebuchadnezzar died in 562, and the liberation of Jehoiachin took place in the last days of the same (Babylonian) year, i. e. in the spring of 561 according to our calendar. Reckoning backwards, we find that the year of Jehoiachin's imprisonment must have been 598. This result agrees with Jer. lii. 28, and furnishes an additional argument for dating the first Babylonian Captivity in 598 (not 597, see on xxiv. 12).

Evil-merodach (Bab. *Amil-Marduk*) reigned only from 562 to 560. We must suppose that the favour he had extended to Jehoiachin was continued under his successors; otherwise the expression 'all the days of his life' would hardly have been employed.

did lift up the head: as Gen. xl. 13. In Jer. lii. 31 an additional verb is inserted: '*And brought him forth* out of prison.'

28. the kings that were with him in Babylon: i. e. he gave him precedence over the other subjugated kings who were detained in Babylon.

29. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 7.

30. Before **all the days of his life** Jer. lii. 34 has the more explicit statement: 'until the day of his death.'

APPENDIX

NOTE I. ON THE SITE OF SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS.

(p. 121.)

IN trying to understand the position of the suite of buildings described on pp. 116–121, the student will find it necessary to keep two facts before his mind. In the first place, the ancient city of Jerusalem extended much further south than the line of the present wall. In the second place, the natural conformation of the ground is obscured by the vast and irregular accumulation of débris (from 30 to 120 feet deep) over which the modern city is built. The leading features of the topography have, however, been ascertained by a series of excavations carried on during the last seventy years; and it is now possible to form a fairly distinct conception of the place where Solomon's palace must have stood.

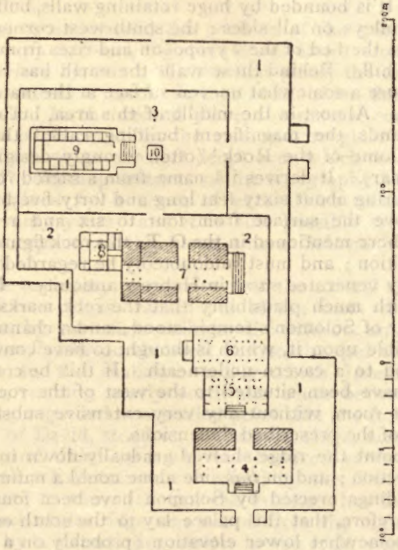
It may be necessary to premise that the natural site of the city consists of two ridges, carved out of the main central plateau of Palestine by two deep valleys—the Kidron on the east and the *Wādi er-Rabābī* on the west and south—and separated from each other by the shallower valley which Josephus calls the Tyropoeon, running nearly north and south between them. It may now be regarded as a settled point that the fortress of Zion, or the city of David, stood on the eastern ridge, near its southern extremity, and therefore some four hundred yards south of the modern wall. Excavations conducted by the German Palestine Society seem to show (though the evidence has been disputed) that this part of the ridge was cut off from the higher ground to the north by a natural depression in the rock, which led down to the Kidron valley somewhere near the Virgin's Spring. This southern spur may at one time have risen to a higher elevation than at present; and it is *possible* that this was the hill artificially lowered by Simon the Maccabee, so that it might not overlook the temple (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 215 ff., *Bell. Jud.* v. 139). However that may be, the next summit of the eastern ridge to the north now rises more than 200 feet above the level of the southern spur; and this summit, forming a fairly even surface of about 5,500 square yards, and being as yet unbuilt in the time of David, offered the most tempting site in all the locality for a great palace-fortress, such as Solomon designed to erect.

Here the temple stood, for certain; and as we have seen that the palace stood in the same 'great court' as the temple, we must seek a site for it on the same hill, where the topographical conditions may admit of it. But first it is necessary to determine the exact position of Solomon's temple.

The whole of this higher summit is now enclosed in the *Ḥarām esh-Sherīf*, which in all probability represents the temple-area as enlarged by Herod, and which forms the south-east angle of the modern city wall. The Haram is an irregular quadrangle, measuring roughly 1,500 feet from north to south, and 1,000 feet from east to west. It is bounded by huge retaining walls, built up from the adjacent valleys on all sides; the south-west corner, indeed, actually crosses the bed of the Tyropoeon and rises from the slope of the *western* hill. Behind these walls the earth has been piled up so as to secure a somewhat uneven surface at the natural level of the summit. Almost in the middle of this area, but nearer its west side, stands the magnificent building called the *Ḳubbet es-ṣaḥra* or 'Dome of the Rock' (often wrongly designated the Mosque of Omar). It derives its name from a sacred rock in the interior, measuring about sixty feet long and forty-five broad, and projecting above the surface from four to six and a half feet. Although nowhere mentioned in the O. T., this rock figures largely in Jewish tradition; and must undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most highly venerated *sacra* in Hebrew antiquity. Now, it is conjectured with much plausibility that the rock marks the spot where the altar of Solomon's temple stood; and a channel is said to be still visible upon it, which is thought to have conveyed the sacrificial blood to a cavern underneath. If this be correct, the temple must have been situated to the west of the rock, where there was just room, without any very extensive substructures, for a building of the prescribed dimensions.

From this point the ridge shelved gradually down in a south-south-east direction; and on *this* side alone could a natural site for the other buildings erected by Solomon have been found. It is concluded, therefore, that the palace lay to the south-east of the temple, at a somewhat lower elevation (probably on a series of terraces); and that the entire complex of buildings stood well within the lines of the present Haram. The result is in accordance with the constant usage of the O. T.: one 'goes up' from the palace to the temple (Jer. xxvi. 10), and 'down' from the temple to the palace (2 Kings xi. 19; Jer. xxii. 1, xxxvi. 12). Again, there is an ascent from the old city of David to the palace (1 Kings ix. 24) as well as to the temple (viii. 1); so that the palace must have stood higher than the city of David, but lower than the temple.

The relative positions of the various buildings within the great court can only be inferred from the order in which they are mentioned in ch. vii. From Ezek. xliii. 8 we gather that the royal residence was next to the temple—and with this all other indications agree—and therefore the most northerly of the series. Since this is mentioned last in vii. 1-12, we may assume that the description proceeds from south (where the main entrance of the great court would naturally be) to north; and that the order and approximate disposition of the buildings was somewhat as shown in the annexed plan (taken from Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie*).



1. Great Court. 2. Second Court. 3. Temple Court.
4. House of the Forest of Lebanon. 5. Hall of Pillars.
6. Throne Hall. 7. Royal Palace. 8. House of Pharaoh's daughter.
9. Temple. 10. Altar.

By permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark and the Rev. T. W. Davies, author of the article 'Temple' in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*.

For fuller information, see Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, (i. p. 315 ff.); the Archaeologies of Benzinger (p. 233 ff.) and Nowack (i. p. 255 ff., ii. p. 27 ff.); Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria* (p. 36 ff.); Benzinger in *Explorations in Bible Lands* (p. 596 ff.); the articles 'Jerusalem' and 'Temple' in *DB* and *EB*.

NOTE II. ON THE STORY OF JEROBOAM IN THE LXX. (p. 190.)

IN the existing texts of the LXX (B and L) the history of Jeroboam I is given in two distinct forms, of which one agrees substantially with the Hebrew, while the other is peculiar to the Greek version. These we shall refer to as H and G respectively. The former is found in 1 Kings xi. 26–31, 40, 43, xii. 1–24, 25–32. The second account comes in between verses 24 and 25 of ch. xii (xii. 24^{a-z}, in Swete's edition); and its variations are so striking and important that we give here first of all a summary of its contents:—

xii. 24^{a}. A notice of Solomon's death (|| xi. 43), followed by the introductory formula for the reign of Rehoboam, in a form differing considerably from xiv. 21 ff. Thus (in B), Rehoboam is said to have been sixteen years old at his accession, and to have reigned twelve years; and his mother, Naamah, is described as the daughter of Ana the son of Nahash king of Ammon (cf. xiv. 21, 'the Ammonitess').

24^{b}. Jeroboam is now introduced (evidently for the first time) as an Ephraimite, a servant of Solomon, and son of a harlot named Sareisa (B) or Sareira (L) (cf. xi. 26). In the remainder of the section there is some confusion of text; but the probable sense of the original version is that Jeroboam was appointed overseer of the labour-bands of the house of Joseph, that he fortified Sareira, raised a force of 300 chariots, and rebelled against Solomon (|| xi. 26–28).

24^{c}. Solomon seeks to kill Jeroboam, and the latter flees to Shishak king of Egypt, and remains with him till the death of Solomon (|| xi. 40).

24^{d-f}. Jeroboam hears of the death of Solomon, and requests permission of Shishak to return to his land. Shishak objects, and gives him Anoth, the elder sister of his own wife, in marriage; and a son Abijah is born to them. Jeroboam renews his request for leave to depart; and comes to Sareira, where he collects all the tribes of Ephraim, and builds a fort (|| xi. 43, LXX). The greater part of this section is plainly borrowed from the story of Hadad the Edomite (xi. 19–22), which no doubt represents here an interpolation in the original text.

24^{g-n}. The incident of the sickness of Jeroboam's son, and the consultation of the prophet Ahijah (|| xiv. 1–18, Heb.; wanting in the present LXX). Ahijah is introduced as a personage hitherto unknown; the incident takes place at Sareira, and therefore before Jeroboam becomes king; his wife is called by her proper name Anoth, and not being a queen, of course does not need to disguise herself. 24^{m} is in the style of the compiler of Kings, and pronounces a doom on Jeroboam's house for which no reason is assigned.

24^{n}. Jeroboam proceeds to Shechem, and gathers there all the tribes of Israel; Rehoboam also comes to Shechem (‖ xii. 1).

24^{o}. Jeroboam is designated king of the ten tribes by the prophet Shemaiah (in place of Ahijah), with the symbolism of the rent garment (‖ xi. 29–31).

24^{p-s}. The people approach Rehoboam at Shechem with a petition for the redress of grievances; Rehoboam asks for a delay of three days, during which he consults first the elders and then the young men, and finally answers the people roughly in accordance with the advice of the latter (‖ xii. 3–14).

24$^{t, u}$. The people renounce their allegiance to the house of David, and disperse to their homes. Rehoboam returns to Jerusalem, followed by the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (‖ xii. 16).

24^{x}. At the turn of the year Rehoboam musters all Judah and Benjamin, and goes up to fight against Jeroboam at Shechem (‖ xii. 21).

24$^{y, z}$. The message of Shemaiah the man of God, given in terms practically identical with those of xii. 22–24.

Now, it is evident that this arrangement of the events of Jeroboam's career is an *alternative* version to that followed by the Hebrew, and could never have been intended to find a place alongside of it in the same work. It is therefore quite beside the point to argue that G is inferior to H because of the inconsistencies between xii. 24^{a-z} and the previous sections now found in the LXX; the main point at issue being precisely whether these other sections were in the original LXX, or were introduced in the course of redaction in order to assimilate that version more nearly to the Hebrew. There are, in fact, just two questions to be considered: (1) which of the two accounts is the more original; and (2) whether there can have been a recension of the Book of Kings in which G took the place of H.

(1) To the first question it is hardly possible to return a decided answer. We must bear in mind, to begin with, that part of the original H has been displaced by the compiler to make way for the oracle of Ahijah in xi. 32–39; so that in their accounts of Jeroboam's first rebellion the two records may have been in closer agreement than now appears. In the next place, it must be allowed that in the present form of the text G does not come well out of a comparison with H. The account it gives of Jeroboam's breach with Solomon is confused, and (in LXX (B) especially) quite unintelligible. The story of his marriage with an Egyptian princess comes in in an impossible place, and is, besides, an obvious adaptation of the similar incident in the story of Hadad. Ahijah's strong denunciation of Jeroboam's house before he had come to the throne

is an anachronism which cannot possibly be attributed to an independent writer. And, lastly, the oracle of Shemaiah, forbidding the people to go up to war with their brethren, is inconsistent with the previous statement that Rehoboam had already gone up against Shechem. But when we clear the text of certain excrescences—viz. the interpolated account of the marriage with Anoth (24^{e}), the closing sentence of the oracle of Ahijah (24^{m}, which is in the style of the compiler), and the warning of Shemaiah ($24^{y, z}$, which we have seen reason (p. 189) to mark as possibly a late addition to Kings)—we obtain a kernel narrative of the course of events whose inferiority to H is by no means obvious. The following points at least deserve consideration: (*a*) The account of Jeroboam's overt act of rebellion in 24^{b} supplies a better explanation of Solomon's desire to kill him than Ahijah's prophecy, which is expressly said to have been a private communication to Jeroboam of which no third party was aware. (*b*) The circumstances of Jeroboam's return to Ephraim (leaving out the episode of the marriage) are inserted at the proper point in the history ($24^{d, f}$), whereas we have found that in the other account neither LXX nor Hebrew has been able to find a perfectly suitable place for them (see on xi. 43, xii. 2). (*c*) With regard to the sickness of Abijah, there is room for difference of opinion; but if we disconnect the incident from the denunciation of Jeroboam's dynasty, and look on it simply as an event in the domestic history of Jeroboam, there is something to be said for the priority of G. It is difficult to conceive that any writer who found it in the form in which it appears in xiv. 1–18 should have reduced it to the simple proportions of xii. 24^{g-l}. (*d*) 24^{n} gives an explanation of the national congress at Shechem which we miss in H. (*e*) The statement that Rehoboam actually went to war with Jeroboam (24^{x}) is in itself credible, and is confirmed by xiv. 30. On the other hand, it may be felt that the mantle-rending incident of 24^{o} loses in significance by being postponed to a time when Jeroboam was engaged in active measures for seizing the crown.

Whatever may be thought of the relative value of the two accounts, it seems clear that they represent two distinct recensions of the Hebrew text, based independently on some earlier document. For if it is impossible to derive G from H, it is equally impossible to derive H directly from G. H's account of the proceedings at Shechem is a lucid and self-consistent narrative, marked off from G by its exclusion of Jeroboam from any share in the negotiations between the people and Rehoboam. The only serious gaps in the narrative of H are, (*a*) the account of Jeroboam's revolt under Solomon, and (*b*) the account of his return from Egypt, which, however, may be partly preserved in the LXX of xi. 43. Ch. xii. 20 clearly presupposes that his return was unknown till after the tribes had assembled in Shechem.

(2) The second question is whether we can suppose an edition of the Book of Kings in which G stood in the place of H. At first sight an affirmative answer is suggested by the circumstance that G is prefaced by an introductory formula for Rehoboam, which yet is independent of that in xiv. 21. Nevertheless it would be extremely rash to adopt that hypothesis, since it furnishes no explanation of the parallel account of H, which we have seen to be independent of G. Moreover, though G shows marks of the hand of the compiler, they are quite insignificant compared with the numerous traces of his activity in H.

It would appear, therefore, that for a solution of this very complicated problem we shall have to go behind the redaction of the book to the sources from which it was compiled. We know that for this period of the history the compiler had two (if not three) proximate sources at his disposal—the Chronicles of Judah and of Israel (if not also the History of Solomon). Now the account of Jeroboam's elevation to the throne belongs as much to the history of the one kingdom as of the other. Is it conceivable, then, that the original of one of our narratives (presumably G) was taken from KJ, and the other (H) from KI? The chief objection to that theory would be the fact that G contains so many details that would be irrelevant in a history of Judah. On the other hand, it has in its favour the fact that it is prefaced by the introductory notice for a king of Judah, and also the fact that it leads up to and breaks off with the account of the war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, which was an event in the history of the southern kingdom. It is, to be sure, highly improbable that the compiler of Kings should have incorporated both these extracts in his work. But we have reason to believe that the sources were in existence long after the publication of the Book of Kings; and there is no difficulty in assuming that they were accessible to editors and copyists till a very late period. One of these we may suppose to have transcribed the second account of Jeroboam from KJ, and inserted it in his MS. Whether he did so with the intention of supplanting the other account entirely we cannot tell; but he is in all probability the person responsible for the omission of xiv. 1–18 in the LXX. The redactional additions and interpolations in G are presumably of still later date, and borrowed from the Hebrew text.

See further, Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, § 26, *n.* 10; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*², p. 117 ff.; Kittel, *History*, ii. p. 206 f.; Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, p. 12 ff.; Benzinger, *Commentary*, p. 97 f.; Burney, *Notes*, p. 163 ff.

NOTE III. ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGNS OF AMAZIAH, AZARIAH, AND JEROBOAM II (p. 361).

It would be a great point gained if the two errors referred to in the note could be traced to a single source; and a noteworthy attempt in this direction has been made by F. Rühl, in *Deutsche Zeitschr. für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1895, pp. 54-58, 171. The pivot of the theory is the statement of xiv. 17 (accepted by Rühl as historical) that Amaziah *lived* (not *reigned*) fifteen years after the death of Jehoash. This is taken to mean that after the battle of Beth-shemesh Amaziah was deposed by Jehoash, and that the next twenty-nine years or so were really an interregnum in the history of Judah: since Jehoash must have died soon after the battle, that period falls almost entirely under the reign of Jeroboam II. Rühl next argues that Azariah is not likely to have recovered his independence during the life of so powerful a monarch as Jeroboam II; and (accepting the synchronism of xv. 1 as resting on a sound tradition) concludes that Azariah's real reign commenced in the twenty-seventh of Jeroboam II, and also that Jeroboam II *died* in that same year! But it was natural for the chronologers of the kingdom of Judah to reckon the nominal reign of Azariah from the death of his father, who (as we see from xiv. 17) lived fourteen full years under Jeroboam II. The reign of Azariah was thus artificially lengthened by the difference between these fourteen years and the total length of the reign of Jeroboam, i. e. by about twelve or thirteen years; and out of the inevitable confusion between the real and the nominal reign of Azariah there arose naturally two serious miscalculations. (1) From the synchronism of xv. 1 it was concluded that the death of Amaziah had not taken place till the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam; and since it was still remembered that Jeroboam had survived Amaziah for thirteen years it became necessary to lengthen the reign of the former by about that period: accordingly an interpolator changed the duration of Jeroboam's reign from twenty-seven to forty-one years. But (2) a still later chronologist, combining the forty-one years' reign of Jeroboam with a plausible construction of xiv. 17, arrived at the conclusions that Azariah had come to the throne in the fifteenth year of Jeroboam, and that consequently the two monarchs had reigned contemporaneously for twenty-six or twenty-seven years. Since, as a matter of fact, Azariah only began to reign on the death of Jeroboam, this amounts to increasing his reign by twenty-six or twenty-seven years. We must therefore reduce the traditional fifty-two years of Azariah by that amount, and assign to him a real reign of only twenty-five or twenty-six years. There is no particular reason why we should stop at this point. We might go on to imagine a stage at which Azariah's *real* reign was reckoned from the fifteenth year of Jeroboam, with the result that he survived the latter by about thirteen years; and then we could explain the synchronism of xv. 8 ('the thirty-eighth year') as a reckoning backward from the end of the fifty-two years' reign of Azariah. But this matter is not dealt with by Rühl. The truth is that the theory is too intricate and elastic to command acceptance. The misconceptions it attributes to successive chronologists are anything but natural; they are such as might occur to a modern writer working towards a definite result, but they do not follow obviously from the assumed data of the problem. It attaches a value to arbitrarily selected synchronisms which they do not possess; and ignores the really historical statement about the succession of Azariah in xiv. 21. Moreover, it requires us to abandon the fairly well established Assyrian synchronism of the tribute of Menahem in 738 (see on xv. 17-22); and by making the reign of Azariah as a whole posterior to that of Jeroboam II, it introduces confusion into the chronology of the prophets Amos and Hosea.

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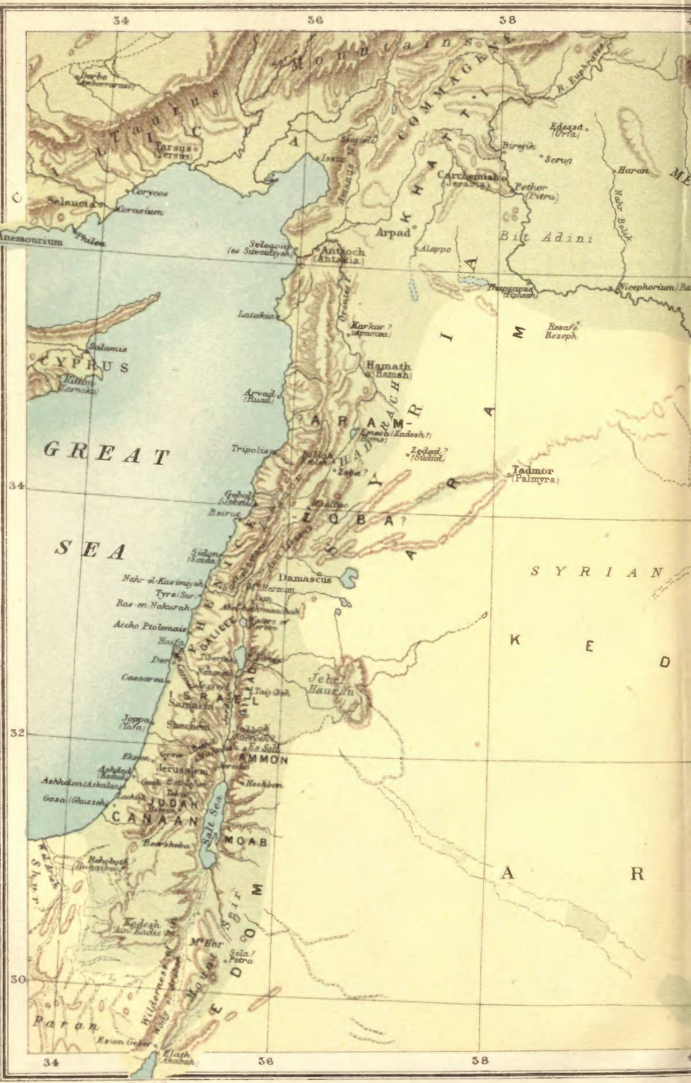
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Seleucia
Corycos
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Sinjirli
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Salamis
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Tripolis
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Ras en Nakurah
Accho Ptolemais
Haifa
Dor
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Ashkelon (Askalan)
Gaza (Ghuzzeh)
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SEA
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Shechem
Jerusalem
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CANAAN
Hebron
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Rehoboth?
Kadesh ('Ain Kadis)
Wilderness of Zin
Paran
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Elath (Akabah)
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Dan
Abel-beth-maachah
Waters of Merom
Tiberias
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Riblah
Zoba?
Baalbec
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Seruq
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Haran
R. Euphrates
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Bit Adini
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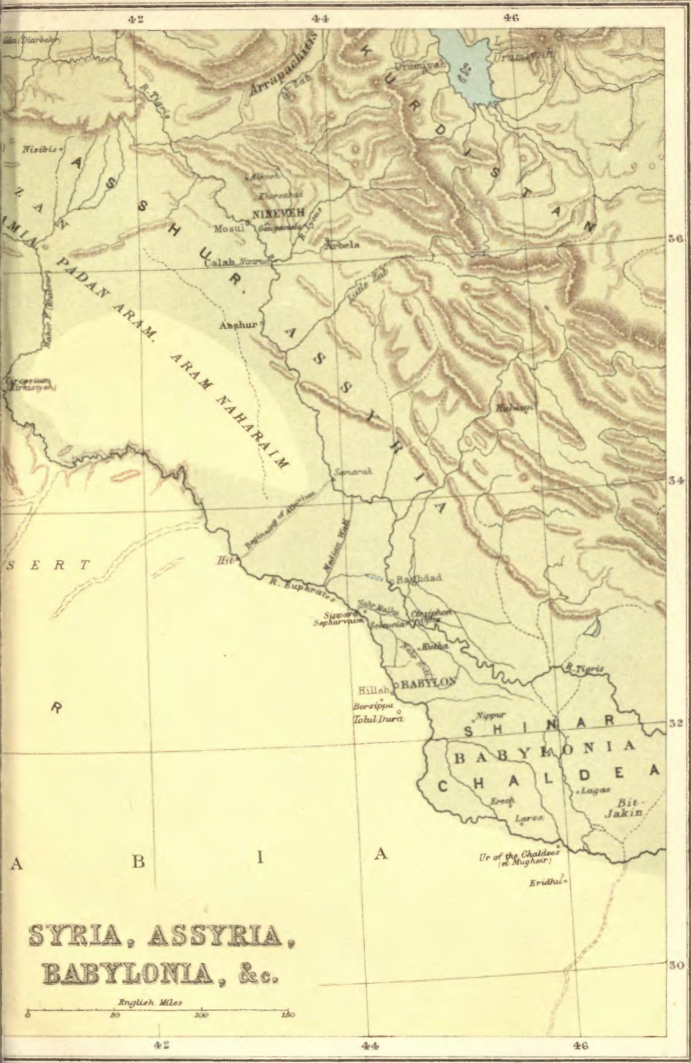
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Arrapachitis
Zab
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Urumiyah
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Nisibis
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A S S Y R I A
Alkosh
Khorsabad
NINEVEH
Mosul
Gaugamela
R. Lycus
Arbela
Calah
Nimrud
Little Zab
Nahar Khabur
PADAN ARAM,
ARAM NAHARAIM
Asshur
Circesium
(Kirkisiyeh)
Holwan
Samarah
Beginning of Alluvium
Median Wall
S E R T
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Erech
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(el Mugheir)
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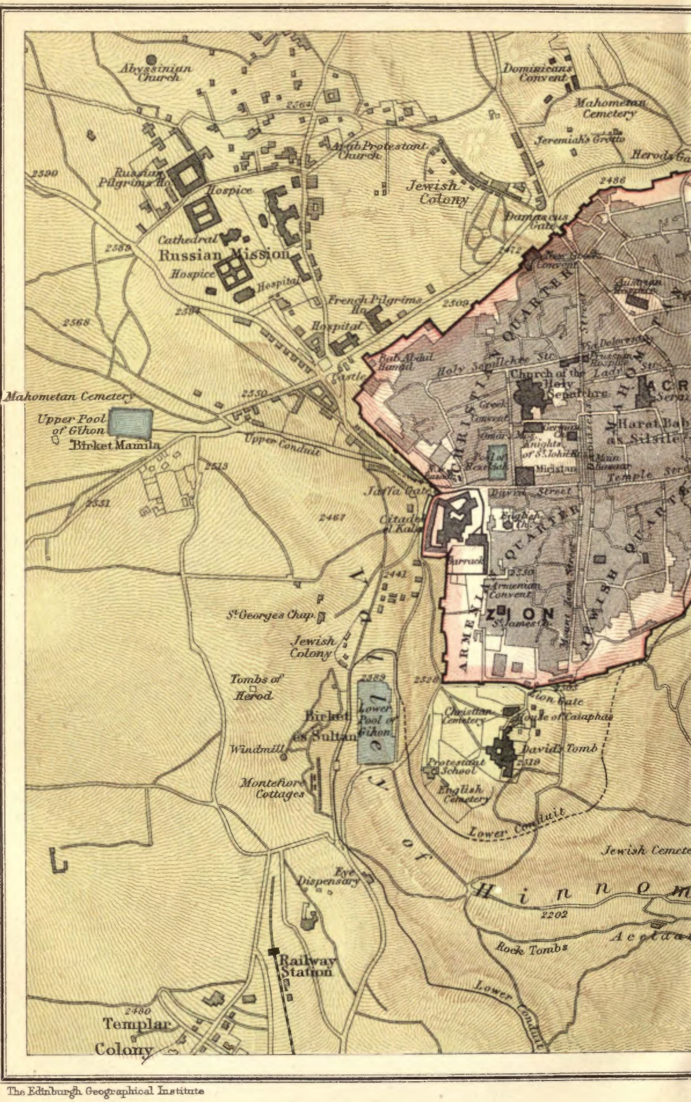
Abyssinian Church
2564
Dominicans Convent
Mahometan Cemetery
Jeremiah's Grotto
Herods Ga
Arab Protestant Church
2590
Russian Pilgrims Ho.
Hospice
Jewish Colony
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New Greek Convent
Cathedral
Russian Mission
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Hospital
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Austrian Hospice
MAHOMETAN
Bab Abdul Hamid
Holy Sepulchre Str.
Ste Dolorosa
Prussian Hospice
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Lady
Castle
ACR
Serai
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Omar's Mos.
German Ch.
Harat Bab as Silsile
Knights of St. John
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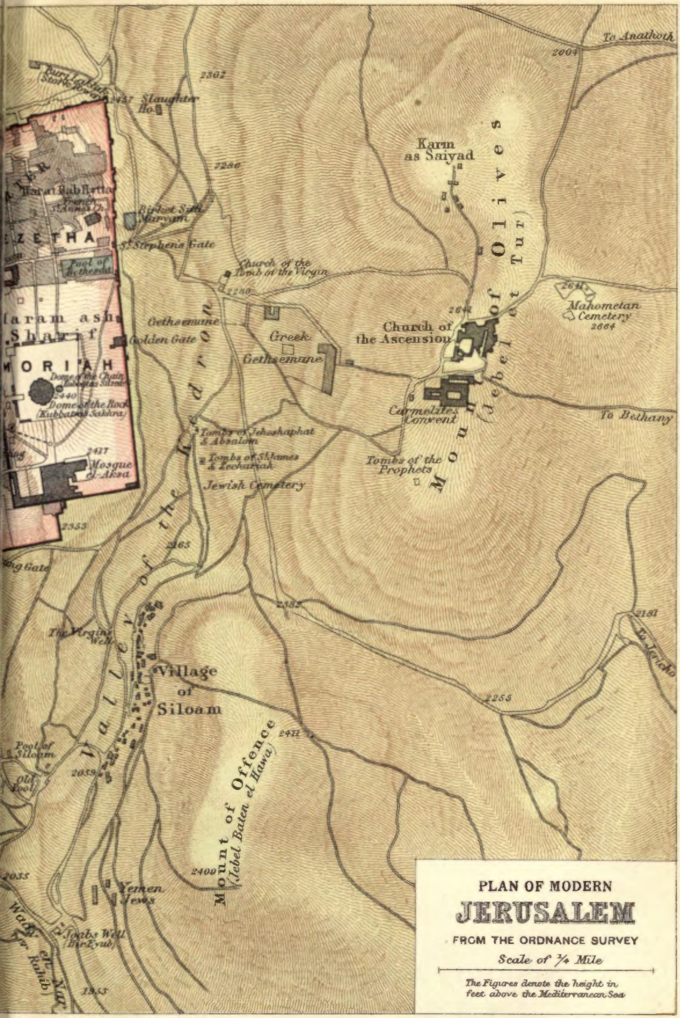
Aceldama
Rock Tombs
Railway Station
Lower Conduit
2480
Templar Colony

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute


To Anathoth
2604
2302
Burj Laklak
Stork Tower
2457
Slaughter Ho.
2286
Karm as Saiyad
Mount of Olives
(Jebel et Tur)
Harat Bab Hetta
French St. Anne's Ch.
Birket Sitti Maryam
EZETHA
St. Stephen's Gate
Pool of Bethesda
Church of the Tomb of the Virgin
2280
Haram ash Sharif
MORIAH
Gethsemane
Golden Gate
Greek Gethsemane
Church of the Ascension
2641
Mahometan Cemetery
2664
Dome of the Chain
Kubbat as Silsileh
2440
Dome of the Rock
(Kubbat as Sakhra)
Carmelite Convent
To Bethany
Valley of the Kedron
Tombs of Jehoshaphat & Absalom
Tombs of St. James & Zechariah
Tombs of the Prophets
2417
Mosque el-Aksa
Jewish Cemetery
2353
2165
Dung Gate
2382
2181
To Jericho
The Virgin's Well
Village of Siloam
2255
2411
Pool of Siloam
Old Pool
2039
Mount of Offence
(Jebel Baten el Hawa)
2409
2035
Yemen Jews
Joab's Well
(Bir Eyub)
Wadi er Rahib
Wadi en Nar
1955

PLAN OF MODERN
JERUSALEM
FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY
Scale of ¼ Mile

The Figures denote the height in feet above the Mediterranean Sea

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The Century Bible
A MODERN COMMENTARY

Chronicles

INTRODUCTION
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY THE REV.
W. R. HARVEY-JELLIE, M.A., B.D. (LOND.)

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THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES

INTRODUCTION

I AND II CHRONICLES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. TITLE AND POSITION OF THE BOOK.

IN our English Bible the Book of Chronicles bears a different title and occupies a different place from that which was originally assigned to it in the Hebrew Scriptures. The reader of the English version naturally regards this ancient history as consisting of two distinct books, which he knows as the 'Books of the Chronicles'; moreover, he finds them placed in a position which is apparently the topically correct one, immediately after the Books of the Kings. In the earliest Hebrew MSS. the entire work formed but one book, bearing the title of 'Events of the Times' and being placed at the very end of the Hebrew Scriptures. These differences are readily explained by the history of the compilation of the O. T.

Turning to the Hebrew Bible we find that the books which compose the O. T. canon were collected into three groups, corresponding roughly to the stages of the divine revelation. The first of these groups, spoken of as 'the Law' (or *Torah*), consisted of the five books which form our Pentateuch. The second group, known by the general title of 'The Prophets' (or *Nĕbî'im*), was divided into the 'Former Prophets' and the 'Latter Prophets.' Of these, the 'Former Prophets' included the four Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, while the 'Latter Prophets' included four other collections of writings, viz. the Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the twelve (or minor) Prophets. The third group, designated 'Writings' (or *Kethubim*), consisted of the remaining books. This last group was always regarded as inferior in value to the two groups which preceded it, and the arrangement of the books it contained was entirely topical. First came the three poetical Books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job ; then followed five works, known as the Megilloth (or Rolls), which were read on feast days in the later synagogues, viz. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther ; and finally there came the later historical books, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles.

It is impossible to say precisely at what period of Jewish history this last group of writings was collected, but it is highly probable that they were being gathered together at the very time when the books of the 'Former Prophets' were being put into their present literary form. Still it was by a gradual process and solely on the ground of their intrinsic worth that these 'Latter Prophets' won their way at a comparatively late date to their place in the accepted canon of the Hebrew Scriptures.

But the position which was eventually assigned to the Book of Chronicles in the Hebrew Scriptures was not the same as that which it originally occupied in the MS. of the compiler. Reference to the book itself discloses the fact that the last verse of the book breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The complete sentence is found in the opening verses of the Book of Ezra (i. 1–3), where the whole of the edict of Cyrus is given, whereas the Chronicles only record its opening sentences. Thus Ezra i. 1–3 gives the correct reading of the broken passage which now stands as 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22–23. But we also find that in the older collections of the Hebrew writings the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah formed a single work. And the evident deduction which has been made from these facts is that the two Books of Chronicles together with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah originally constituted one book. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that these books, when read consecutively, are seen to contain a remarkably harmonious compendium of Hebrew history. Briefly summarizing the history of the chosen race from Adam to David, they present a fairly full account of the fortunes of the Jewish people from David's day to the return from the great Captivity, viewed throughout from the standpoint of a Levite of the second Temple. And the history thus narrated is written in a style which is absolutely unique among the O. T. writings, yet which is quite uniform in the four books. At the same time, the same view of history prevails, and the same interests predominate in them all. These facts are sufficient proof of the original unity of this comprehensive historic work, the Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah; but we have yet to account for their subsequent separation even in Hebrew MSS.

The period of history covered by the Book of the Chronicles had already been treated with approximate fulness and accuracy in the Books of Samuel and Kings (originally another single work). But the narrative of Kings concluded with the captivity of Judah. Hence later generations felt the need of a supplement which treated of the post-exilic period. Consequently some later scribe, finding precisely such a supplement in the concluding portion of the composite work 'Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah,' seems to have divided the MS. in such a way as to be able to add the portion 'Ezra-Nehemiah' to the existing collection of MSS. Somehow it occurred that, when the division was made, the opening verses of 'Ezra' were still copied and allowed to remain in their present truncated form at the end of the Chronicles, with the result already pointed out, that Chronicles ends in the midst of a sentence[1]. In course of time, however, the intrinsic value of Chronicles was also recognized, and the standpoint of its author was seen to be so completely in harmony with later Jewish ideas as to give it an increasing importance. Hence it, too, found its way into the O. T. canon, being appended to what was in reality originally its own supplement.

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[1] Kittel, differing from most critics, regards the presence of the opening sentences of the edict of Cyrus at the end of Chronicles as the mere addition of a later scribe who wished to give a more harmonious close to the Judaean history.

The English Bible, however, following the Latin Vulgate, which in turn followed the Greek Version (the Septuagint), has restored the original order of these books and placed the Chronicles immediately after the Kings.

It is to these later Greek and Latin versions, moreover, that we owe the present title of the book. In the Hebrew Scriptures the undivided work of the chronicler was simply entitled 'Events of the Times' (*Dibrê Hayyamîm*). The Greek translators of Alexandria divided the Chronicles into two, making the division very aptly at the end of the reign of David, and styling the two books '*Paraleipomena*' (*Παραλειπόμενα*), which signifies 'supplements' or 'additions.' And, finally, the Dalmatian scholar Jerome, who produced the Latin version known as the Vulgate in the fourth century, gave to these later histories the title '*Liber Chronicorum*,' whence we derive our title 'Chronicles.'

§ 2. CONTENTS OF THE CHRONICLES.

The Book of Chronicles opens with the name of Adam and closes abruptly in the middle of the edict of Cyrus. At the end there stands a note of the scribe (the Massorite) stating that 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 is the middle verse of the book. This affords one further proof that the present two books originally formed one; yet there is a fairly systematic arrangement of the contents of the work which justifies the division made by the LXX and reveals a deliberate plan on the part of the author.

The work has four main divisions:—

(1) 1 Chron. i–ix. Genealogical summary of history from Adam to David.
(2) 1 Chron. x–xxix. History of the reign of David.
(3) 2 Chron. i–ix. History of the reign of Solomon.
(4) 2 Chron. x–xxxvi. History of the kingdom of Judah from the Disruption to the Return from the Captivity.

(1) In the opening section the chronicler has nothing new to record. He is about to write a history of the Jewish Temple and its cultus; and he determines to preface it by a summary of history from the beginning of the race. In this he confines himself to a series of genealogical tables, most of which are fragmentary, which fall almost naturally into six groups:—

(*a*) Chap. i. From Adam to Abraham and the Edomites.
(*b*) Chap. ii–iv. 23. From Israel through Judah to David's line, carried down to a period almost two centuries later than the Captivity.
(*c*) Chap. iv. 24–v. 26. The families of Simeon and the Trans-Jordanic Tribes.
(*d*) Chap. v. 27–vi. 66. The families of Levi.
(*e*) Chap. vii–viii. The families of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, half-Manasseh, Ephraim and Asher.
(*f*) Chap. ix. The former inhabitants of Jerusalem and the family of Saul.

The chronicler seems to have taken a genuine delight in genealogies and statistics, and to have spared no pains in perfecting his compilation of census returns and tribal family registers. Specially significant in this section is the prominence given to the families of Judah and Levi; and it is noteworthy that in the course of the work we meet time after time with detailed lists of the Levitic choirs and orchestras.

(2) The second section opens with Saul's overthrow on Mount Gilboa. Thence the narrative runs parallel to the histories of Samuel and Kings in a comparatively full account of the reign of David. It omits, however, all notice of David's reign in Hebron and many details of his family history, but lays great stress on matters which concern the Levites and the building of the Temple.

(3) The third section records the reign of Solomon, with a marked emphasis upon the royal achievements in building the Temple and organizing its worship.

(4) The fourth section is occupied with the history of

the kingdom of Judah, which it traces, reign by reign, from Rehoboam to Zedekiah and the Captivity.

In the composition of this work the chronicler evidently wrote with a specific aim, and naturally therefore he employed an intelligent method in the selection of his material. In dealing with earlier histories, whence he compiled his narrative, he was obliged to proceed by a process of selection; consequently, there is significance in his omissions as well as in his additions. With him, it may be said, speech is silver, silence is gold. Every line omitted from the earlier histories is an eloquent testimony to the change of tone which had come over the religious world of Judaea between the days of Zerubbabel, when 'Kings' was compiled, and the days of Alexander the Great, in which the chronicler wrote. Hence the omissions, even when they consist in little more than words, must be studied with care as a revelation of the thought of the age when the work was penned. Among the larger omissions we specially notice that the genealogical summaries pass over the whole history of Abraham, the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan.

In the same way we must carefully note the additions which the chronicler makes to the extant earlier histories. These additions are almost entirely concerned with the history of the Levitic orders, the sanctuary and the religious feasts; or they consist of narratives of warfare which are peculiarly apt for pointing out the results of fidelity and apostasy regarding the Law; or, yet again, they form brief supplements to the older narratives[1]. In the case of many of these additions, we have reason to believe that the compiler has followed other early authorities with considerable care, and that, although his dominant aim is religious rather than historical, the work has been so composed as to warrant our acceptance of its historical accuracy in all its main statements.

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[1] Additions to the narrative of Kings.

I. *Narrative Poems:—*

(*a*) *Heroes of Ziklag and Hebron:* 1 Chron. xii.

(*b*) *Matters of worship and the Levites:* 1 Chron. xiii, xv, xvi, xxii–xxix; 2 Chron. iv. 6–9, vi. 12, 13, vii. 1 ff., xxix–xxxi, xxxv. 1–17, &c.

(*c*) *Illustrations of Theodicy:* 1 Chron. xi. 6, 8, 23, xviii. 8, 12; 2 Chron. xiii. 3–21, xiv. 9–15, xv. 1–15, xvi. 7–10, xix. 1–3, xx, xxi. 11–17, xxv. 5–16, &c.

It will be subsequently shown (§ 3) that these peculiarities of omission and addition form an important clue to the person of the author of Chronicles. But it is already evident that he was guided in the selection of his material by the desire of showing the part which Israel's religion had played in the exigencies of the national history. This religious motive of the chronicler appears on almost every page. Thus when he omits as irrelevant all record of the moral lapses and the family feuds which are so inseparable from a correct estimate of the lives of David and Solomon, it is evidently due to his wish to avoid whatever was derogatory to the honour of the theocratic monarchy. Again, in the narratives of the bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem, in the priestly enthronement of Joash and in the records of Hezekiah's reign, it is solely the religious aspect of events that is made prominent. And everywhere in the chronicler's work we find the victory or failure of the kings and the prosperity or distress of the people regarded as the reward or punishment of their loyalty or apostasy in reference to the Law of God. The attitude which kings and people assume towards Jehovah is invariably regarded as the prime factor in determining the issue of events, and this attitude is always judged from the standpoint of the Levitic institutions. It thus

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II. *Explanatory insertions :—*

(*a*) *On Ritual :* 1 Chron. xv. 27^a, 28^b; 2 Chron. v. 11^b–13^a, vi. 13, vii. 6, viii. 13–15, xxiii. 6, 8^b, 13, 18, 19, xxxiv. 9, 12, 13, &c.

(*b*) *Moral reflections :* 1 Chron. xxi. 6; 2 Chron. viii. 11^b, xii. 12, xviii. 31^b, xxii. 3^b, 4^b, xxv. 27^a, xxvi. 21, 23, xxvii. 6, xxxiii. 23.

appears that the deliberate aim of the author was to instil in the hearts of his readers a loyalty to Jehovah and a delight in His worship, the validity and urgency of which, to him, found their clearest vindication in the course of Hebrew history.

§ 3. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.

The Book of Chronicles is an anonymous work. Talmudic tradition ascribes it to Ezra, but this is certainly incorrect; and the name of the author must for ever remain unknown. Yet it is possible from internal evidence to learn much concerning the position of the writer and the date of the composition of his work.

The prominence which the chronicler gives to all matters of the history and organization of the Levitic priesthood and the importance which he attaches to everything connected with the national sanctuary and religion make it virtually indubitable that he was himself a member of the Levitic community. No Jewish layman could have written such an historical work, betraying, as it does, the stamp of the Levitic mind and of priestly sympathies on every page. It takes a Levite to read the history of his people from the exclusively Levitic standpoint. Our author, then, was a Levite; but it is highly probable that he was not an ordinary priestly Levite. The frequency of his references to the service of praise in the Temple makes it almost certain that he must have been a member of the Temple choir or orchestra. A devotee to his music, an accomplished statistician, and an enthusiast for the ideals of his order, he may well be compared to some monkish historian of the Middle Ages, viewing life through the tinted windows of the cloister and fired with the ambition to turn to account the lessons of the past as a means to lead men to God. But this musician of the Levitic guilds was also a scholar with a predilection for historical studies, whose delight it was to scan the treasured annals of his country's more glorious past until the heroes of other days lived anew. His one disqualification for the work of an historian was the absoluteness of his devotion to the Levitic ideals, with the consequent tendency to read back the conditions of his own day into the remote past and to judge an earlier age as though its standards and attainments were identical with his own. It is, of course, difficult to picture the individual who brought the Chronicles into their final form, seeing that personal traits are so few; but he was undoubtedly a man of a genuinely religious nature to whom the law of his God, as he knew it, was the standard of all duty and the guide into all blessedness.

As to the date of composition of Chronicles we are able to speak with some considerable degree of certitude. The prevalent tone of the work is sufficient to indicate at the outset that it is a much later work than the more correctly so-called histories of Samuel and Kings. Great changes had passed over the national life and thought; and the age of the Deuteronomist had given place to that of the Priestly Code. But the nature and contents of the book itself afford a reliable guide to its date.

We have already seen that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah originally constituted a single work and must be attributed as a complete whole to the pen of one author, the final Levitic compiler. Within this composite work there are three passages which afford important clues to the date. The first of these is the genealogy in 1 Chron. iii. 17–24, where the names of the descendants of Zerubbabel are given down to the sixth generation (*vide in loco*); but Zerubbabel was one of the leaders of the exiles who returned from Persia in 538 B.C., so that, reckoning thirty years to a generation, we must date the last-named of his descendants as late as 350 B.C. It is quite probable, however, that the true reading of this passage is the one preserved by the LXX, Syriac and Vulgate[1], according to which the genealogy represents not six, but eleven, generations. This reading would bring the date down almost to 200 B.C. With this later date the two other passages alluded to (1 Chron. vi. 4–15 and Neh. xii. 10, 11) are in harmony. It will be noticed by reference to these passages that Neh. xii. 10, 11 takes up the list of high priests which 1 Chron. vi. 4–15 left unfinished. (The connecting link between the two is supplied by Neh. xii. 26.) But here we have the register of names carried down through Joshua to Jaddua, who, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 84 f.), was high priest in the days of Alexander the Great. Moreover, in 1 Chron. iii the line of David is traced down as far as this same period. These positive indications of a late date are further confirmed by the fact that (1) the ecclesiastical system which centred around the Priestly Code and which was established by Ezra and Nehemiah in 444 B.C. had been so long recognized in the post-exilic community at Jerusalem that the chronicler assumes its existence as long ago as the time of David; that (2) we possibly have, in 1 Chron. xxix. 7, the reckoning of a sum of money in darics, which implies that this late Persian coin had long been current; and that (3) the use of the title 'King of Persia' in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, in place of the customary early title 'the Great King,' implies that the days of the Persian supremacy were already past.

The earliest date, then, which can be assigned to the Chronicles must be about 300 B.C.

On the other hand, there is absolutely no trace of the magnificent struggle of the Maccabees which distinguished the Jewish history of the second pre-Christian century and revolutionized the religious conditions of the land. Consequently we are able, with comparative certainty, to date the compilation of Chronicles between 300 and 250 B.C., and to attribute it to the piety and industry of a Levitical singer of the second Temple.

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[1] This meaning has been obtained by reading בנו for בני four times in v. 21, and also at the end of the verse before the ובני of v. 22.

§ 4. Sources of Chronicles.

It is the practice of the chronicler constantly to cite the authorities from which he draws the information he is presenting, or to refer his readers to extant works where they may find a corroboration or supplement of the events he is narrating. Such references to his sources are almost always found at the conclusion of the reign of a king. And, in all, there are citations of twelve such sources which demand our consideration. These may be shown at a glance thus:—

(1) A Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah (2 Chron. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8).
(2) A Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32).
(3) A Book of the Kings of Israel (2 Chron. xxiv. 27).
(4) A Midrash of the Book of Kings (2 Chron. xxiv. 27).
(5) A History of the Prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (1 Chron. xxix. 29).
(6) A History of the Prophets Nathan, Ahijah the Shilonite, and Iddo (2 Chron. ix. 29).
(7) A History of the Prophets Shemaiah and Iddo (1 Chron. xii. 15).
(8) A Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (2 Chron. xiii. 22).
(9) A History of the Prophet Jehu (2 Chron. xx. 24).
(10) Isaiah's History of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 22).
(11) A History of the Prophet Isaiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 32).
(12) A History of the Prophet of Manasseh's day (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19).

Critical opinions have long been at variance as to what these sources precisely were. It seems clear, however, that they fall into two main groups, nos. 1–4 and nos. 5–12, the first group being historical and the second prophetic.

But, while some critics (e.g. Keil) have held that all these represented sources available to the chronicler, others have held that he had recourse to no works which are not available to us to-day. The conclusions which commend themselves most forcibly to the present writer, however, are those reached by Kittel. As to the first group (nos. 1–4), we hold that nos. 1–3 stand for one and the same work, a History of the Kings, which, however, is not our canonical Book of Kings, in that it differs therefrom in numerous ways, but was itself somewhat of the nature of a midrash (or homily) based upon our canonical Kings. No. 4 we take to be another midrash upon the Kings, distinct from the great work, nos. 1–3, and embodying further material.

As to the second group, we conclude, from numerous indications, that all the titles, except 8 and 11, refer to one and the same work; and, further, we conclude that they merely denote sections of the great historical work, 'The Book of the Kings.' This is supported by the fact that the chronicler *never* cites the authority of both 'The Book of the Kings' and the 'Word' &c. of a prophet for any one reign, whereas he refers to one or the other for all the kings except three. It was, moreover, the prevalent Jewish custom to indicate sections of the written history by the names of the prophets living at the time referred to, as when, for example, our Lord asked, 'Have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the Bush?' (Mark xii. 26), or when St. Paul wrote, 'Wot ye not what the scripture saith in Elijah?' (Rom. xi. 2, R.V. marg.). In addition to this we discover that in two cases it is expressly stated that these prophetic narratives form part of the larger historical work. Thus, we read 'The rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in the history of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel' (2 Chron. xx. 34); and again, 'The rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel' (2 Chron. xxxii. 32). Whence we reasonably conclude that in the other instances also the reference is to the sections of the 'Book of the Kings,' rather than to independent works. To this conclusion there are, however, two exceptions. No. 11 was probably identical with our Isaiah i–xxxix; and no. 8, on the analogy of the relation of nos. 5–12 to nos. 1–3, may be held to be part of no. 4.

Thus we reduce our author's main sources to three distinct works: (1) the great history of the Kings; (2) a midrash thereof; and (3) our Isaiah i–xxxix.

Undoubtedly there is a certain close connexion between our canonical Books of Kings and Chronicles in the matter of sources. And regarding this connexion it is noteworthy that each reference in the canonical Chronicles to the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah is paralleled by a reference in the canonical Kings to the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. Moreover, in the cases of the reigns of Ahaziah, Athaliah and Amon, where our Chronicles quotes no authority at all, our Kings also omits to give any reference. It is quite evident that the references in Kings are not to our canonical Chronicles, for it was only written centuries later. And it is equally clear that Chronicles does not allude to the canonical Kings, for information for which we are referred to the 'Book of the Kings' is not found to exist in the canonical Kings (cf. 2 Chron. xxvii. 7). It appears, then, that the canonical Kings sought its material from two distinct sources, 'the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel' for Israel and 'the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah' for Judah: whereas the chronicler obtained his material for the history of the Judaean kings from a combination of these two annals entitled 'the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.' The theory that the chronicler went back to the original sources of the canonical Kings seems to be utterly precluded by the fact that many passages of our Chronicles, where they are identical with our Kings, actually include those brief notes upon the characters of the monarch which bear every mark of being due to the final redactor of Kings rather than being derived from the originals[1]. But as we have seen reason to believe that our chronicler derived his material from a great history of the Kings, which contained matter not found in our Kings, we are shut up to the conclusion that this great work was in a sense the common source of both our canonical books, but that it had been altered by revision and the incorporation of new material between the dates of the composition of our canonical books.

Hence when the chronicler cites authorities it is with the intention of referring his readers to a larger extant work, wherein they would not only find the material contained in the canonical Kings but also confirmation of the numerous additions which he had made thereto in accord with the temper and traditions of his day.

Much of the subject-matter of our Chronicles is evidently original, for it is cast in that late Hebrew which is so typical of the age to which we have assigned the book. And it is probable that this material was worked in both from late ecclesiastical records and from contemporary, unwritten versions of his country's history. While, therefore, attempts have been made to distinguish various Levitic precursors of the chronicler, it seems preferable to follow Dr. Driver in attributing the new matter mainly to the chronicler himself. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish separate and successive redactors in endeavouring to indicate the few passages which seem to be later insertions, although the attempt has been made to indicate two such redactors.

In the treatment of the text, I have followed the course pursued by Kittel, indicating matter due to the chronicler himself, to earlier historic sources, and to later redactions. I have further discriminated between the historical matter derived from sources extant and non-extant. The following lettering is employed in the text :—

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[1] Cf. 2 Chron. xx. 32 = 1 Kings xxii. 43; 2 Chron. xxiv. 2 = 2 Kings xii. 3; 2 Chron. xxviii. 1-4 = 2 Kings xiv. 2, 5, &c.

Ch. = material due to the chronicler.
Ch.^{2} = material almost wholly rewritten from historical material.
H = material found also in extant O. T. works.
H^2 = material due to non-extant historical works.
R = work of late redactor.
R^2 = work of latest redactor.

The process by which the Levitical chronicler of the third century B. C. completes his patchwork from his earlier sources, by moralizing, correcting, supplementing, and adapting, is an indication of the different spirit of his day from that of the Deuteronomist who compiled the canonical Kings. His completed work, based upon written history, midrash, and ecclesiastical tradition, incorporates all that he held most worthy of preservation in the literature that dealt with the Temple, its history, its liturgy, and its ritual [1].

§ 5. DISCREPANCIES DUE TO COMPILATION.

A careful comparison of our Chronicles with the Book of Kings reveals the presence of numerous intentional changes and a large number of discrepancies. These discrepancies occur in regard to the ecclesiastical institutions in early Israel, in regard to the divine blessing or

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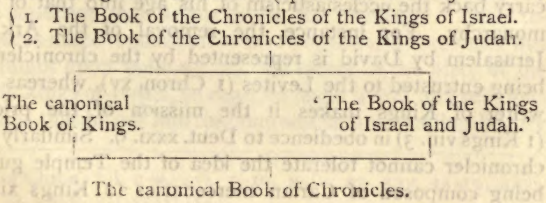
[1] Dr. Driver gives the following approximate relationship between Kings and Chronicles (cp. *Introd. to Lit. of the O. T.*):


1. The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.
2. The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.
The canonical Book of Kings.
'The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.'
The canonical Book of Chronicles.

punishment which followed specific acts of the kings, and in regard to statistics. Each of these deserves special attention.

1. Reading the past from the religious standpoint of his own day, the chronicler displayed almost no conception of the progressive character of revelation or of the gradual development of ecclesiastical institutions. Whereas a true historian would have sought to transplant himself into the spirit and environment of the past, our compiler wrote as though all things had always been precisely as he saw them; and when he supplemented earlier records he often did so from the institutions of his own age. The chronicler seems never to have realized that conduct which he felt bound to condemn might have been sanctioned in the dimmer light of an earlier day. He, therefore, freely altered all that seemed to be in conflict with his own religious ideals, and sought to harmonize the records of the ecclesiastical system existing under the earlier kings with that which prevailed under the Persian satraps. Hence discrepancies were bound to arise. (*a*) In regard to public worship, we have a case in point in the statements concerning the High Places. The writer of Kings states emphatically that neither Asa nor Jehoshaphat removed the High Places (cf. 1 Kings xv. 14, xxii. 43), whereas the chronicler states just as emphatically that, being rulers who kept the Law, they both removed the High Places (cf. 2 Chron. xiv. 5, xvii. 6). (*β*) Many points of difference are presented in passages where religious institutions are concerned, seeing that the chronicler invariably seeks to carry back the ecclesiasticism of his age into that of the monarchy. For instance, the removal of the Ark to Jerusalem by David is represented by the chronicler as being entrusted to the Levites (1 Chron. xv), whereas the writer of Kings makes it the mission of the priests (1 Kings viii. 3) in obedience to Deut. xxxi. 9. Similarly the chronicler cannot tolerate the idea of the Temple guard being composed of Carian mercenaries (2 Kings xi. 4,

R.V.), and consequently replaces them by Levites (2 Chron. xxiii). Other instances of changes due to religious presuppositions will be pointed out in the notes.

2. The second class of discrepancies is caused by the chronicler's practice of endeavouring to show that divine retribution followed *immediately* upon wrong-doing, whereas the writer of Kings, who held no such theory of immediate retribution, often speaks of a considerable interval existing. One may instance a few cases. The writer of Kings (1 Kings xxii. 48) represents the merchant fleet which was wrecked at Ezion-geber as being the sole property of the good king Jehoshaphat; but the chronicler, seeking for an immediate cause of so evident a sign of divine displeasure, states that the apostate king of Israel was a partner in the wrecked ships (2 Chron. xx. 35). Again, in 2 Kings iii we read that Jehoshaphat was successful in a campaign in which he was allied with the apostate Ahab against Moab; but, as such a result would be contrary to all his theories, the chronicler omits this war entirely and replaces it by a campaign which Jehoshaphat wages successfully, not through arms, but by the aid of the Levites, against Moab, Ammon and Edom. And, yet again, the calamities which befell the nation under Rehoboam, Asa, Jehoash, Amaziah, Azariah, and Josiah were all accounted for in Chronicles by the insertion of accounts of sin or apostasy of which the author of Kings evidently knew nothing; whereas, conversely, the length of the reign of Manasseh, whom the earlier historian paints in darkest details, is accounted for on the chronicler's part by the assertion that he became a late penitent[1]. Such instances make it abundantly evident that the chronicler was so intent upon pointing out the errors or the piety of the early kings of Judah, so eager to teach moral and religious truths, that he fell into the common fault of reading history

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[1] 2 Chron. xii. 2–8, xvi. 7–10, xxiv. 23, xxv. 14–16, xxvi. 16–20, xxxv. 21, xxxvi. 15.

in a light which would scarcely be possible to the strict historian.

3. The third class of discrepancies arises in statistics. Here the chronicler's tendency is to overestimate the grandeur of his country's past. Centuries had elapsed since the author of Kings wrote, and later ages had learned to view through magnifying-glasses the glory of the kingdom in the days of its prosperity. As evident exaggerations one may refer to 1 Chron. xxii. 24 (cf. 1 Kings x. 24); 2 Chron. xiii. 3, 17, xiv. 8, 9, xvii. 14–19, xxvi. 13, xxviii. 6, 8. For statistical discrepancies one may compare 1 Chron. xviii. 4, xxi. 5 and xxi. 25 with 2 Sam. viii. 4, xxiv. 9 and xxiv. 24, respectively.

To attribute such discrepancies to a wilful misrepresentation on the part of the chronicler would be manifestly unjust. He wrote in accord with conceptions prevalent in his age and committed to writing the contemporary interpretations of earlier history. When current traditions conflicted with the earlier records it is evident that our author regarded them as more worthy of acceptance than the statements which are found in Kings. It is highly probable that he already found the version he preferred recorded in the main source of his material, 'The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.' And in any case his religious view of history was sufficient justification for him to stress the moral aspect at every point.

A word must be said here regarding the chronicler's doublets. On several occasions we meet with duplicate genealogies and duplicate narratives. In all such cases the chronicler had probably derived them from distinct and divergent sources, and, with an historian's insight, preferred to place them both on record rather than suppress one of them or attempt a harmony. There is always a possibility that additions, including some of these duplicates, may be due to later redactors; yet the late date at which Chronicles was compiled makes it practically certain that the work has undergone no serious redaction, but has come down to us in very much the same form in which it left the hand of the Levitic author of the third pre-Christian century.

§ 6. THE CHRONICLER AS AN HISTORIAN

In all problems relating to the Books of Kings and Chronicles it is essential to keep in mind the fact that some three centuries had elapsed between the dates of their composition. The earlier history may be dated about 550 B.C. and the later possibly as late as 250 B.C.

It is scarcely possible to overstate the changes which had taken place in the life of the Jewish community during these three centuries. For the first two centuries after the Exile Judaea had ranked as a minor province of the Persian empire; and, when Alexander the Great conquered Persia in 333 B.C., the Jews offered only a feeble resistance to his authority and thereafter continued to hold the same relations with the Macedonian rulers as with their Persian predecessors. But during this period there had occurred events of such momentous import as the return from the Exile under Zerubbabel and Joshua in 536 B.C., the building of the second Temple, 536–520 B.C., and the establishment of the Deuteronomic régime under Ezra and Nehemiah in 444 B.C. It was in 401 B.C., moreover, that Xenophon and his 'Ten Thousand' had carried the Grecian arms into the heart of the Persian empire; and when that empire began to show signs of decay, a fierce revolt, sternly repressed, had broken out in Judaea during the year 350 B.C. Meantime Judaean life had been stirred by the mission of some of its greatest prophets, and Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Joel had successively uttered their messages to the people. The Pentateuch, moreover, had been put into its present form, the works of the 'Former Prophets' collected, and the great Song-Book of the Second Temple compiled.

The magnitude of such events was sufficient to render the national life and thought a very different thing from what it was in the days of the Hebrew monarchy. Not only was the reign of the latest Jewish king as remote from the chronicler's day as the reign of Edward VI is from ourselves, but the intellectual and moral horizon of the people had completely changed. The influence of Babylon and its Persian rulers, and, later on, the influence of the Grecian world, had made a remarkable impression upon the Jewish communities. Even the language had changed, as the vernacular Aramaic supplanted the ancient Hebrew speech. But most important of all for our present purpose is the fact that the law as established by Ezra and Nehemiah had entirely remoulded the religious thought and the religious institutions of the people. The Hebrew monarchy had been replaced by an order of things so different that the conditions of the national past could no longer be correctly appreciated. The priestly system had been installed where once stood the theocratic monarchy. Ecclesiasticism dominated the whole life of the community.

How natural, then, that a devout scholar of the all-powerful Levitical community should read the early history of his people, as penned in the days of the Exile, in an unsympathetic way and should imagine it to be full of primitive ideas and defective statements! And how natural that he should determine to rewrite the story of his country from the point of view of the civilization and the church of his day, omitting all irrelevant subjects and merely seeking to make the past, with God's relation to history, intelligible to his contemporaries! We have already seen him at his work and noted his sources and manner of compilation. We are now compelled to look at his finished work and inquire whether it is genuine history and what is its religious value.

In facing such questions, one must admit at the outset that it is perfectly credible that, in the course of a progressive historical revelation, God should raise up successive religious thinkers who would view the divine intent in history from standpoints varying according to the moral attainments of the age in which they lived. It would accord neither with human intelligence nor with the historical character of divine revelation to presuppose that the numerous independent estimates of God's dealings with men must display an absolute uniformity and an unvarying richness of insight. The one Spirit who guided the unfolding of the divine purpose through many channels has given a fulness to our conception of the truth which only diversity could impart.

Hence we expect that the estimate of Hebrew history formed prior to the Exile will differ from the estimate formed after it. And, similarly, the later historian who traced a divine purpose in the events of the Captivity would be almost compelled to rewrite the early history of his people less as history than as what is known as religious pragmatism (i.e. as the interpretation of God's ways in history). When we look at the Book of Samuel we discover that it was originally compiled from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic legislation. On the other hand, the compiler of the Book of Kings, as we now have it, while himself also a Deuteronomist, evidently wrote in that spirit of the first exilic prophets which is so eloquently expressed by Zechariah when he asks: 'Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live for ever? But my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your fathers?' (Zech. i. 5, 6). In Kings, and subsequently in Chronicles, the dominant interest of the compilers is religious, and a firm belief in the principle of divine retribution underlies their reading of history. Evidently, then, we can only do justice to the chronicler by first understanding and then for the moment assuming his particular religious attitude towards the history of his race.

We face the chronicler's work remembering that Jerusalem had ceased to be the head of an independent state and had become merely 'a municipality governed by a church.' In so far as the Jewish people survived as a nation at all, they lived on the recollections of the past. For the member of the post-exilic community everything centred in the Temple-service and the written law. And in this ecclesiastical system the main element was the Levitic priesthood. But the chronicler reveals the fact that he was a Levite and a Temple-musician, whose mind was saturated with the Levitic spirit. And it would be manifestly impossible for such a man to read the earlier histories of Samuel and Kings without feeling much in them was defective and much absolutely misleading. The difference of view does not necessarily imply that the later estimate of events would be the more accurate one, but merely that it would be coloured by later religious conceptions. And of necessity that would happen which actually has happened. The chronicler would feel compelled to omit or explain everything in the earlier histories that conflicted with the completed Pentateuch, which he possessed and his literary precursors did not; and he would feel resistlessly impelled to give to the Temple and its ministrants the importance which, from the viewpoint of his own age, he felt they must have possessed in earlier ages. To him it would seem evident that the divine intent had been unfolded through the house of David alone, and he would consequently ignore the northern kingdom and omit all matters which seemed foreign to the purpose of God as revealed by the events of the Exile and Restoration. This simply means that the chronicler was an eclectic writer whose purpose it was to write of the religious significance of history rather than to write the history, as such, of his people. He realized that there was a crying need for such a work as this to meet the temper of his day, and, in endeavouring to supply the want, his determination to write history was practically lost in his attempt to convey the moral lessons of the past. Although he bases his work upon earlier documents, he seems on almost every page to interject paragraphs which convey the religious interpretation of events. In effect he cries : 'Do you not see that God was in all this, and that such and such causes and consequences must have been involved !'

In a sense very much of this is equally true of the compiler of Kings, in that he too worked up the historical material at his disposal as a pragmatist. But the Deuteronomic author of Kings seems to have had a far higher regard for historical accuracy than had the Levitic pragmatist who compiled the Chronicles ; and when events failed at once to exemplify divine retribution the author of Kings simply stated the facts and left the future to vindicate the right, whereas the chronicler felt unable to leave any statement in so bare and uncommented a form.

But if we inquire of the work of the chronicler whether this is history in the modern sense, it must be frankly admitted that it does not accord with all the canons of genuine historical writings. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that where the author of Kings gives us history the author of Chronicles often gives us merely 'midrash.' And the chronicler's interpretation of the past has even been described by a modern critic as merely 'teaching by anachronism.' Yet he has done more than write a work in harmony with the spirit of Hebrew midrash ; he has actually made a compilation from the midrash of earlier writers. Consequently, where there are divergences from the earlier records in statements of fact, the weight of authority lies invariably with the 'Former Prophets' rather than with the 'Latter Prophets.' At the same time it must be pointed out that the discrepancies between Chronicles and the earlier histories have been vastly overstated, and that the majority of critics are now prepared to concede the historical accuracy of the greater part of the work of the chronicler. Many illustrations of its reliability might be given. For instance, we find in the genealogies and statistics many proofs that the chronicler sought honestly and laboriously to present the matter in hand with all the critical accuracy possible in the light of his day. We are not warranted, therefore, in treating his records with the contempt displayed by so many critics; and it must be admitted that the author's compilations of names and figures assist us materially in depicting the post-exilic community.

Moreover, the chronicler rendered an invaluable service to his generation by presenting history in a, to them, modern light; for all that he wrote was, so far as contemporary learning rendered it possible, genuine history on the whole. The care shown in the genealogical records reveals a mind in which a great reverence for the past unites with an earnest appreciation of the religious experiences of the present. All that he wrote was in harmony with conceptions prevalent amongst all Hebrew thinkers of his day; and his statements and figures were as accurate as his sources and environs enabled him to make them. Hence, even to-day, Chronicles not only has a priceless religious value, but remains as a reliable record of the position of religious thought in the Hebrew community three centuries B.C.

To the modern student Chronicles is an invaluable guide to a correct and reverent criticism of the rest of the Old Testament, and an interpreter of the silent centuries which preceded the Maccabees. It will only hold its correct place in the student's regard when he admits that historical accuracy weighed less in the compiler's purpose than the desire to indicate how God had wrought in other days. Wherefore we should really study the work as an interpreter of Jewish faith in the ages when the voice of prophecy was dying and man had little religious light save the long-kindled expectation of the Messiah, whose advent still lay three centuries ahead.

It will be seen, then, that while we are not disposed to rank Chronicles with pure history so much as with pious and reverent 'midrash,' we are still as far removed as possible from the attitude of such critics as de Wette, Stade, and Wellhausen in their contemptuous denial of the historical value of the book.

§ 7. RELIGIOUS POSITION OF THE CHRONICLER.

The Chronicles reveal throughout the fact that their author was a devout man and that he had attained to settled convictions concerning the divine government of the world; whence we are able to make certain statements regarding his religious position.

We observe in his work an *added sense of awe*, over and above what is found in Kings, when he deals with holy things. This appears generally in little things, such as the more frequent use of such phrases as 'the Ark of God' for 'the Ark of Jehovah,' and the addition of significant words such as 'with men' in the query 'Will God in very deed dwell on the earth?' (cf. 2 Chron. vi. 18, and 1 Kings viii. 27). Yet this sense of reverence pervades the whole work in a remarkable degree; and it certainly has something to do with the different method of representing the origin of the Davidic census.

Further, in the chronicler's eyes, there is an *added sanctity about* everything connected with *the Temple* and the organization of the national worship. The High Places are viewed with stronger disapproval than ever. The sacredness of the shrine where Jehovah had manifested Himself is shown by the title 'Holy of Holies.' The utmost care is given to the description of all matters of ritual. And yet the chronicler is no mere ritualist; for there are times when he admits that the attitude of the heart stands for more than does the legitimacy of the method of worship (cf. 2 Chron. xxx. 18).

But the outstanding fact about the chronicler is that he takes *a religious view of history*. He views the same facts with the author of Kings, but he always endeavours to go behind the scenes and understand the divine *rationale* of events. He has, too, a very definite conception of the inerrancy of Jehovah's justice and the infallibility of His law of retribution. Hence when royal or national disaster occurs, the chronicler puts his finger on the spot and indicates the moral flaw which caused it. And on the other hand, when kings were loyal to Jehovah, he seeks to pile up his records of the divine blessings which were bestowed upon them. Still he is not, even here, so hard and fast a theorist as to present a cast-iron system. Once at least he records a mystery which baffles him—the overthrow of Josiah the good—and he leaves the reader to face the tragedy of Megiddo in only partial light. But no fact is more patent than that from dawn to dusk of his country's history the chronicler reads 'God,' and that he endeavours so to select his material and so to present it as to teach to his readers the one great fact of God's presence with men through all the exigencies of history.

One must not fail to notice, too, how firmly this writer holds the doctrine of 'the purpose of God according to election.' He does not, indeed, formulate any such dogma as we are accustomed to understand by the term 'election'; but he traces the evolution of the divine purpose from Adam to the edict of Cyrus in such a way that he consigns to oblivion the men and races which failed historically to hold a place in that evolution. As an outstanding example of this we may note the way in which he ignores the existence of the kingdom of Northern Israel.

Yet he is strong also in his 'doctrines of Grace.' Amid the recurring fickleness and apostasy of Judaea, he represents God as continually repenting of the evil threatened and turning back to bless the penitent. To him, God is always wooing the sinner by His prophets and always seeking to save. And it is only when kings and people have dragged their country under the heel of the Chaldean that He is represented as abandoning them to their deserts[1].

We may, perchance, take up Chronicles to study history; but we shall, if we rightly understand it, lay it down with the realization that we have seen into the heart of a man of God and come face to face with God Himself in the open air of history.

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[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16.

§ 8. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE VERSIONS.

As to the language in which the Chronicles was penned, we find on every page traces that it is written in late Hebrew. So far as it consists of original matter, and not compilations, its language is that which prevailed subsequent to the age of Nehemiah. New words are used freely, and old words appear with new significations. The syntax is harsher and cruder than that of classic Hebrew, and is full of affinities with the incoming Arabic speech. One cannot escape the conviction that the author wrote in a language which was no longer living, but stood to the ancient Hebrew speech much as the ecclesiastical Latin of the Middle Ages stood to the tongue of Cicero.

The original text of Chronicles, like that of every book of the O.T., is still a question of some uncertainty, and the efforts of scholars are constantly directed towards discerning the correct readings of the Hebrew. The frequency of doubtful readings is due to the fact that these books must certainly have been copied and recopied many times before the date of the first printed Hebrew Bible. The earliest Hebrew MS. of which we know the age is dated 916 A.D., and critics are agreed that the original of all existing copies of the O.T. was a single MS. which was adopted as a standard copy some time in the second or third century of our era. As the interval between the compilation of Chronicles and the production of our earliest MSS. is shorter than that in the case of most other books of the O.T., there is a natural assumption that fewer mistakes would creep in through transcription. And, although the textual criticism of Chronicles is a peculiarly complicated problem, the text is less corrupt than that of many other books, and many of its errors can be readily corrected by the aid of Samuel and Kings.

The most important external witness to the original text is the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures which was made some time about the year 200 B.C. for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria. This version is known as the Septuagint (LXX)[1], and is of incomparable value for all matters of textual criticism. It was the Bible used in the time of Christ and generally quoted in the N.T. Its value lies in the fact that from about 200 B.C. its history ran parallel to that of the Hebrew text, so that any later changes in the Hebrew can usually be noted by comparison with the Greek version. It is frequently evident that the LXX version has been made from a Hebrew text which differed considerably from the Hebrew which has come down to us. When these passages are retranslated into Hebrew they consequently form a valuable indication of the original reading at the date when the earliest Greek version was made. It then becomes the task of the critic to determine which reading is preferable by applying the rules of textual criticism. Each passage in question requires to be examined upon its own merits, and no general rule can be laid down as to whether the Hebrew or the Greek is to be preferred. And we shall note and discuss all important differences in the course of our annotation of the text. But there is an important fact to be reckoned with in our treatment of the LXX, viz. that it has in its turn undergone numerous revisions[2], during which later scholars laboured under the resistless tendency to bring the Greek more and more into harmony with the accepted Hebrew text. In the result we see that a Greek version may often have a stronger claim to be original just when it differs most from the Hebrew text. It has hitherto been impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the original text of the

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[1] Cf. Swete's *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, 1900; and Driver's Notes.

[2] Cf. Skinner on *Kings*, Introd. § 7.

LXX; but, in our textual criticism of the Hebrew, there are two parallel editions of the Greek, representing two distinct classes of MSS., which may be used with confidence. There is, firstly, the version known as LXX (B), found in the MS. at the Vatican, and printed in the edition of Swete. And there is, secondly, the version known as LXX (L), generally held to be derived from Lucian of Antioch, and printed in the edition of Lagarde.

In addition to the Greek version, we have the valuable testimony of the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate.

Chronology of Chronicles[1].

Year of Accession B.C.		Length of Reign.
± 1025	Saul	15 (or 40) yrs.
1010	David	40 years.
971	Solomon	40 ,,
932	Rehoboam	17 ,,
916	Abijah	3 ,,
914	Asa	41 ,,
874	Jehoshaphat	25 ,,
850	Jehoram	8 ,,
843	Ahaziah	1 ,,
843	Athaliah	7 ,,
837	Joash	40 ,,
798	Amaziah	9[1] ,,
790	Uzziah	52 ,,
749	Jotham (with Uzziah)	11 ,,
	,, (alone)	5 ,,
735	Ahaz	16 ,,
720	Hezekiah	29 ,,
692	Manasseh	55 ,,
638	Amon	2 ,,
637	Josiah	31 ,,
607	Jehoahaz	3 months.
607	Jehoiakim	11 years.
597	Jehoiachin	3 months.
597	Zedekiah	11 years.
587	Fall of Jerusalem.	
537	Edict of Cyrus.	

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[1] For full discussion cf. Skinner on *Kings*, Introd., § 7, in *Century Bible*.

REFERENCE WORKS.

LXX, Greek Version of the Old Testament (Septuagint).

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THE
BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE FIRST BOOK

OF

THE CHRONICLES

[Ch²] ADAM, Seth, Enosh; Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared; 1

I. FIRST PART

i—ix. Genealogical Summary from Adam to David.

THE first nine chapters form an introduction to the chronicler's history of the Jewish people and of their Temple. This introduction takes the form of genealogical summaries, following the mode often employed in literature of the period. But even here the author is guided by an eclecticism which reveals at the outset the aim which actuates him in rewriting his people's history. The aim thus revealed is to trace the channels which the Divine will had employed in executing the purpose of God and establishing His Church among men.

The book opens with the name of Adam, the fountain-head of the race. The first chapter is devoted to the patriarchs from Adam through Seth to Abraham and his sons, amongst whom a surprisingly large space is given to the Edomites. From this point on to chap. iv. 23 it is the tribe of Judah and the line of David that receive paramount consideration. Most of the tribes of Israel are subsequently dealt with, but amongst them the largest space, after Judah, is devoted to Levi and Benjamin. Emphasis is laid upon the importance of the Aaronic priesthood by a double genealogy from Eleazar to Ahimaaz, and by the entire omission of the house of Eli. The records then close with a list of the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem and of the ministrants of the Temple. Such summaries in themselves are sufficient indication that the chronicler read history from the Levitic standpoint, and that, from such a standpoint, he was prepared to insist that 'through the ages one unceasing purpose runs.'

In prefacing his work by this condensed review of early history the compiler of the originally undivided work, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, has produced a consecutive history of the Jewish race from Adam almost down to the days of Alexander the Great. Moreover, this Levitic history runs parallel to the Deuteronomic history, recorded in the Pentateuch and the 'Former Prophets,' in which the rise and fortunes of the people are recorded from Adam to the great Exile.

There is no difficulty in accounting for the existence of such abundant genealogical material as the chronicler evidently found ready to his hand. Israel, like other early pastoral races, laid stress upon the preservation of family records. When the people became a settled nation the preservation of these records was maintained as strictly as ever, and seems even to have been supervised by the State. Further, the Exile, which destroyed the State, rather enhanced than enfeebled the jealousy with which these early registers were kept; and not only were old records carefully preserved, but new ones were evidently compiled during the Exile.

That the chronicler's genealogies have been pieced together from many sources is evident from the fact that they are not free from discrepancies and duplicates. That they have been compiled with unique care is seen in the preservation of every shred of evidence entitling a man to national and priestly privileges, even when this involved the retention of alternative genealogies in several instances. Nothing seems to have been omitted which bore upon the Divine purpose of singling out the house of Levi for special eminence in the Jewish Church; and little is inserted that deals with families seemingly passed over by the Divine plan. Yet, at the same time, the large space given to the genealogies of the favoured tribes may be partially accounted for by other reasons, viz. that the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin constituted the bulk of the people who returned from the Exile with Ezra. But it is to be carefully noted that the only lines which are traced without a break to the days of the Exile are the lines of David and of the high-priests of Eleazar's house.

(1) i. *Genealogies of the Patriarchal Period.*

The genealogies of ch. i are a mosaic formed by transcription and condensation from Genesis; thus:—

Verses 1-4	Gen. v.
,, 5-23	,, x. 2-4, 6-8, 13-18^a, 22-29.
,, 24-27	,, xi. 10-26.
,, 29-31	,, xxv. 13-16.
,, 32, 33	,, xxv. 1-4.
Verse 34	,, xxv. 19.
Verses 35-42	,, xxxvi. 1-30.
,, 43-50	,, xxxvi. 31-39.
,, 51-54	,, xxxvi. 40-43.

i. 1-4. *From Adam to Noah and his sons.* The names of the ten patriarchs and the three sons of Noah are excerpted from 'the book of the generations of Adam,' Gen. v. They stand without any indication of the relationship existing between them.

Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech; Noah, Shem, Ham, and 3,4
Japheth.

[**H**] The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and 5
Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.
And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Diphath, and 6
Togarmah. And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and 7
Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim.

The sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, Put, and 8
Canaan. And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, 9
and Sabta, and Raama, and Sabteca. And the sons of
Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan. [**R**] And Cush begat 10
Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth.
[**R^2**] And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and 11
Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim 12

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2. Kenan: LXX Kainan, which seems to represent the Aramaic pronunciation of the Hebrew. Hebrew was a dead language at the time when the LXX version was made.

4. The LXX omits 'sons of Noah' after the name of the Patriarch: cf. Gen. x. 1.

i. 5–23. *Noah and his descendants.* The seventy-one names of the descendants of the three sons of Noah include both individuals and tribes. First come fourteen races descended from Japheth (verses 5–7), then thirty-one descended from Ham (verses 8–16), and, lastly, twenty-six descended from Shem (verses 17–23). This enumeration accounts for the entire racial population of the world according to the ethnography of the chronicler's day. The omission of some of the notes of relationship (e. g. verse 17: cf. Gen. x. 23) implies the accessibility of the register whence the names are culled. The same fact may account for the omission of the founding of the great Chaldean cities of Gen. x. 10, 11 and the retention of such insignificant statements as the meaning of the name of Peleg (verse 19).

Verses 11–23 are lacking in the LXX(B), with the exception of the opening phrase of verse 17, 'The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur.' This fact, added to the fact that the presence of these verses gives us a duplicate genealogy of the Shemites (cf. verses 24–27), affords conclusive proof that the passage is the insertion of a later redacter.

6. Diphath: orthographical error for Riphath: cf. Gen. x. 3.

7. Rodanim: correct, in spite of Dodanim of Gen. x. 4.

(from whence came the Philistines), and Caphtorim.
3, 14 And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth; and
15 the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite; and
16 the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite; and the
Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.

17 The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad,
and Lud, and Aram, and Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and
18 Meshech. And Arpachshad begat Shelah, and Shelah
19 begat Eber. And unto Eber were born two sons: the
name of the one was Peleg; for in his days the earth was
20 divided; and his brother's name was Joktan. And
Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth,
1, 22 and Jerah; and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah; and
23 Ebal, and Abimael, and Sheba; and Ophir, and Havilah,
and Jobab. All these were the sons of Joktan.

4, 25 [Ch^2] Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah; Eber, Peleg, Reu;
6, 27 Serug, Nahor, Terah; Abram (the same is Abraham).
28 The sons of Abraham; Isaac, and Ishmael.

29 These are their generations: [H] the firstborn of
Ishmael, Nebaioth; then Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mib-
30 sam, Mishma, and Dumah, Massa; Hadad, and Tema,
31 Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah. These are the sons of
Ishmael.

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20. Hazarmaveth: the name literally means 'court of death.' Possibly it is a place-name referred subsequently to an eponymous ancestor (Bennett).

i. 24–27. *From Shem to Abraham.* A list of the lineal descendants of Shem, omitting notes of relationship.

27. Abram (the same is Abraham): LXX simply reads 'Abraham'; the addition in the Hebrew text is probably intended to refer the reader to the history of Abraham in the Pentateuch.

i. 28–34. *The Sons of Abraham.* The sons of Ishmael are given first, those of Isaac last, and the sons of Abraham by Keturah are inserted in the middle.

And the sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine: she 32
bare Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and
Ishbak, and Shuah. And the sons of Jokshan; Sheba,
and Dedan. And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and 33
Epher, and Hanoch, and Abida, and Eldaah. All these
were the sons of Keturah.

[Ch²] And Abraham begat Isaac. The sons of Isaac; 34
Esau, and Israel.

The sons of Esau; Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and 35
Jalam, and Korah. The sons of Eliphaz; Teman, and 36
Omar, Zephi, and Gatam, Kenaz, and Timna, and Amalek.
The sons of Reuel; Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and 37
Mizzah. And the sons of Seir; [**H**] Lotan and Shobal 38
and Zibeon and Anah, and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan.
And the sons of Lotan; Hori and Homam: and Timna 39
was Lotan's sister. The sons of Shobal; Alian and 40
Manahath and Ebal, Shephi and Onam. And the sons
of Zibeon; Aiah and Anah. The sons of Anah; Dishon. 41
And the sons of Dishon; Hamran and Eshban and
Ithran and Cheran. The sons of Ezer; Bilhan and 42
Zaavan, Jaakan. The sons of Dishan; Uz and Aran.

32, 33. Through Keturah the Midianite clans were connected with Israel.

34. Esau and Israel: LXX(B) reads 'Jacob and Esau,' though LXX (L) retains the reading of the Hebrew.

35–42. *Clans of Edom and Seir.* We must note the condensed narrative form of verse 36, which is misleading to a modern reader, although intelligible to one who had access to the earlier records. Timna is named among the sons of Eliphaz; she is really his concubine, and Amalek is her son (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 12). Again, note that in verses 35–37 we have the names of the heads of the thirteen clans of Esau, followed by the names of the seven aboriginal tribe-leaders of Seir, with whom the conquering Edomites blended to form the twenty dukedoms of Edom. These facts reveal to us the general character of these genealogical summaries and their tendency to group names of individuals, clans, and places on an equal footing and without discrimination.

43 Now these are the kings that reigned in the land of
Edom, before there reigned any king over the children
of Israel: Bela the son of Beor; and the name of his
44 city was Dinhabah. And Bela died, and Jobab the son
45 of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. And Jobab
died, and Husham of the land of the Temanites
46 reigned in his stead. And Husham died, and Hadad
the son of Bedad, which smote Midian in the field of
Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city
47 was Avith. And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah
48 reigned in his stead. And Samlah died, and Shaul of
49 Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. And Shaul
died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in his
50 stead. And Baal-hanan died, and Hadad reigned in his
stead; and the name of his city was Pai: and his wife's
name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the
51 daughter of Me-zahab. And Hadad died. And the
dukes of Edom were; duke Timna, duke Aliah, duke
52 Jetheth; duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon;
53, 54 duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar; duke Magdiel,
duke Iram. These are the dukes of Edom.

2 [Ch[2]] These are the sons of Israel; Reuben, Simeon,

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i. 43-50. *Kings of Edom.*

43. The LXX simply reads, 'And these were their kings, Balak son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba.' This was probably the original text.

51-54. *Dukes of Edom.* It is again evident, from the inclusion of female names and tribal names in the list of dukes, that districts are referred to rather than individuals. The original, Gen. xxxvi. 40-43, bears this out. Moreover, the number of the thirteen dukes is reduced to eleven in this passage, which names the clan-districts.

(2) ii—iv. 23. *Sons of Israel and the tribe of Judah.*

Throughout these genealogical tables the aim of the chronicler has been less strictly genealogical than geographical. He has

Levi, and Judah, Issachar and Zebulun; Dan, Joseph 2
and Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad and Asher.
The sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah: which 3
three were born unto him of Bath-shua the Canaanitess.
[**H**] And Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight
of the LORD; and he slew him. [Ch^2] And Tamar his 4

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endeavoured to explain the origin of the distribution of the population, and has consequently blended the names of personal ancestors with eponymous ancestors. Many of the names in these three chapters consequently stand for tribes which became incorporated with Judah at some point in its history; and the long-recognized fact of this complete fusion with alien tribes is here expressed by the prevalent method of genealogical tables.

The chronicler devotes these two and a half chapters to the all-powerful tribe of Judah. And it is noticeable that in ch. ii and ch. iv we have two independent and parallel genealogies of the tribe. Many of the names found are common to both records. Evidently, then, we have here a case of doublets; and the two tables should probably be regarded as the genealogies accepted at two different periods, both of which the compiler held to be worthy of preservation.

In this section we find a treatment of the genealogy of the three sons of Judah, Shalah, Pharez, and Zerah, the descendants of Pharez being divided into two lines founded by Hezron and Hamul. The descendants of Hezron are traced with great care through David to the house of Zerubbabel, and considerable space is given to the lines of Caleb and Jerahmeel. The section is completed with other fragmentary records of the sons of Pharez and Shelah.

The material for these genealogies is drawn from extant O. T. sources thus:—

1 Chron. ii. 1, 2	...	Gen. xxxv. 23-26.
,, ii. 3-5	...	Gen. xxxviii. 2-7, 29, 30; xlvi. 12.
,, ii. 6-8	...	1 Kings iv. 31; Joshua vii. 1.
,, ii. 10-12	...	Ruth iv. 19-21.
,, ii. 13-17	...	1 Sam. xvi. 6-13; 2 Sam. ii. 18; xvii. 25.
,, iii. 1 9	...	2 Sam. iii. 2-5; v. 5, 14-16.
,, iii. 10-16	...	Kings.

(*a*) **ii. 1, 2.** *Sons of Israel.* Dan is assigned a place immediately after the sons of Leah, differing from the position given in Genesis.

(*b*) ii. 3-5. *Sons of Judah.*

3. LORD: whenever the Divine name is thus printed in four

daughter in law bare him Perez and Zerah. All the sons
5 of Judah were five. [**H**] The sons of Perez; Hezron
6 and Hamul. [**Ch**] And the sons of Zerah; Zimri, and
Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dara: five of them
7 in all. And the sons of Carmi; Achar, the troubler of
Israel, who committed a trespass in the devoted thing.
8, 9 And the sons of Ethan; Azariah. [**H²**] The sons also

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capitals it represents the name Yahweh (Jehovah) of the original. The name stands for the self-existent deity. It is probably derived from the imperfect tense of the Hebrew verb 'to be' (cf. 'I am that I am'), but the reverence with which the name was treated led to the substitution of the word Lord ('Adonai) in its place in speech and reading. Hence the original pronunciation was lost; and our word Jehovah merely represents the consonants of the original word pronounced with the vowels of 'Adonai.

(*c*) ii. 6–8. *Descendants of Zerah.* Nowhere else do we find the five sons of Zerah (verse 6) named together; but four of them are given in 1 Kings iv. 31 (i.e. 1 Kings v. 11 of the Hebrew Bible), as wise men of fame in Solomon's day. There the two latter are called sons of Mahal, and it is by no means certain that they are here represented as 'sons of Zerah' in the real sense. Probably steps in the genealogy have been omitted. There is no reason for identifying Ethan and Heman, who are probably the authors of Psalms lxxxviii and lxxxix, with the Levites so named in 1 Chron. xv. 17, 19, of whom the chronicler gives a very different genealogy in ch. vi; whereas he would have been predisposed to claim these psalmists as Levites had it been possible. However, these men were of sufficient note to be named with the few prominent descendants of Zerah who are here selected for mention.

7. devoted thing: Heb. *ḥērem*, LXX 'anathema': denotes any person or thing devoted to Jehovah by being destroyed; e.g. the gold of Jericho. Achan violated the taboo of Joshua and thus merited the name of Achar, 'troubled': the reference is to Joshua vii. 1.

(*d*) ii. 9–41. *Descendants of Hezron.* The families of Hezron are not given in the order of seniority of their heads. Moreover the chronicler is still frequently stating tribal relationships rather than personal connexions. He is reading backward from his own day in order to explain the local situations of the members of this important clan.

of Hezron, that were born unto him; Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai. And Ram begat Amminadab; 10

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9. Jerahmeel probably represents a tribe of the S.-E. Negeb, in the far south of Palestine, which united its fortunes to those of Judah during the later wanderings of the Exodus. They subsequently occupied the south of Judah from the time of the Conquest to the Captivity, and became completely fused with the tribe in religion and in history.

Ram was evidently the lineal descendant of Hezron and is the Aram of LXX and Matt. i. 3.

Chelubai: i. e. Caleb. He is always spoken of as a Kenezite (cf. Num. xxxii. 12), i. e. one of Edomite extraction (cf. Gen. xxxvi. 11). He is the hero of the Conquest and the head of the clan which, along with the Jerahmeelites, identified itself with Judah and occupied the region of Hebron.

The genealogies of these 'sons of Hezron' present various difficulties. (*a*) They are not given in the order of primogeniture. (*b*) The descendants of Caleb are given in three different forms in verses 18–24, 42–49, and 50–55. (*c*) In verses 25 and 27 Ram is represented as the son, not the younger brother, of Jerahmeel. Evidently the chronicler's original plan has been upset, and we are compelled (with Kittel) to assign verses 18–24, 34–41 and 50–55 to a later redactor. This leaves records of the three sons of Hezron with which the chronicler set out in verse 9. Wellhausen would also refer verses 10–17 ('the sons of Ram') to another source than the work of the chronicler (cf. *Hist.* p. 216 ff.), and we discuss this below. Further, verses 42–49 must probably be read as describing the pre-exilic locations of the Calebites, while 50–55 describe their post-exilic abodes.

ii. 10–17. *The Descendants of Ram.* It is quite probable that the descendants of Ram are placed first among the sons of Hezron because they represent the royal line of David. Moreover, the confusion evident throughout the chapter, with its fragmentary records, renders it probable that the chronicler only found the genealogies of Jerahmeel and Caleb in his ancient source, and that he went to Ruth iv (the only extant genealogy of David which carried the succession down below Jesse, and itself a late work) for his tables of the posterity of Ram. It is possible that the chronicler was led to compile this original genealogy of Ram by confusing, in the first instance, the son of Hezron and the eldest son of Jerahmeel (cf. verse 27). Further, as a period of some 830 years separated the Exodus from the days of Jesse, it is evident that the seven generations here named do not represent all the links in David's lineage.

and Amminadab begat Nahshon, prince of the children
11 of Judah; [H] and Nahshon begat Salma, and Salma
12 begat Boaz; and Boaz begat Obed, and Obed begat
13 Jesse; [Ch] and Jesse beget his firstborn Eliab, and
14 Abinadab the second, and Shimea the third; Nethanel
15 the fourth, Raddai the fifth; Ozem the sixth, David the
16 seventh: and their sisters were Zeruiah and Abigail.
And the sons of Zeruiah; Abishai, and Joab, and Asahel,
17 three. And Abigail bare Amasa: and the father of
18 Amasa was Jether the Ishmaelite. [R] And Caleb the
son of Hezron begat *children* of Azubah *his* wife, and of
Jerioth: and these were her sons; Jesher, and Shobab,

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10. Nahshon: mentioned in Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12, as a prince of Judah at the time of the Exodus.

13. Jesse: in 1 Sam. xvii. 12 we learn that he had eight sons: of these, one may have died childless, and would then be omitted from the genealogy.

16. Zeruiah and Abigail: David's sisters deserved special mention owing to the military prowess of their sons at the establishment of the monarchy.

ii. 18-24. *The Descendants of Caleb.* These records of the house of Caleb are given in the form of loose notes, lacking in continuity, the one important point being their connexion with the tribe of Judah. The free intermingling of place-names is an indication that the chronicler is piecing together various evidences of the local settlements of the Calebites at different periods of the history of their clan. In verses 21-23 we find a Gileadite genealogy introduced, and the question arises as to whether these Gileadites were really connected with another Hezron, here confused with the son of Perez, or whether they were aliens who eventually blended with Judah. The latter explanation is to be preferred, on the ground that these trans-Jordanic clans, when decimated by the Assyrian captivity, probably sought safety by migrating to Judah some time during the days of Hezekiah. Pre-exilic conditions are represented.

18. Caleb: a shorter form of Chelubai.

Jerioth: the text is certainly corrupt, and it has been proposed, by a slight change, to read 'he begat, of Azubah his wife, Jerioth' (i. e. a daughter). The names of Azubah's sons, when slightly amended, give the unique significance of 'Upright, Backslider, Destruction.'

and Ardon. And Azubah died, and Caleb took unto 19
him Ephrath, which bare him Hur. And Hur begat 20
Uri, and Uri begat Bezalel. And afterward Hezron 21
went in to the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead;
whom he took *to wife* when he was threescore years old;
and she bare him Segub. And Segub begat Jair, who 22
had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead. And 23
Geshur and Aram took the towns of Jair from them, with
Kenath, and the villages thereof, even threescore cities.
All these were the sons of Machir the father of Gilead.
And after that Hezron was dead in Caleb-ephrathah, 24
then Abiah Hezron's wife bare him Ashhur the father of
Tekoa. And the sons of Jerahmeel the firstborn of 25

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20. Bezalel: the famous Tabernacle-smith.

21. Machir: the eldest son of Manasseh. This marriage-alliance with Manasseh is the genealogist's explanation of the reckoning of Jair (verses 22, 23) to Judah in this passage, whereas the Pentateuch numbers him with Manasseh. The descendants of Jair are said to have possessed sixty fenced cities in Gilead, of which thirty-seven are comprised under the title of 'Kenath and her daughters' (R. V. villages). These cities suffered under a raid by the Arameans of Geshur, as here stated.

24. Caleb-ephrathah: probably Bethlehem, deriving its title of Ephrathah from the fact that it was the birthplace of Caleb's first wife. The connexion of Caleb with this town shows that the section refers to the post-exilic location of his clan, for the pre-exilic days found the clan in the district of Hebron.

the father of Tekoa: i. e. of the population of the district of Tekoa.

ii. 25-41. *The Descendants of Jerahmeel.* This section is the first direct resumption of the matter represented in verse 9. It seems to be a genealogical representation of the engrafting of the southern Jerahmeelites into the tribe of Judah at a period not much later than David's day; it shows how those left in the land at the Exile were driven northward by pressure from the Edomites (or how those who returned from the Exile settled in Northern Judah); and, when the cause of their advent to the new abode was forgotten, it sought to account for it by a genealogical table. Hence verses 25-33 represent a fragment rescued from earlier times giving the habitat of the clan in David's day, whereas

Hezron were Ram the firstborn, and Bunah, and Oren,
26 and Ozem, Ahijah. [**H²**] And Jerahmeel had another
wife, whose name was Atarah; she was the mother of
27 Onam. And the sons of Ram the firstborn of Jerahmeel
28 were Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker. And the sons of
Onam were Shammai, and Jada: and the sons of
29 Shammai; Nadab, and Abishur. And the name of the
wife of Abishur was Abihail; and she bare him Ahban,
30 and Molid. And the sons of Nadab; Seled, and Ap-
31 paim: but Seled died without children. And the sons
of Appaim; Ishi. And the sons of Ishi; Sheshan. And
32 the sons of Sheshan; Ahlai. And the sons of Jada the
brother of Shammai; Jether, and Jonathan: and Jether
33 died without children. And the sons of Jonathan;
Peleth, and Zaza. These were the sons of Jerahmeel.
34 [**R**] Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters. And
Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name was
35 Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his

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verses 34–41 are intended to account for the location of the post-exilic Jerahmeelites.

ii. 25–33. *Pre-exilic Jerahmeelites.*

25. Ahijah: a feminine name, possibly representing Jerahmeel's wife. As it is disconnected with the preceding names, a preposition may have fallen out.

30. without children: the expression (לֹא בנים) is a late one and proves that a late writer has worked over the early record.

31. Ahlai is evidently not a son, but a daughter: cf. verses 34, 35. She is, however, reckoned as a son in that she became the heiress of Sheshan and, after marrying an Egyptian slave, founded a large family.

34–41. *Post-exilic Jerahmeelites.* These verses form an appendix giving a branch of Jerahmeel (post-exilic) from Sheshan through fifteen generations. It cannot be by the same hand as verses 25–33, for the former fragment is brought to a definite close in verse 33ᵇ. These verses throw an interesting sidelight on the relations between the kingdoms of Judah and Egypt. When an honourable family forms a marriage alliance between

servant to wife; and she bare him Attai. And Attai 36
begat Nathan, and Nathan begat Zabad; and Zabad 37
begat Ephlal, and Ephlal begat Obed; and Obed begat 38
Jehu, and Jehu begat Azariah; and Azariah begat Helez, 39
and Helez begat Eleasah; and Eleasah begat Sismai, 40
and Sismai begat Shallum; and Shallum begat Jekamiah, 41
and Jekamiah begat Elishama. [H^2] And the sons of 42
Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel were Mesha his firstborn,
which was the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah
the father of Hebron. And the sons of Hebron; Korah, 43
and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema. And Shema 44
begat Raham, the father of Jorkeam; and Rekem begat
Shammai. And the son of Shammai was Maon; and 45
Maon was the father of Beth-zur. [R] And Ephah, 46
Caleb's concubine, bare Haran, and Moza, and Gazez:
and Haran begat Gazez. [H^2] And the sons of Jahdai; 47

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an only daughter and an Egyptian servant, and admits thirteen generations of sons to full tribal privileges, there must have been considerable good-will between the two peoples.

(*e*) ii. 42-55. *Further Descendants of Caleb.* We seem here to have in verses 42–50^a the original and pre-exilic genealogy of the Calebites, as appears from their association with Hebron, where they resided in David's time. On the other hand, verses 50^b–55 must represent the post-exilic locations. The clear dividing-line of verse 50 marks the occurrence of the Exile.

42. Hebron: the whole verse is obscure. It is best explained by treating Ziph, Mareshah, and Hebron as local names, indicating the pre-exilic dwelling-places of the Calebites. Throughout the section clans are mingled with individuals under the designation of 'sons,' so that it is scarcely possible to say when the one is meant and when the other; yet almost all the names in the list may be referred to cities of the south in the mountains of Judah.

44. Achsah: the mention of the daughter of Caleb is a final proof that Caleb 'son of Hezron' is regarded as identical with Caleb 'son of Jephunneh.' The chronicler shows us, in his genealogies of Caleb, that the numerous branches of the Kenazites who had been incorporated with Judah all traced their descent from their great leader who joined the wandering Hebrews during the Exodus-days.

Regem, and Jotham, and Geshan, and Pelet, and Ephah,
48 and Shaaph. [**R**] Maacah, Caleb's concubine, bare
49 Sheber and Tirhanah. [**H**²] She bare also Shaaph the
father of Madmannah, Sheva the father of Machbena,
and the father of Gibea; and the daughter of Caleb was
50 Achsah. These were the sons of Caleb; the son of
51 Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah, Shobal the father of
Kiriath-jearim; [**R**] Salma the father of Beth-lehem,
52 Hareph the father of Beth-gader. And Shobal the father
of Kiriath-jearim had sons; Haroeh, half of the Menuhoth.
53 And the families of Kiriath-jearim; the Ithrites, and the
Puthites, and the Shumathites, and the Mishraites; of
54 them came the Zorathites and the Eshtaolites. The sons
of Salma; Beth-lehem, and the Netophathites, Atroth-beth-Joab, and half of the Manahathites, the Zorites.
55 And the families of scribes which dwelt at Jabez; the
Tirathites, the Shimeathites, the Sucathites. These are
the Kenites that came of Hammath, the father of the
house of Rechab.

3 [Ch²] Now these were the sons of David, which were

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50. sons of Caleb: the verse repeats, with verbal changes, the introductory clause of verse 42; thereupon follows the list of towns and districts in the east of Judah occupied by the Calebites after the Exile.

52. Haroeh: probably a textual error for Reaiah: cf. iv. 2.

55. families of scribes represent scribes who were not of the Levitic priesthood. The phrase reminds us that whole families, and even clans, commonly formed a kind of trade-guild, following the same occupation from generation to generation.

These are the Kenites: the verse is very obscure. Possibly the Kenites were also called Rechabites. It is almost certain that Hammath is a textual error; it may even be a contraction for two words which denote 'the father-in-law of Moses,' who is stated in Judges i. 16 to have been a Kenite.

iii. *The Descendants of David.*

The chronicler has, thus far, traced the genealogies of the two

born unto him in Hebron : [H] the firstborn, Amnon, of
Ahinoam the Jezreelitess ; the second, Daniel, of Abigail
the Carmelitess ; the third, Absalom the son of Maacah 2
the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur ; the fourth,
Adonijah the son of Haggith ; the fifth, Shephatiah of 3
Abital ; the sixth, Ithream by Eglah his wife. Six were 4
born unto him in Hebron ; and there he reigned seven
years and six months : and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty
and three years. And these were born unto him in Jeru- 5
salem : Shimea, and Shobab, and Nathan, and Solomon,
[**Ch²**] four, of Bath-shua the daughter of Ammiel :
[**H**] and Ibhar, and Elishama, and Eliphelet ; and Nogah, 6, 7
and Nepheg, and Japhia ; and Elishama, and Eliada, 8
and Eliphelet, nine. [**Ch²**] All these were the sons of 9
David, beside the sons of the concubines ; and Tamar

---

divisions of the tribe of Judah founded by Caleb and Jerahmeel, whose affinity with Hezron was currently accepted. He now returns to the royal line of David, which he has traced already from Ram to Jesse, and continues it through David and the kings of Judah down to the sons of Zerubbabel of the sixth generation. This brings down the genealogy to somewhere about 350 B. C.

The material of the first sixteen verses is found in other historic books of the O. T., thus : (1) verses 1–9 = 2 Sam. iii. 2–5, v. 14–16, and (2) verses 10–16 = 1 and 2 Kings.

(*f*) iii. 1–9. *David's Sons.* Of these, six were born during the seven and a half years' reign in Hebron, and thirteen during the thirty-three years' reign in Jerusalem.

1. Daniel : called Chileab in 2 Sam. iii. 3 ; where, however, the LXX reads Dalouia, indicating that the form Daniel is correct though varied by textual errors.

5. these were born . . . in Jerusalem : the same thirteen sons are named in xiv. 4–7, with orthographical variations, but the parallel passage in 2 Samuel (v. 14–16) omits the names of Eliphelet and Nogal. In our list the name of Elishama occurs twice, the former being a scribal error for the Elishua of 2 Sam. v. 14.

8. Eliada : LXX (6) reads Baaliada ; the use of Baal, 'lord,' in personal names was regarded as improper when the word took on a heathen signification ; hence the subsequent change.

10 was their sister. [**Ch.**] And Solomon's son was Rehoboam,
11 Abijah his son, Asa his son, Jehoshaphat his son; Joram
12 his son, Ahaziah his son, Joash his son; Amaziah his son,
13 Azariah his son, Jotham his son; Ahaz his son, Hezekiah
14 his son, Manasseh his son; Amon his son, Josiah his son.
15 And the sons of Josiah; the firstborn Johanan, the
second Jehoiakim, the third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum.
16 [**R^2**] And the sons of Jehoiakim: Jeconiah his son,
17 Zedekiah his son. [**Ch.**] And the sons of Jeconiah, the
18 captive; Shealtiel his son, and Malchiram, and Pedaiah,
and Shenazzar, Jekamiah, Hoshama, and Nedabiah.
19 And the sons of Pedaiah; Zerubbabel, and Shimei: and

(*g*) iii. 10–16. *The royal line of Judah.* The direct line of succession is traced from Solomon to the close of the independent monarchy under Josiah. The usurping queen, Athaliah, who was not of David's house, is omitted.

15. Johanan: a scribal error for Jehoahaz. Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 30.

16. Zedekiah: this curious mention of one of the sons of Jeconiah, whereas the others are enumerated separately in verse 18, may imply that Zedekiah was not involved in the Captivity.

(*h*) iii. 17–24. *The royal line after the Captivity.* This section evidently seeks to give the post-exilic families of David's line.

17. Jeconiah, the captive: the A. V. renders the descriptive noun as a proper name, Assir, which is certainly incorrect; the definite article must be inserted as in the R. V.

18. Shenazzar: the attempts to identify this son of Jeconiah with Sheshbazzar (Ezra i. 8) are open to grave objection.

19. Zerubbabel: much ingenuity has been exercised over this genealogy. Zerubbabel is here represented as the son of Pedaiah, whereas he is represented as the son of Shealtiel in Hag. i. 1, 12; Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; and Matt. i. 12. To reconcile these confused genealogies the supposition is made that there was a lack of male issue to Shealtiel, and that Pedaiah contracted a Levirate marriage by which Zerubbabel was born, in which case he would be reckoned as a son of Shealtiel. It is further assumed that Shealtiel was not the actual son of Jeconiah, but rather the son of a kinsman of the king, named Neri (cf. Luke iii. 27), who in his turn had contracted a Levirate marriage with the heiress of a son of Jeconiah. This line of argument, while full of suppositions which cannot now the sons of Zerubbabel; Meshullam, and Hananiah;

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be substantiated, would account for the double names of the fathers of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel.

A still more difficult problem, and one which closely concerns the date of the chronicler's work, is that of the number of generations assigned to Zerubbabel. There have been critics who have treated verse 21^b as a corruption or interpolation, and have actually reduced the number of generations between Zerubbabel and Hattush to two; modern scholars generally read the number as six; and the LXX represents it as eleven. These variations represent the period covered as 66, 180, and 330 years respectively. But it seems to be indisputable that the seven names of verses 17^b, 18 all stand for sons of Jeconiah. Again, verse 19 gives the two sons of Pedaiah, and also two sons and a daughter of Zerubbabel. Further, in verse 20, we have five more sons of Zerubbabel, separated from the first two sons by the emphatic position given to the name of their sister. Consequently Pelatiah and Jeshaiah, the grandsons of Zerubbabel named in verse 21, would be contemporaries of Ezra, who returned to Jerusalem in B. C. 458. But verse 21 is completed by the mention of four families, of which no individual members are named; these are respectively the sons of Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shecaniah. Either these represent four brothers of Pelatiah who founded families, or they represent generations, or the text is hopelessly corrupt. There is no doubt that there is a certain amount of textual corruption; nor can we now restore the text by the aid of the versions. Even if the 'sons of Rephaiah' were families of the royal household closely connected with Zerubbabel, we can never determine what the connexion was with any degree of certainty. The Hebrew text, however, stood in its present form at the time of the LXX translation, for the Greek translators endeavoured to make sense out of it by rendering it as of four distinct generations. This is adequate proof that confusion existed as early as B. C. 200; and the rendering of the LXX may be the traditional explanation. If the LXX is right, we have eleven generations named from Zerubbabel, and the record would bring us down to about B. C. 250. But, on the whole, we are disposed to read verse 21 as a list (if it be allowed to stand at all in the text) of the sons of Hananiah. Then verse 22 would give the third and fourth generations from Zerubbabel.

The whole framework of these genealogies is so loose, the grouping so unreliable, and the marks of kinship either so often omitted or used in so general a sense, that it is highly probable that the exact relationship of many of the individuals named was a matter of uncertainty even in the chronicler's day and that the

20 and Shelomith was their sister: and Hashubah, and Ohel,
21 and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, Jushab-hesed, five. And
the sons of Hananiah; Pelatiah, and Jeshaiah: the sons of
Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the
22 sons of Shecaniah. And the sons of Shecaniah; Shemaiah: and the sons of Shemaiah; Hattush, and Igal,
23 and Bariah, and Neariah, and Shaphat, six. And the
sons of Neariah; Elioenai, and Hizkiah, and Azrikam,
24 three. And the sons of Elioenai; Hodaviah, and Eliashib,
and Pelaiah, and Akkub, and Johanan, and Delaiah, and
Anani, seven.

4 [R²] The sons of Judah; Perez, Hezron, and Carmi,

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compiler could do no more than group names which belonged somewhere in the family tree in question. Thus it seems a warrantable conclusion that there existed more than one traditional genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel, which was accredited in the third pre-Christian century. It may be that there were breaks in the direct descent, and that Levirate marriages account for the discrepancies, and it is noticeable that the genealogy of Jesus in Matt. i does not contain a single descendant of Zerubbabel as given in this passage. Evidently, then, the genealogies which close the chapter are fragmentary, derived from sources in which the links were not freely shown, pieced together from alternative lists, and of doubtful value for strict chronological reckonings.

21. LXX, Pesh., Vulg., read: 'And the sons of Hananiah: Pelatiah, and Jeshaiah his son, Rephaiah his son, Arnan his son, Obadiah his son, Shecaniah his son.'

22. the sons of Shecaniah . . . six: one has evidently fallen out.

(*i*) iv. 1–23. *Various Genealogies of Judah.* Quite a number of branches of the great, composite tribe of Judah have been passed over in the former enumeration of the families belonging to the Calebite and Jerahmeelite clans and to the royal line. Hence the compiler, seemingly unable to form an orderly record, yet unwilling to omit anything that appeared of value, groups his remaining material here with the usual loose employment of the terms of relationship. We, consequently, have here an appendix of families which somehow or other possessed a claim to be considered descendants (i. e. 'sons') of Judah. Many late expressions occur in the course of the chapter, and there is no

and Hur, and Shobal. [**H**²] And Reaiah the son of 2
Shobal begat Jahath; and Jahath begat Ahumai and
Lahad. [**R**²] These are the families of the Zorathites.
[**H**²] And these were *the sons of* the father of Etam; 3
Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash: and the name of their
sister was Hazzelelponi: and Penuel the father of Gedor, 4
and Ezer the father of Hushah. These are the sons of
Hur, [**R**²] the firstborn of Ephrathah, the father of Beth-
lehem. [**H**²] And Ashhur the father of Tekoa had two 5
wives, Helah and Naarah. And Naarah bare him 6
Ahuzzam, and Hepher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari.
These were the sons of Naarah. And the sons of Helah 7
were Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan. And Hakkoz begat 8
Anub, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel the son
of Harum. And Jabez was more honourable than his 9
brethren: and his mother called his name Jabez, saying,
Because I bare him with sorrow. And Jabez called on 10
the God of Israel, saying, Oh that thou wouldest bless
me indeed, and enlarge my border, and that thine hand
might be with me, and that thou wouldest keep me from

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doubt that it is mainly concerned with particulars of the local distribution of certain members of the tribe of Judah in post-exilic times.

1. The sons of Judah: of those named here only Perez is really a son of Judah; Hezron is a grandson (cf. ii. 8); Carmi seems to be the grandson of Zerah, brother of Perez (cf. Josh. ii. 1); and Hur and Shobal are Calebites (cf. ii. 19 and 50).

2. Zorathites: the verse supplies links omitted in ii. 52–3.

5–10. *Calebites of Tekoa.* The section refers to tribal dwelling-places. The otherwise unknown incident of the vow of Jabez (verses 9, 10) stands here as a unique illustration of the kind of story which had acquired popularity and religious significance in the chronicler's day. The reference was doubtless familiar to all his contemporaries as an outstanding case of answered prayer and of consecration. The verses may be a fragment excerpted from an extant MS. of the compiler's day.

evil, that it be not to my sorrow! And God granted him
11 that which he requested. And Chelub the brother of
Shuhah begat Mehir, which was the father of Eshton.
12 And Eshton begat Beth-rapha, and Paseah, and Tehinnah
the father of Ir-nahash. These are the men of Recah.
13 And the sons of Kenaz; Othniel, and Seraiah: and the
14 sons of Othniel; Hathath. [R^2] And Meonothai begat
Ophrah: and Seraiah begat Joab the father of Ge-hara-
15 shim; for they were craftsmen. [H^2] And the sons of
Caleb the son of Jephunneh; Iru, Elah, and Naam: and
16 the sons of Elah; and Kenaz. And the sons of Jehallelel;
17 Ziph, and Ziphah, Tiria, and Asarel. And the sons of
Ezrah; Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon: and
she bare Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father
18 of Eshtemoa. And his wife the Jewess bare Jered the
father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Soco, and
Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these are the sons
of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.
19 And the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham,
were the father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the
20 Maacathite. And the sons of Shimon; Amnon, and
Rinnah, Ben-hanan, and Tilon. And the sons of Ishi;

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iv. 11–14. *Calebite guild of smiths.* These verses constitute another disconnected fragment.

13. sons of Kenaz: these Kenazite leaders are named with very loose connecting links, yet are admitted because they were able to maintain affinity with Caleb's branch of Judah.

14. Ge-harashim: the name means 'Valley of the craftsmen.'

16–20. *Disconnected genealogies.* All we can say of these fragments is that the text is corrupt, that place-names mingle freely with personal names, and that the individuals are unknown except by name. It is interesting, however, to note that certain pre-exilic 'sons' of Caleb traced their descent to a daughter of one of the Pharaohs, Bithiah, while others of the same clan insisted on their Jewish extraction. This is one more illustration of the close relations between the clans of southern Judah and Egypt.

Zoheth, and Ben-zoheth. [R^2] The sons of Shelah the 21
son of Judah; Er the father of Lecah, and Laadah the
father of Mareshah, and the families of the house of them
that wrought fine linen, of the house of Ashbea; and 22
Jokim, and the men of Cozeba, and Joash, and Saraph,
who had dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem. And
the records are ancient. These were the potters, and 23
the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah: there they
dwelt with the king for his work.

[H] The sons of Simeon; Nemuel, and Jamin, Jarib, 24
Zerah, Shaul: [H^2] Shallum his son, Mibsam his son, 25

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iv. 21–23. *The Descendants of Shelah.*

21. fine linen: again we have an illustration of a tribe-guild of craftsmen.

22. dominion in Moab: this verse is the sole record of this instance of Jewish immigration into Moab, and we have no means of assigning a date to it. Probably it occurred during the reign of David, at which time Moab was subject to Judah. The second name, Jashubi-lehem, is not improbably a corruption of 'they returned to Jerusalem' (jashubu bethlehem).

the records are ancient: the phrase is an indication that we have here the work of a late scribe: and verses 21–23 should almost certainly be referred to a redactor, along with verses 2^b, 4^b, and 14.

23. potters: we cannot decide whether this refers to some of the families named in verse 22, although it is more probable that it is a general reference to the inhabitants of the districts of Netaim and Gederah. On the other hand the phrase may be rendered, 'those that dwelt among plantations and hedges,' i. e. the potters are grouped along with the labourers on the royal demesnes.

(3) iv. 24–43. *The Tribe of Simeon.*

The section is a record of one of the families of Simeon. It names the pre-Davidic locations of the clan; it then narrates how it suffered from Philistine and Edomite raids, and gives the dwelling-places of the post-exilic remnants. Some of the names given here are found in earlier records:—

verse 24 = Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15; Num. xxvi. 12.
verses 28–33 = Josh. xix. 2-8.

iv. 24–27. *Various Simeonites.* The line of Shaul is here traced for six generations; but it is expressly stated that the small size of the tribe of Simeon was due to the fact that the other branches

26 Mishma his son. And the sons of Mishma; Hammuel
27 his son, Zaccur his son, Shimei his son. And Shime
had sixteen sons and six daughters; but his brethren
had not many children, neither did all their family multi-
28 ply, like to the children of Judah. [**H**] And they dwelt
29 at Beer-sheba, and Moladah, and Hazar-shual; and at
30 Bilhah, and at Ezem, and at Tolad; and at Bethuel, and
31 at Hormah, and at Ziklag; and at Beth-marcaboth,
and Hazar-susim, and at Beth-biri, and at Shaaraim.
[**Ch²**] These were their cities unto the reign of David.
32 [**H**] And their villages were Etam, and Ain, Rimmon,
33 and Tochen, and Ashan, five cities: and all their villages
that were round about the same cities, unto Baal.
[**Ch²**] These were their habitations, and they have their
34 genealogy. [**H²**] And Meshobab, and Jamlech, and
35 Joshah the son of Amaziah; and Joel, and Jehu the
son of Joshibiah, the son of Seraiah, the son of Asiel;
36 and Elioenai, and Jaakobah, and Jeshohaiah, and Asaiah,

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failed to multiply. The names Mibsam and Mishma may represent Ishmaelite elements.

27. six daughters: LXX mentions three daughters only.

28-33. *Pre-Davidic territory of Simeonites.* The names of the towns and villages of Simeon are derived from the Book of Joshua, and the discrepancies are evidently due to textual errors and mistaken verse-divisions. They all lay in the southern division of Judah. It seems that the Simeonite lands were gradually encroached upon, as, for instance, Ziklag was conquered by the Philistines and then passed to David and to Judah. This pressure upon Simeon became more marked after the time of David (cf. verse 31).

iv. 34-43. *Simeonite emigration.*

34-41. *Raid upon Gedor.* Certain Simeonite families increased to such an extent that new pasturages became essential for their herds in the day of Hezekiah. Thirteen clansmen, therefore, united their forces and raided the rich and peaceful valley of Gedor (LXX Gerar), which lay in the possession of certain Canaanite tribes. This valley must have been situated to the

and Adiel, and Jesimiel, and Benaiah; and Ziza the son 37
of Shiphi, the son of Allon, the son of Jedaiah, the son
of Shimri, the son of Shemaiah; [**Ch**] these mentioned 38
by name were princes in their families: and their fathers'
houses increased greatly. [**H²**] And they went to the 39
entering in of Gedor, even unto the east side of the valley,
to seek pasture for their flocks. And they found fat 40
pasture and good, and the land was wide, and quiet, and
peaceable; [**Ch**] for they that dwelt there aforetime were
of Ham. [**H²**] And these written by name came in the 41
days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and smote their tents,
and the Meunim that were found there, and destroyed them
utterly, unto this day, and dwelt in their stead: because
there was pasture there for their flocks. And some of 42
them, even of the sons of Simeon, five hundred men,
went to mount Seir, having for their captains Pelatiah,
and Neariah, and Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi.
And they smote the remnant of the Amalekites that 43
escaped, and dwelt there, unto this day.

[**Ch**] And the sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel, **5**

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south of Judah; its position is unknown; but here the Simeonite marauders fell upon the peaceful inhabitants, exterminated them, and took their lands. The incident is recorded without comment by the chronicler, as though it were a strictly legitimate act towards a heathen tribe. He has simply copied the narrative from an ancient source, interjecting explanatory sentences in verses 38 and 40.

42, 43. *Raid upon Seir.* Another band of Simeonites, 500 strong, dispossessed the Amalekite inhabitants of Edom. When the chronicler says they dwelt there 'unto this day' he is evidently merely incorporating the words of his source, for the Simeonites had been expelled from their stolen lands long before the chronicler wrote. It is scarcely necessary to point out how closely the style and material of these narratives harmonizes with the Book of Judges.

(4) v. 1–26. *The Trans-Jordanic Tribes.*

(*a*) v. 1–10. *The Tribe of Reuben.*

1, 2. These verses form an *introduction* in which the chronicler

(for he was the firstborn; but, forasmuch as he defiled his
father's couch, his birthright was given unto the sons
of Joseph the son of Israel; and the genealogy is not to
2 be reckoned after the birthright. For Judah prevailed
above his brethren, and of him came the prince; but the
3 birthright was Joseph's:) the sons of Reuben the firstborn
of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi.
4 The sons of Joel; Shemaiah his son, Gog his son, Shimei
5 his son; Micah his son, Reaiah his son, Baal his son;
6 Beerah his son, whom Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria
carried away captive: he was prince of the Reubenites.
7 And his brethren by their families, when the genealogy
of their generations was reckoned; the chief, Jeiel, and
8 Zechariah, and Bela the son of Azaz, the son of Shema,
the son of Joel, who dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and
9 Baal-meon: and eastward he dwelt even unto the entering

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explains why Joseph was not reckoned as the firstborn of Israel even when the birthright had been transferred to him from Judah. Judah became numerically strong enough to assert the tribal supremacy. This supremacy was consequently confirmed by the fact that 'the prince,' by whom is evidently meant David and the royal line, sprang from Judah. The Syriac version has a remarkable addition here: 'And by way of both these came the blessings upon all the tribes of Israel: of Judah is the king, the Messias, sprung, and Joseph was invested with the birthright.' The hand of a Christian Jew of Syria is very readily discerned in this gloss.

v. 3-6. *The four sons of Reuben* are named in Gen. xlvi. 9, but we nowhere find information as to whose line, of the four, is traced through Joel to the princely Beerah of the days of the Assyrian raids.

6. Tilgath-pilneser: the chronicler invariably misspells this name. The correct form is given in Kings, as Tiglath-Pileser; cf. note to verse 26.

7-9. After enumerating the leading clansmen related to Beerah, the chronicler defines the position of the grazing lands of Bela. These comprised a tract of country stretching eastward from the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley towards the Syrian desert and in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates: because their cattle were multiplied in the land of Gilead. And 10 in the days of Saul they made war with the Hagrites, who fell by their hand: and they dwelt in their tents throughout all the *land* east of Gilead.

And the sons of Gad dwelt over against them, in the 11 land of Bashan unto Salecah: Joel the chief, and 12 Shapham the second, and Janai, and Shaphat in Bashan: and their brethren of their fathers' houses; Michael, and 13 Meshullam, and Sheba, and Jorai, and Jacan, and Zia, and Eber, seven. These were the sons of Abihail the son of 14 Huri, the son of Jaroah, the son of Gilead, the son of Michael, the son of Jehishai, the son of Jahdo, the son of Buz; Ahi the son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, chief 15 of their fathers' houses. And they dwelt in Gilead in 16 Bashan, and in her towns, and in all the suburbs of

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the Euphrates, and extending from the level of the river Arnon on the south to Mount Nebo and Heshbon on the north. But the clansmen evidently grazed their flocks northward into the pastures of Reubenite Gilead.

10. war with the Hagrites. The Hagrites were a pastoral people, tracing their half-Egyptian, half-Israelite origin to Hagar; they wandered over the grazing lands and deserts east of trans-Jordanic Israel. The brief reference here made to the campaign in which the Reubenites of Bela's clans dispossessed them of eastern Gilead in the days of Saul probably refers to the same war as that recorded in verses 18–22.

(*b*) **11–17.** *The Tribe of Gad.* This tribe occupied the lands north of Reuben as far as the sea of Galilee and eastward from the Jordan to the desert. Four chieftains of Bashan are named (verse 12); and then follow seven others (verse 13), whose genealogy is traced through eight generations of otherwise unknown ancestors to the head of their clan, one Guni. Not only did they occupy the towns of Gilead, but they pressed north of the river Yarmuk into Bashan and southward to the Moabite uplands of Sharon (see *Hist. Geog.* by G. A. Smith, ch. xxv. § 4). And, lastly, we are informed that the genealogies of these clans were compiled in the days of Jotham of Judah and Jeroboam of Israel.

17 Sharon, as far as their borders. All these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.

18 The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war, were forty and four thousand seven hundred and
19 threescore, that were able to go forth to war. And they made war with the Hagrites, with Jetur, and Naphish, and
20 Nodab. And they were helped against them, and the

Some difficulty is created by this statement. According to the present chronology of the Book of Kings, Jotham ascended the throne of Judah twenty-five years after the death of Jeroboam II of Israel. If this be correct, our text (verse 17) must refer to two compilations of Gadite records. But there are hopeless inconsistencies in the chronology of Kings which require to be eliminated. The only satisfactory harmony is that presented in the volume of the *Century Bible* on Kings (pp. 38–47, Skinner). According to this solution, Jotham's reign is so reckoned that the first ten years of it were really a regency during the lifetime of his father Uzziah and only the last five years were a full kingship. At the same time the only possible way of producing a harmony between the chronological notices of the Book of Kings and the references of the Assyrian monuments, while also restoring consistency to the Hebrew history, would be to make the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II synchronize with the regency of Jotham. If this is done, the census alluded to in our narrative must have fallen during this period, i. e. between 749 and 745 B. C.

v. 18–22. *Second version of the Hagrite war.* This narrative seems to be an enlarged version of the campaign recorded in verses 7–10; it was probably derived from a different source. In this case we read of a full mustering of the trans-Jordanic tribes to urge war upon the Hagrites. Not improbably the cause was an earlier raid of the Hagrites or a threatened danger which called for self-defence. The numbers of the warriors are so large that one suspects an error has crept into the figures; but the events are vividly described. In the first shock of battle between the 'valiant men' of Israel and the Hagrites of 'Jetur and Naphish and Nodab' the uncertainty of the issue led the Hebrews to cry to God for aid. The result was a complete victory for Israel. The chronicler adds the note, 'the war was of God,' thus giving an illustration of his customary reverent reading of history. The

Hagrites were delivered into their hand, and all that were
with them: for they cried to God in the battle, and
he was intreated of them; because they put their trust in
him. And they took away their cattle; of their camels 21
fifty thousand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty
thousand, and of asses two thousand, and of men an
hundred thousand. For there fell many slain, because 22
the war was of God. And they dwelt in their stead until
the captivity.

And the children of the half tribe of Manasseh dwelt 23
in the land: they increased from Bashan unto Baal-
hermon and Senir and mount Hermon. And these were 24
the heads of their fathers' houses; even Epher, and Ishi,
and Eliel, and Azriel, and Jeremiah, and Hodaviah, and
Jahdiel, mighty men of valour, famous men, heads of
their fathers' houses.

And they trespassed against the God of their fathers, 25
and went a whoring after the gods of the peoples of the
land, whom God destroyed before them. And the God 26
of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and

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nature of the booty taken indicates the nomadic character of the enemy (verse 21). And the decisive nature of the engagement is evident from the fact that the tribes held the conquered lands until the Captivity.

21. fifty thousand: LXX reads 'five thousand.'

23, 24. *Trans-Jordanic Manasseh.* The half-tribe of Manasseh enjoyed unhindered growth. Its territory extended from the river Yarmuk northwards towards the Lebanon valley and the mountain range of Hermon. The names of seven tribal chieftains are here recorded.

v. 25, 26. *The Assyrian Captivity.* The two concluding verses of the chapter refer to the entire trans-Jordanic population. Briefly they tell of the lapse into idolatry and the subsequent deportation of the two and a half tribes by the Assyrian conquerors; and it is evident that the chronicler recognizes that the catastrophe is an act of Divine retribution.

26. Pul and **Tilgath-pilneser** are here represented as two the spirit of Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river of Gozan, unto this day.

6 [R] The sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.

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different Assyrian monarchs. If this is the meaning of the chronicler, he is in error. Babylonian inscriptions show that the two names refer to the same person and that his real name was Pulu. It is not improbable that he assumed the name of Tiglath-Pileser (always misspelt by our author) on his usurpation of the Assyrian throne in 745 B. C. (cf. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 1889, &c.). The same error concerning the monarch indicated by the two names is found in 2 Kings xv. 19, 29. Under the successors of the warlike Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser II, the northern empire on the Tigris had gradually shrunk; but Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B. C.) proved a powerful ruler and pushed his arms as far as the boundaries of Egypt. After subduing Babylonia, he responded to the call of Ahaz of Judah to aid him against Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus. In the ensuing campaign (734 B. C.), the Assyrian monarch entered Samaria and subsequently carried away captive the tribes which dwelt to the east of the Jordan.

Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and the river of Gozan: it seems evident that Hara is a corrupted form of some longer name (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6), and the usual critical emendation of the text is to be adopted: 'In Halah and by Habor the river of Gozan and in Ḥarḥar a city of Media.' Gozan is the Assyrian Guzanu, a province bordering on Media. Its chief river was the Habor, now the Ḫābūr.

(5) vi. *Levitical Genealogies.*

In the Hebrew text the first fifteen verses of our ch. vi are reckoned as belonging to ch. v. They constitute a corrupt and fragmentary record and are evidently the work of a later redactor of the Chronicles. The chapter gives two genealogies of the high-priestly line from Aaron to Ahimaaz, and also devotes two sections to the descendants of Levi.

(*a*) vi. 1–15. *The High-Priestly line.* This is traced from Levi down to the days of the Exile. From Eleazar, the divinely selected inheritor of the prerogatives of Aaron, there are twenty-two generations named; but it is questionable whether twenty-two generations are sufficient for such a period. It is not possible

And the sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, and Hebron, 2
and Uzziel. And the children of Amram; Aaron, and 3
Moses, and Miriam. And the sons of Aaron; Nadab
and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. Eleazar begat Phinehas, 4
Phinehas begat Abishua; and Abishua begat Bukki, and 5
Bukki begat Uzzi; and Uzzi begat Zerahiah, and Zerahiah 6

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to establish the exact dates of early Hebrew history from any data now at our disposal independently of the O. T. But there was a belief prevalent at the time of the composition of the Book of the Kings (1 Kings vi. 1) according to which 480 years elapsed between the Exodus and the building of the Temple. At that time the Temple had already ceased to exist; and, even if we could place confidence in a date appearing so late in history, still there would be an artificiality about the period containing exactly twelve generations of forty years each, which indicates that the historian was speaking in round numbers and in traditional phraseology. But, if we provisionally accept this length of the period, it gives us 440 years from the death of Aaron to the building of the Temple. Now the Temple was commenced in Solomon's fourth year, i. e. in 967 B. C., according to our most reliable chronological reckoning. And from that date to the Captivity of 587 B. C. there would be a period of 380 years. Thus from Aaron to Jehozadak we have 820 years for twenty-two generations, which gives thirty-seven years to each generation. This seems to be an abnormally long average of life for the high-priests of eight centuries; and, even if we could accept this, there are other grounds upon which we are compelled to regard the genealogy in question as incomplete. For instance, the chronicler evidently implies that there was an unbroken occupation of the Aaronic priesthood by the lineal descendants of Eleazar; but this is not substantiated by statements found elsewhere in the O. T. We learn, on the contrary, that the house of Eli, which traced its descent to Ithamar (cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 5), held the office for many years; and the Books of Samuel and Kings[1] supply us with the following names in Ithamar's line of high-priests: Eli (Phinehas), Ahitub, Ahijah (called also Ahimelech), Abiathar (deposed by Solomon). Hence we are led to inquire whether the twenty-two names in the chronicler's list represent actual holders of the office or not. The explanation given by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 11. 5) seems to be trustworthy. He tells us that the office remained in the possession

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[1] Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 20, iv. 11, xiv. 3, xxii. 9, 11, 20; 1 Kings ii. 26, 27, 35.

7 begat Meraioth; Meraioth begat Amariah, and Amariah
8 begat Ahitub; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok
9 begat Ahimaaz; and Ahimaaz begat Azariah, and Azariah

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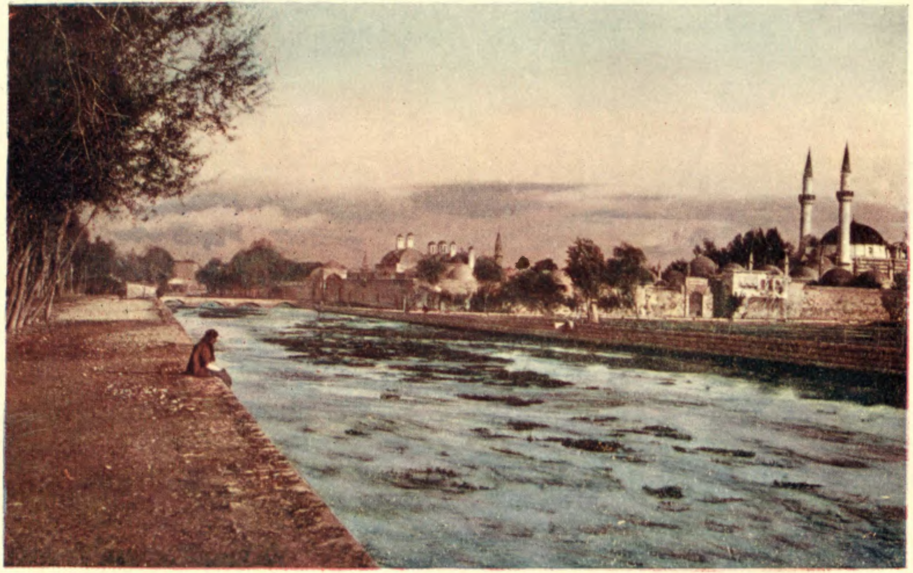
of the house of Eleazar until the days of Uzzi, but that, for some unknown reason, instead of passing down to Uzzi's son Zerahiah, it was then transferred to Eli, the claimant of Ithamar's line. From Eli the dignity passed down through four generations, Phinehas (who never actually executed its duties), Ahitub, Ahijah, to Abiathar. But meantime the legal line of the high-priests, descended from Eleazar, which had always claimed the office and had possibly performed some of its functions, had been represented by Zerahiah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok (verses 51-53). When, however, Saul massacred the priests of Nob (1 Sam. xxii), the only man who escaped was Ahijah, and, as he followed the fortunes of David henceforth, the office of high-priest seems to have been transferred to the contemporary representative of Eleazar's house, viz. Ahitub. This would account for the double high-priesthood of David's day, viz. that of Zadok and Abiathar, which was terminated by Solomon. According to this explanation, three of those named in the chronicler's list, viz. Zerahiah, Meraioth, and Amariah, did not enjoy the highest ecclesiastical office at all. Thus we discover that the aim of the passage is merely to trace the connexion between Jehozadak and Eleazar.

But there are yet other proofs of the incompleteness of the list. Not only do the names from Eleazar to Uzzi appear too few for the period from the Exodus to Samuel (i. e. five names for a period probably covering 300 years), but it is certain that several names have been omitted between Zadok and Jehozadak. We have no mention of Jehoiada (2 Kings xi) or of Urijah (2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.). Then are we to accept the threefold recurrence of the name of Azariah as representing the priests so named under Solomon, Uzziah, and Hezekiah? It is probable that Amariah (verse 11) is the priest mentioned in 2 Chron. xix. 11 in the reign of Jehoshaphat (874-850 B. C.); and, in that case, the Hilkiah of verse 13, four generations later, can hardly be the Hilkiah of Josiah's reign (637-607 B. C.); nor could his son Azariah (verse 13) be the high-priest who officiated under Hezekiah (720-692 B. C.) We are, therefore, forced to assume that some links have been omitted. And this assumption is strengthened by the fact that while only eleven generations are assigned to Zadok's line between Solomon and the Captivity, seventeen are assigned to David's line during the same period.

7, 8. Amariah . . . Ahitub . . . Zadok: note the suspicious recurrence of these names in verses 11, 12.



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THE ABANA ENTERING DAMASCUS

begat Johanan; and Johanan begat Azariah, (he it is that 10
executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon
built in Jerusalem:) and Azariah begat Amariah, and 11
Amariah begat Ahitub; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and 12
Zadok begat Shallum; and Shallum begat Hilkiah, and 13
Hilkiah begat Azariah; and Azariah begat Seraiah, and 14
Seraiah begat Jehozadak; and Jehozadak went *into* 15
captivity, when the LORD carried away Judah and
Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.

[**H**] The sons of Levi; Gershom, Kohath, and Merari. 16
And these be the names of the sons of Gershom; Libni 17
and Shimei. And the sons of Kohath were Amram, and 18
Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel. The sons of Merari; 19
Mahli and Mushi. And these are the families of the
Levites according to their fathers' *houses*. [H^2] Of 20
Gershom; Libni his son, Jahath his son, Zimmah his son;
Joah his son, Iddo his son, Zerah his son, Jeatherai his son. 21

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10. executed the priest's office. The reference may be to the incident of King Uzziah's usurpation of the priestly rights: cf. 2 Chron. xxvi. 17.

15. by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar (604–561 B. C.) was the second monarch of the neo-Babylonian empire. He had inflicted a crushing defeat upon Necho, the reigning Pharaoh, at Carchemish in 605 B. C. On coming to the throne he displayed great zeal in beautifying the city of Babylon and in repairing its ancient temples. In 597 B. C. he crushed the second revolt of the Jews under Jehoiakim and carried many captives from Jerusalem to Babylonia. In 588 B. C. Zedekiah revolted against him, and a fierce campaign followed, in which Jerusalem fell, and the great Captivity ensued in 587 B.C.

(*b*) vi. 16–30. *Levitical Genealogies.* This and the following genealogies of the chapter are mainly derived from the Pentateuch (cf. Exod. vi. 16–24; Num. iii. 17–20).

16. The sons of Levi are given here as in verse 1, but the record of verse 2 is expanded in verses 17 and 19 by the addition of the sons of Gershom and Merari.

20–30. *Lines of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari.* First we have seven descendants of Gershom; then follow three confused and dis-

22 The sons of Kohath; Amminadab his son, Korah his son,
23 Assir his son; Elkanah his son, and Ebiasaph his son,
24 and Assir his son; Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uzziah
25 his son, and Shaul his son. And the sons of Elkanah;
26 Amasai, and Ahimoth. As for Elkanah: the sons of
27 Elkanah; Zophai his son, and Nahath his son; Eliab his
28 son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son. And the sons of
29 Samuel; the firstborn *Joel*, and the second Abiah. The
sons of Merari; Mahli, Libni his son, Shimei his son,
30 Uzzah his son; Shimea his son, Haggiah his son, Asaiah
his son.

31 [**Ch**] And these are they whom David set over the
service of song in the house of the LORD, after that the
32 ark had rest. And they ministered with song before the

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connected lists of the descendants of Kohath, in which Amminadab probably represents the Izhar of Exod. vi. 18, in that his line is unmistakably traced here; and, lastly, we have the names of seven descendants of Merari which are given nowhere else.

28. Samuel: historically an Ephraimite: cf. 1 Sam. i. 1.

(*c*) 31–48. *Pedigree of David's chief musicians.* The three musical guilds of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (= Jeduthan) are traced back to their common Levitic origin, and the genealogies are prefaced and concluded with references to the musical services of the Temple.

31. after that the ark had rest: the allusion is to the bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem, narrated in 2 Sam. vi. In the early narrative we read of the employment of sacred music in the ceremony of transporting the Ark, and the chronicler has historic grounds for tracing the establishment of the musical services of the sanctuary back to David's day; but he presents the case in a light not warranted by the earlier histories, when he represents the full Levitic musical organization of his day as having existed from the time of David. In all probability it passed through a long course of gradual development, and only reached its final perfection under Ezra.

the ark: cf. note on xiii. 3.

32. they ministered with song. The three choirs were so arranged that Heman conducted the central choir, Asaph that on the right, and Ethan that on the left. It is improbable that these

tabernacle of the tent of meeting, until Solomon had built
the house of the LORD in Jerusalem: and they waited on
their office according to their order. And these are they 33
that waited, and their sons. Of the sons of the
Kohathites: Heman the singer, the son of Joel, the son
of Samuel; the son of Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the 34
son of Eliel, the son of Toah; the son of Zuph, the 35
son of Elkanah, the son of Mahath, the son of Amasai;
the son of Elkanah, the son of Joel, the son of Azariah, 36
the son of Zephaniah; the son of Tahath, the son of 37
Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah; the son of 38
Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, the son of
Israel. And his brother Asaph, who stood on his right 39
hand, even Asaph the son of Berechiah, the son of
Shimea; the son of Michael, the son of Baaseiah, the son 40
of Malchijah; the son of Ethni, the son of Zerah, the son 41
of Adaiah; the son of Ethan, the son of Zimmah, the son 42
of Shimei; the son of Jahath, the son of Gershom, the 43
son of Levi. And on the left hand their brethren the 44
sons of Merari: Ethan the son of Kishi, the son of Abdi,
the son of Malluch; the son of Hashabiah, the son of 45
Amaziah, the son of Hilkiah; the son of Amzi, the son of 46
Bani, the son of Shemer; the son of Mahli, the son of 47
Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi. And their 48
brethren the Levites were appointed for all the service of
the tabernacle of the house of God.

But Aaron and his sons offered upon the altar of burnt 49

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genealogies are complete, as appears from the great diversity in the number of names assigned to the three guilds; thus Heman has twenty links in his genealogy, Asaph fifteen, and Ethan only twelve. The section appears to be the original work of the chronicler, and to have been compiled with strict reference to the Second Temple and its music.

(*d*) 49–53. *Second genealogy of High-Priestly line.* In this

offering, and upon the altar of incense, for all the work of
the most holy place, and to make atonement for Israel,
according to all that Moses the servant of God had
50 commanded. And these are the sons of Aaron; Eleazar
51 his son, Phinehas his son, Abishua his son; Bukki his
52 son, Uzzi his son, Zerahiah his son; Meraioth his son,
53 Amariah his son, Ahitub his son; Zadok his son, Ahimaaz
his son.

54 [**H**] Now these are their dwelling places according to
their encampments in their borders: to the sons of Aaron,
of the families of the Kohathites, for theirs was the *first*
55 lot, to them they gave Hebron in the land of Judah, and
56 the suburbs thereof round about it; but the fields of
the city, and the villages thereof, they gave to Caleb the
57 son of Jephunneh. And to the sons of Aaron they gave
the cities of refuge, Hebron; Libnah also with her

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section the chronicler, or possibly a later scribe, sums up the duties of the Aaronic priesthood. These consisted of (1) the offering of the burnt-sacrifice and of incense, (2) the attendance upon the Temple, and (3) the making of the atonement for Israel. It seems to be implied that the Pentateuch as known in post-exilic days had existed in its final form since the time of Moses, so that the ritual obtaining in the Second Temple is assumed in writing of the remote past. The list of high-priests to the time of Solomon, which follows, is identical with that given in verses 4–**8**.

(*e*) **54–81.** *Levitical Cities.* The list of the cities inhabited by the Levites has been copied from Joshua xxi, with alterations which are mainly verbal. Many corruptions have crept into the place-names in the course of transcription, and some few names have dropped out. Verses 64, 65 would occupy a more natural position in the narrative if placed in the middle of verse 54, in which case they would stand parallel to the introductory verses in Joshua xxi.

The cities belonging to the Kohathites, Gershomites, and Merarites are given in detail. The enumeration opens with a brief mention of the Kohathite settlements around Hebron (verses 54^{b}–56). Then follow certain cities allocated to the Aaronic priests (verses 57–60), from which Jochthah and Gibeon have

suburbs, and Jattir, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs;
and Hilen with her suburbs, Debir with her suburbs; 58
and Ashan with her suburbs, and Beth-shemesh with her 59
suburbs: and out of the tribe of Benjamin; Geba with 60
her suburbs, and Allemeth with her suburbs, and Anathoth
with her suburbs. All their cities throughout their
families were thirteen cities. [**Ch²**] And unto the rest of 61
the sons of Kohath *were given* by lot, out of the family
of the tribe, out of the half tribe, the half of Manasseh,
ten cities. And to the sons of Gershom, according to 62
their families, out of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the
tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out
of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.
Unto the sons of Merari *were given* by lot, according to 63
their families, out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the
tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve
cities. And the children of Israel gave to the Levites 64
the cities with their suburbs. And they gave by lot out 65
of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the
tribe of the children of Simeon, and out of the tribe of
the children of Benjamin, these cities which are mentioned
by name. [**H**] And some of the families of the sons of 66
Kohath had cities of their borders out of the tribe of
Ephraim. And they gave unto them the cities of refuge, 67
Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim with her suburbs;
Gezer also with her suburbs; and Jokmeam with her 68
suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs; and Aijalon 69

---

been omitted. Following upon this, we have in verses 61-63 condensed statements of the districts occupied by the descendants of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari respectively; in the centre of verse 61 there is a curious hiatus caused by the omission of the words, 'of Ephraim and of the tribe of Dan.' Lastly, we have a more detailed account of the towns in the possession of the Kohathites (66-70), the Gershomites (71-76), and the Merarites (77-81).

with her suburbs, and Gath-rimmon with her suburbs:
70 and out of the half tribe of Manasseh; Aner with her
suburbs, and Bileam with her suburbs, for the rest of
71 the family of the sons of Kohath. Unto the sons of
Gershom *were given*, out of the family of the half tribe
of Manasseh, Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, and
72 Ashtaroth with her suburbs: and out of the tribe of
Issachar; Kedesh with her suburbs, Daberath with her
73 suburbs; and Ramoth with her suburbs, and Anem with
74 her suburbs: and out of the tribe of Asher; Mashal with
75 her suburbs, and Abdon with her suburbs; and Hukok
76 with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs: and out
of the tribe of Naphtali; Kedesh in Galilee with her
suburbs, and Hammon with her suburbs, and Kiriathaim
77 with her suburbs. Unto the rest of *the Levites*, the sons
of Merari, *were given*, out of the tribe of Zebulun, Rimmono
78 with her suburbs, Tabor with her suburbs: and
beyond the Jordan at Jericho, on the east side of Jordan,
were given them, out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer in the
wilderness with her suburbs, and Jahzah with her suburbs,
79 and Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with
80 her suburbs: and out of the tribe of Gad; Ramoth in
Gilead with her suburbs, and Mahanaim with her suburbs,
81 and Heshbon with her suburbs, and Jazer with her
suburbs.

7 And of the sons of Issachar; Tola, and Puah, Jashub,

Among the alterations effected by our compiler we notice the omission of Joshua xxi. 23 between verses 68 and 69; and the omission of two names and the variation of other two from Joshua xxi. 34-5; and the correction of the names (in verse 70) which were wrongly given in Joshua xxi. 25.

(6) vii. *Genealogies of the southern cis-Jordanic tribes of Israel.*

The chapter is devoted to the genealogies of the tribes of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, cis-Jordanic Manasseh, Ephraim,

and Shimron, four. [**Ch**] And the sons of Tola; Uzzi, 2
and Rephaiah, and Jeriel, and Jahmai, and Ibsam,
and Shemuel, heads of their fathers' houses, *to wit*, of
Tola; mighty men of valour in their generations: their
number in the days of David was two and twenty thousand
and six hundred. And the sons of Uzzi; Izrahiah: 3
and the sons of Izrahiah; Michael, and Obadiah, and
Joel, Isshiah, five: all of them chief men. And with 4
them, by their generations, after their fathers' houses,
were bands of the host for war, six and thirty thousand:
for they had many wives and sons. And their brethren 5
among all the families of Issachar, mighty men of valour,
reckoned in all by genealogy, were fourscore and seven
thousand.

[**H**] *The sons of* Benjamin; Bela, and Becher, [**Ch**] and 6
Jediael, three. And the sons of Bela; Ezbon, and Uzzi, 7
and Uzziel, and Jerimoth, and Iri, five; heads of fathers'
houses, mighty men of valour; and they were reckoned
by genealogy twenty and two thousand and thirty and
four. And the sons of Becher; Zemirah, and Joash, 8
and Eliezer, and Elioenai, and Omri, and Jeremoth, and

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and Asher. In the case of the first two and of the last of these, we have an estimate of the war-footing of the tribes.

(*a*) **1–5.** *Issachar.* The name Issachar is of disputed significance, but was connected in Hebrew history with the root denoting 'wages': cf. Gen. xxx. 18. The territory of the tribe lay between the uplands of central Palestine and the deep Jordan valley; the great trade-route of the valley of Megiddo ran across it. The four sons of Issachar are named as in Num. xxvi. 23–4; but in Gen. xlvi. 13, by the omission of a letter, we read Job instead of Jashub. The line is only traced for four generations. The number of tribal warriors, estimated at 87,000, is probably taken from David's census.

(*b*) **6–12.** *Benjamin.* The name signifies 'son of my right hand.' The tribe inhabited the plateau at the southern end of the central highlands of Ephraim. Situated in a stern and somewhat barren land, the tribesmen were a warlike race, and played no mean part

9 Abijah, and Anathoth, and Alemeth. All these were the sons of Becher. And they were reckoned by genealogy, after their generations, heads of their fathers' houses, mighty men of valour, twenty thousand and two hundred.
10 And the sons of Jediael; Bilhan: and the sons of Bilhan; Jeush, and Benjamin, and Ehud, and Chenaanah, and
11 Zethan, and Tarshish, and Ahishahar. All these were sons of Jediael, according to the heads of their fathers' *houses*, mighty men of valour, seventeen thousand and two hundred, that were able to go forth in the host for
12 war. Shuppim also, and Huppim, the sons of Ir, Hushim, the sons of Aher.

13 [H] The sons of Naphtali; Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, the sons of Bilhah.

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in the history of their people. The chronicler gives genealogical lists of the tribe, both here and in ch. viii. In the present list we read of only three sons of Benjamin, whereas Num. xxvi. 38-40 names five, and Gen. xlvi. 21 gives them as ten (including, however, the grandsons). Then follow the names of five sons of Bela, nine of Becher (the last two being really place-names), and one son and seven grandsons of Jediael. The number of Benjamite warriors is presumably taken from David's census.

12. Shuppim and Huppim. The text is undoubtedly corrupt: the names Shuppim and Huppim occur in varied form in Gen. xlvi. 21; but the same names occur in verse 15 of our chapter under the genealogy of Manasseh. Moreover, Hushim is named in Gen. xlvi. 23 as a son of Dan, which seems to prove that the MS. is defective here, the tribe of Dan having been omitted with the exception of the mutilated fragment which now constitutes verse 12. It has even been supposed that there is a correct and long-forgotten allusion to this omission in the phrase 'sons of Aher,' which might be translated 'sons of the other.' In comparison with the earlier narrative we see that both Dan and Zebulun are omitted from the present chapter.

(*c*) **13.** *Naphtali.* The tribal territory lay along the western shore of the sea of Galilee and the Jordan bank. It contained well-watered and fruitful lands. In the genealogy here given we have only the names of the sons of Naphtali, but these agree with Gen. xlvi. 24-5 and Num. xxvi. 48-9.

[**H²**] The sons of Manasseh; Asriel, whom *his wife* 14
bare: (his concubine the Aramitess bare Machir the
father of Gilead: and Machir took a wife of Huppim 15
and Shuppim, whose sister's name was Maacah;) and the
name of the second was Zelophehad: and Zelophehad
had daughters. And Maacah the wife of Machir bare 16
a son, and she called his name Peresh; and the name
of his brother was Sheresh; and his sons were Ulam
and Rakem. And the sons of Ulam; Bedan. These 17
were the sons of Gilead the son of Machir, the son of
Manasseh. And his sister Hammolecheth bare Ishhod, 18
and Abiezer, and Mahlah. And the sons of Shemida 19
were Ahian, and Shechem, and Likhi, and Aniam.

[**Ch**] And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered 20
his son, and Tahath his son, and Eleadah his son, and

(*d*) **14-19.** *Manasseh.* The tribe occupied the hill-country to the north of Ephraim from the Jordan to the sea. We read here of two only of the six families of Manasseh mentioned in Num. xxvi. 29-34, viz. Asriel and Shemida. The text is corrupt at this point and the narrative is very obscure. But the latter part of verse 14 seems to refer to a concubine of Manasseh, in that the correct line of descent referred to in this verse was Manasseh-Machir-Gilead-Asriel (cf. Gen. l. 23, and Num. xxvi. 29 ff.). The LXX reads: 'The sons of Manasseh, Esriel, whom his Syrian concubine bore, and she also bore him Machir, father of Gilead.' (It is interesting to note here that Philo quotes this verse, and this only, from the Book of Chronicles, using it as an allegorical illustration of the relation of recollection to memory.) Again, verse 15ª is confused and corrupt. As it stands, it implies that Maacah, the wife of Machir, was sister to the Benjamites (?) here named; and the versions do not help us to restore the text. But the second part of the verse seems rightly to be connected with verse 14ª (as is shown by the marks of parenthesis in the R. V.), if it be borne in mind that Zelophehad was in reality a nephew of Machir (Num. xxvi. 33). The two concluding verses of the section (18, 19) represent the third and fourth families of the Manassites.

(*e*) **20-29.** *Ephraim.* The tribal name signifies 'fertile tract,' and is eminently applicable to their ancestral lands in the well-

21 Tahath his son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his
son, [**H**^{2}] and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath
that were born in the land slew, because they came down
22 to take away their cattle. And Ephraim their father
mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort
23 him. And he went in to his wife, and she conceived,
and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because
24 it went evil with his house. And his daughter was
Sheerah, who built Beth-horon the nether and the upper,
25 and Uzzen-sheerah. [**Ch**] And Rephah was his son,
and Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son;
26 Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son;
27, 28 Nun his son, Joshua his son. And their possessions and
habitations were Beth-el and the towns thereof, and
eastward Naaran, and westward Gezer, with the towns

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watered uplands of central Palestine, extending, as they did, for ninety miles from Beth-el in the south to Megiddo in the north. In the present genealogies of this independent and warlike tribe we find six generations of the line of Shuthelah (cf. Num. xxvi. 35); then a second line is taken up in verse 25 and is traced from Rephah to Joshua. Amid the genealogical records there is inserted a brief account of a disastrous cattle-raid on the part of two clansmen upon their Canaanite, or Philistine, neighbours. The raid must have taken place after the settlement of the Ephraimites in Palestine; and, in that case, the Ephraim of verse 22 (1) either refers to a later descendant of the founder of the tribe, or (2) the verse is a figurative statement of the fact that the place of the slaughtered clansmen of Ezer and Elead was taken by a newly formed clan bearing the name of Beriah. The latter explanation is supported by the statement of viii. 13, where we read that the Benjamites of the clan of Beriah 'put to flight the inhabitants of Gath,' whence we gather that the rescuing Benjamites received the inheritance of the lost tribesmen and were thereafter reckoned among the tribe of Ephraim. The narrative presents a vivid picture of frontier warfare in the early days of Hebrew history. In verse 24 prominence is given to the heiress Sheerah from the fact that her descendants occupied the two towns Beth-horon and Uzzen-sheerah in the south of the tribal territory. In verses 28, 29 we find a list of Ephraimite frontier

thereof; Shechem also and the towns thereof, unto
Azzah and the towns thereof: and by the borders of the 29
children of Manasseh, Beth-shean and her towns, Taanach
and her towns, Megiddo and her towns, Dor and her
towns. In these dwelt the children of Joseph the son of
Israel.

[H] The sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah, and 30
Ishvi, and Beriah, and Serah their sister. And the sons 31
of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel, [Ch] who was the
father of Birzaith. And Heber begat Japhlet, and 32
Shomer, and Hotham, and Shua their sister. And the 33
sons of Japhlet; Pasach, and Bimhal, and Ashvath.
These are the children of Japhlet. And the sons of 34
Shemer; Ahi, and Rohgah, Jehubbah, and Aram. And 35
the sons of Helem his brother; Zophah, and Imna, and
Shelesh, and Amal. The sons of Zophah; Suah, and 36
Harnepher, and Shual, and Beri, and Imrah; Bezer, 37
and Hod, and Shamma, and Shilshah, and Ithran, and
Beera. And the sons of Jether; Jephunneh, and Pispah, 38
and Ara. And the sons of Ulla; Arah, and Hanniel, 39
and Rizia. All these were the children of Asher, heads 40
of the fathers' houses, choice and mighty men of valour,
chief of the princes. And the number of them reckoned

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towns, and we learn from the inclusion among them of the Benjamite town of Beth-el that the boundaries described were those recognized at the disruption of the kingdom, when Beth-el actually fell to the northern tribes.

(*f*) **30–40.** *Asher.* The name denotes 'blessed,' and the tribal lands lay on the north-west coast of Palestine. The present genealogy is confined to the three clans of the Imnites, the Ishvites, and the Berites. The war-footing of the tribe as given in our text refers only to the families whose lines are here traced, not to the entire tribe. The whole tribe is said to have numbered in the days of the Exodus over twice as many as the present figures state.

by genealogy for service in war was twenty and six
thousand men.

8 [R] And Benjamin begat Bela his firstborn, Ashbel the
2 second, and Aharah the third; Nohah the fourth, and
3 Rapha the fifth. And Bela had sons, Addar, and Gera,
4 and Abihud; and Abishua, and Naaman, and Ahoah;
5, 6 and Gera, and Shephuphan, and Huram. And these are
the sons of Ehud: these are the heads of fathers' *houses*
of the inhabitants of Geba, and they carried them captive
7 to Manahath: and Naaman, and Ahijah, and Gera, he
carried them captive; and he begat Uzza and Ahihud.

(7) viii. *Benjamite Genealogies and the House of Saul.*

There is little room to doubt that these Benjamite genealogies originally possessed a more symmetrical form, but this has been so hopelessly lost that even the ancient versions fail to lead us to a satisfactory text. Their general plan does not differ appreciably from that of the former list of Benjamites given in vi. 6-11, which it seems intended to supplement. The two lists undoubtedly come from different sources, and ch. viii bears every mark of being quite a late insertion in the text of the Chronicles. It reflects unmistakably the circumstances of the post-exilic community, when in verse 28 it speaks of large numbers of Benjamites as dwelling in Jerusalem, for we learn from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah to what a large extent the ancient capital was repeopled by Benjamites after the Captivity.

(*a*) viii. 1-28. *Benjamite Genealogies.*

1-5. The names given here differ considerably from the list of Gen. xlvi. 21, but agree more closely with that found in Num. xxvi. 38. The names of those who failed to found families are naturally omitted; and, moreover, it is probable either that the names Nohah and Rapha (verse 2) are alternatives to or corruptions of Shephupham and Hupham of Num. xxvi. 39, or that they stand for later links. The six descendants of Bela named here stand in the uncertain relationship so often indicated by the word 'sons,' which frequently means 'cousins.'

6-7. Among the records of the family of Ehud it is interesting to read of a raid of one Benjamite clan upon another, in which Gera carried away captive certain fellow tribesmen, Naaman and Ahijah. The position of their destination, Manahath, is uncertain; but the narrative is so rugged and obscure that one is tempted to

And Shaharaim begat children in the field of Moab, after 8
he had sent them away; Hushim and Baara were his
wives. And he begat of Hodesh his wife, Jobab, and 9
Zibia, and Mesha, and Malcam; and Jeuz, and Shachia, 10
and Mirmah. These were his sons, heads of fathers'
houses. And of Hushim he begat Abitub and Elpaal. 11
And the sons of Elpaal; Eber, and Misham, and Shemed, 12
who built Ono and Lod, with the towns thereof: and 13
Beriah, and Shema, who were heads of fathers' *houses* of
the inhabitants of Aijalon, who put to flight the inhabitants
of Gath; and Ahio, Shashak, and Jeremoth; and Zebadiah, 14, 15
and Arad, and Eder; and Michael, and Ishpah, and Joha, 16
the sons of Beriah; and Zebadiah, and Meshullam, and 17
Hizki, and Heber; and Ishmerai, and Izliah, and Jobab, 18
the sons of Elpaal; and Jakim, and Zichri, and Zabdi; 19
and Elienai, and Zillethai, and Eliel; and Adaiah, and 20, 21
Beraiah, and Shimrath, the sons of Shimei; and Ishpan, 22
and Eber, and Eliel; and Abdon, and Zichri, and Hanan; 23
and Hananiah, and Elam, and Anthothijah; and Iphdeiah, 24, 25
and Penuel, the sons of Shashak; and Shamsherai, and 26
Shehariah, and Athaliah; and Jaareshiah, and Elijah, and 27
Zichri, the sons of Jeroham. These were heads of fathers' 28

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believe that it is a confused post-exilic reference to the great Captivity itself.

8-12. The whole section relating to the Shaharaites is obscure. We can neither determine their connexion with the main family line nor shed any light upon the residence of Shaharaim in Moab. But we have clear evidence that post-exilic circumstances are reflected, for Ono (=*Kefr 'Anā*) and Lod (=*Lydda*) of verse 12 originally belonged to Ephraim; and it seems necessary to refer their occupation by Benjamites, and also the settlement in Moab, to post-exilic times.

13-28. This is another fragment disconnected with the context. It certainly does not continue the line of Elpaal (verse 11). It refers to five groups of prominent tribesmen, viz. those of Beriah, Elpaal, Shimei, Shashak, and Jeroham, whose names originally

houses throughout their generations, chief men: these
29 dwelt in Jerusalem. And in Gibeon there dwelt the
father of Gibeon, *Jeiel*, whose wife's name was Maacah:
30 and his firstborn son Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and
31 Baal, and Nadab; and Gedor, and Ahio, and Zecher.
32 And Mikloth begat Shimeah. And they also dwelt with
their brethren in Jerusalem, over against their brethren.
33 And Ner begat Kish; and Kish begat Saul; and Saul
begat Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and
34 Eshbaal. And the son of Jonathan was Merib-baal; and
35 Merib-baal begat Micah. And the sons of Micah; Pithon,
36 and Melech, and Tarea, and Ahaz. And Ahaz begat
Jehoaddah; and Jehoaddah begat Alemeth, and Azma-
37 veth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza: and Moza begat
Binea; Raphah was his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son:
38 and Azel had six sons, whose names are these; Azrikam,
Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Sheariah, and Obadiah, and
39 Hanan. All these were the sons of Azel. And the sons
of Eshek his brother; Ulam his firstborn, Jeush the
40 second, and Eliphelet the third. And the sons of Ulam
were mighty men of valour, archers, and had many sons,
and sons' sons, an hundred and fifty. All these were of
the sons of Benjamin.

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occurred in verses 13, 14, for verse 14 is to be correctly read thus: 'and Elpaal his brother (=Ahio) and Shashak and Jeroham.' We have already shown the probable connexion of verse 13 with vii. 21 (*vide in loco*); but nothing is known of the remaining names.

(*b*) **29–40.** *The House of Saul.* Verses 29-38 recur in ix. 35-44 (q. v.) with certain orthographical variations. Of the ancestors of Saul we learn that they resided mainly in Gibeon but that the clan of Mikloth settled in Jerusalem. The connexion of the royal line with Benjamin is not stated; and it is evident that some of the links are omitted, for we learn from 1 Sam. ix. 1, xiv. 51, that Kish was the son of Abiel, not of Ner. Of Saul's sons, Abinadab is certainly another name for Ishui, and Eshbaal for Ish-bosheth (cf. also Meribaal and Mephibosheth). The line

[Ch] So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, 9
behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel:
and Judah was carried away captive to Babylon for their
transgression. Now the first inhabitants that dwelt in 2
their possessions in their cities were, Israel, the priests,

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of David's friend, Jonathan, is traced through thirteen generations. If we place the death of Jonathan in 1010 B.C. (cf. Kennedy on 'Samuel' in *Century Bible*), and allow thirty-five years to a generation, this brings us down to the date of the Captivity in 587 B.C., whence it appears that the section aims at giving the pedigree of the post-exilic community which claimed descent from Saul. The concluding verse is an echo of verse 1, and indicates that the chapter constitutes a well-defined document separate from the rest of the genealogies.

(8) ix. *Post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem.*

The whole chapter is undoubtedly the work of the chronicler, and bears a close relation to Neh. vii. 73, xi. 4–19.

(*a*) ix. 1–3. *The restored community.* The opening verse of the chapter is a *résumé* of the eight preceding chapters. The chronicler lays stress upon the fact that genealogical records of all Israel, including both kingdoms, had been made and still existed. For fuller information he refers his readers to a source which was readily accessible to them in his day, but which, it must be insisted, is not identical with the canonical Book of Kings. Cf. Introd. § iv.

1. Judah was carried away captive. The fall of Jerusalem and the first captivity occurred in 587 B.C., when the armies of Nebuchadnezzar forced their way into the capital and crushed the long resistance of Zedekiah.

for their transgression. All the Hebrew historians recognize that national apostasy was the fundamental cause of national disaster; and it is quite typical of the prophetic attitude also that the issues of life and conduct should be explained upon the basis of character; but such interpretations as this are specially characteristic of the chronicler's reverent reading of history.

Verse 2 introduces us to the main subject of the chapter, viz. the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem. The close connexion of the following records with Neh. xi leads us to inquire into their origin. Some have argued from the phrase 'the first inhabitants that dwell in their possessions,' &c., that the chapter is a list of pre-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem; but this position is now acknowledged to be untenable. The evident resemblance of this chapter to Neh. xi in form and contents conclusively proves

3 the Levites, and the Nethinim. And in Jerusalem dwelt
of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin,
4 and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh ; Uthai
the son of Ammihud, the son of Omri, the son of Imri,
the son of Bani, of the children of Perez the son of Judah.
5 And of the Shilonites ; Asaiah the firstborn, and his sons.

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that this is a case of doublets; hence the conclusion follows that we are dealing with a list of the early post-exilic residents in the capital. These inhabitants are described in general terms as 'Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim.' The words are not very clear; but it appears that the general mass of returned exiles, of whatever tribe, were sharply discriminated from the priestly orders, while the latter were divided into priests, Levites (including singers and porters), and Nethinim. We learn from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah that the majority of the returned exiles belonged to the tribes of Judah or Benjamin, and we find the division of the priestly classes here mentioned still in force. The *priests* performed the sacrificial duties of the sanctuary; the *Levites* superintended the remaining ministrations of the Temple generally; and the *Nethinim* were the inferior Temple servants. But, while the earlier portion of the chapter evidently refers to this condition of things, the later sections seem to reflect the conditions of the chronicler's own day, when the whole of the lower orders of the Temple ministrants had been reorganized. In course of time the small number of the returned Levites needed to be augmented, especially when the musical service was developed, and this seems to have been done by admitting the Nethinim to the full privileges of the Levites.

The close parallel between our chapter and Neh. xi is evident even to the most superficial reader ; and the most satisfactory explanation is that the list of Neh. xi represents the inhabitants of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's day, whereas 1 Chron. ix is a later list compiled by the chronicler himself upon the basis of Neh. xi.

3. Although Ephraimites and Manassites are said to have swollen the ranks of the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem, not a single member of their tribes is included in the following lists.

(*b*) **4-9.** *Lay residents.* Comparing verses 4-6 with Neh. xi. 4, 5 we find that the chronicler gives one more family of Judah, and comparing verses 7-9 with Neh. xi. 7-9 we find the names of three more Benjamite families in our passage. The three chieftains of Judah represent the clans of Perez, Shilon, and

And of the sons of Zerah; Jeuel, and their brethren, six 6
hundred and ninety. And of the sons of Benjamin; Sallu 7
the son of Meshullam, the son of Hodaviah, the son of
Hassenuah; and Ibneiah the son of Jeroham, and Elah 8
the son of Uzzi, the son of Michri, and Meshullam the
son of Shephatiah, the son of Reuel, the son of Ibnijah;
and their brethren, according to their generations, nine 9
hundred and fifty and six. All these men were heads of
fathers' *houses* by their fathers' houses.

And of the priests; Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin; 10
and Azariah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the 11
son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, the
ruler of the house of God; and Adaiah the son of Jeroham, 12
the son of Pashhur, the son of Malchijah, and Maasai the
son of Adiel, the son of Jahzerah, the son of Meshullam,
the son of Meshillemith, the son of Immer; and their 13
brethren, heads of their fathers' houses, a thousand and
seven hundred and threescore; very able men for the

Zerah; but the descendants of Uthai (verse 4) differ from those given in chaps. ii–iv. The numbers given in verse 6 evidently refer to the three families named in verses 4–6. Of Benjamin, we have the names of four leaders, Sallu, Ibneiah, Elah, and Meshullam; whereas of these Neh. xi. 7–9 gives the name of Sallu only, with different names for all his ancestors except his father, and adds the names of Gabbai, Sallai, Joel, and Judah.

(*c*) **10–13.** *The Priests.* The section agrees with Neh. xi, with the exception of the change of Seraiah to Azariah and of Amashsai to Maasai. It appears that the priests numbered 1,760, and were divided into three classes. The first class comprised the families of Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin; the second the family of Azariah, who was descended from Ahitub and is mentioned in vi. 13, and was known as 'the ruler of the house of God'; and the third contained the houses of Adaiah and Maasai. The numbers cannot possibly refer to the 'heads of fathers' houses'; and it is best to transpose the two opening clauses of verse 13 and refer them to 'their brethren.' But even so we leave a discrepancy between Chronicles and Nehemiah, as the total number of able priests is given in Nehemiah as only 1,192.

14 work of the service of the house of God. And of the
Levites; Shemaiah the son of Hasshub, the son of
Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari;
15 and Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal, and Mattaniah the
16 son of Mica, the son of Zichri, the son of Asaph; and
Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, the son of Galal, the son
of Jeduthun, and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of
Elkanah, that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites.
17 And the porters; Shallum, and Akkub, and Talmon, and
18 Ahiman, and their brethren: Shallum was the chief; who
hitherto *waited* in the king's gate eastward: they were
19 the porters for the camp of the children of Levi. And
Shallum the son of Kore, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of
Korah, and his brethren, of his father's house, the Korahites, were over the work of the service, keepers of the gates
of the tabernacle: and their fathers had been over the camp
20 of the LORD, keepers of the entry; and Phinehas the son of
Eleazar was ruler over them in time past, *and* the LORD was

(*d*) **14–16.** *Levites.* (Cf. Neh. xi. 13–19.) Among the Levitic families named here we have one descended from Jeduthun, and one from Asaph, whence it is not improbable that they belonged to the musical guilds. It is noticeable that the chronicler entirely omits Neh. xi. 16, and also fails to give the number of the porters. From this point, moreover, the two records diverge entirely, the chronicler devoting his space mainly to the duties of the porters and Levites, while Nehemiah gives further lists of priests and Levites with their cities.

(*e*) **17–34.** *Duties of Porters and Levites.* Throughout this section the chronicler is thinking of the Temple service of his own day. The *king's gate* was so called because the king always entered by the east doorway (cf. Ezek. xlvi. 1, 2). The ministrations of the Temple porters are traced back for their origin to the old days of the desert wanderings (verses 18–19), and hence the Korahites are confirmed in their privileges as guardians of the gateways. To the statement that Phinehas superintended their order in the days of Joshua, the chronicler adds the characteristic reflection that Jehovah's presence was recognized even in the duty of keeping the doors (verse 20).

with him. Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah was porter 21
of the door of the tent of meeting. All these which were 22
chosen to be porters in the gates were two hundred and
twelve. These were reckoned by genealogy in their
villages, whom David and Samuel the seer did ordain in
their set office. So they and their children had the 23
oversight of the gates of the house of the LORD, even the
house of the tabernacle, by wards. On the four sides were 24
the porters, toward the east, west, north, and south. And 25
their brethren, in their villages, were to come in every
seven days from time to time to be with them: for the 26
four chief porters, who were Levites, were in a set office,
and were over the chambers and over the treasuries in the
house of God. And they lodged round about the house 27
of God, because the charge *thereof* was upon them, and to
them pertained the opening thereof morning by morning.
And certain of them had charge of the vessels of service; 28
for by tale were they brought in and by tale were they
taken out. Some of them also were appointed over the 29
furniture, and over all the vessels of the sanctuary, and
over the fine flour, and the wine, and the oil, and the
frankincense, and the spices. And some of the sons of 30
the priests prepared the confection of the spices. And 31

We have an isolated historic reminiscence in verse 21, which probably refers to the Davidic door-keepers mentioned in xxvi. 2; the verse, however, closes the allusions to ancient observances of the Temple door-keepers. It is not to be assumed that the chronicler was in error in tracing the original appointment of the porters back to the days of David and Samuel, although the service had developed in the interval by an inevitable course of evolution, during which the number of porters grew from its original 93 (cf. xxvi. 10, 11) to the 212 of the chronicler's day. Yet this solitary allusion to the part played by Samuel in organizing the Temple service justifies us in concluding that the names of both Samuel and David are only claimed in a very general way as being the authors of the organization extant in

Mattithiah, one of the Levites, who was the firstborn of
Shallum the Korahite, had the set office over the things
32 that were baked in pans. And some of their brethren, of
the sons of the Kohathites, were over the shewbread, to
33 prepare it every sabbath. [**R**^{2}] And these are the singers,
heads of fathers' *houses* of the Levites, *who dwelt* in the
chambers *and were* free *from other service*: for they were
34 employed in their work day and night. [**Ch**] These
were heads of fathers' *houses* of the Levites, throughout
their generations, chief men: these dwelt at Jerusalem.

35 And in Gibeon there dwelt the father of Gibeon, Jeiel,
36 whose wife's name was Maacah: and his firstborn son
Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Ner, and Nadab;
38 and Gedor, and Ahio, and Zechariah, and Mikloth. And
Mikloth begat Shimeam. And they also dwelt with their
39 brethren in Jerusalem, over against their brethren. And
Ner begat Kish; and Kish begat Saul; and Saul begat
Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal.
40 And the son of Jonathan was Merib-baal; and Merib-baal
41 begat Micah. And the sons of Micah; Pithon, and
42 Melech, and Tahrea, *and Ahaz.* And Ahaz begat Jarah;
and Jarah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and
43 Zimri begat Moza: and Moza begat Binea; and Rephaiah

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the chronicler's time. David undoubtedly played a large part in reorganizing the ancient system of worship, and it is quite natural to suppose that he was developing a line of action which was in harmony with the labours of Samuel.

Verses 33, 34 sum up the contents of the chapter. Verse 33 is very condensed, and contains late Hebrew expressions, but the sense is clear, viz. that the singers were freed from their other Levitic duties and that they were members of the families already named.

(*f*) **35–44.** *The House of Saul.* This genealogy is merely a repetition of viii. 29–38, and is seemingly introduced here as a connecting link between the condensed history of the genealogies and the fuller narratives which follow.

his son, Eleasah his son, Azel his son: and Azel had six 44
sons, whose names are these; Azrikam, Bocheru, and
Ishmael, and Sheariah, and Obadiah, and Hanan: these
were the sons of Azel.

[H] Now the Philistines fought against Israel: and the 10

Reviewing the genealogical records as a whole, one is struck by the fact that almost everywhere there are signs of an underlying greater symmetry of plan, once prominent, but now no longer recoverable. It is also clear that the terms of relationship are very loosely employed, while the connecting links between the sections are often entirely lost. The chronicler, in his desire to preserve all proofs of the continuity of the national life, was grappling with a problem which presented extraordinary difficulties even in his day, and he has failed to produce order out of the chaos of extant documents and conflicting claims. Yet, on the whole, we have a remarkable *résumé* of the world's history as it concerned the returned exiles, and we see everywhere that this history has been presented by our author so as to meet the needs of his contemporaries.

II. SECOND PART.

x—xxix. The Reign of David.

The chronicler has now reached the point at which he is prepared to take up the genuinely historical and narrative part of his work. He devotes the remainder of the first Book of the Chronicles almost wholly to the events of the reign of David; and, in the way in which he selects and presents his facts, we have yet further insight into the mental and religious standpoint of the author. In his rapid genealogical survey of ancient history, the chronicler has dropped one by one those races and tribes which seemed to diverge from the line of the Divine purpose for the chosen people. With comparatively few digressions he has traced the history of the post-exilic community in whom (and their ancestors) the Divine will seemed to him to be manifesting itself. Thus he was led by way of Abraham to the tribes of Israel. A certain amount of attention had necessarily to be given to all the tribes owing to their place in the Covenant of promise; but it is very evident that the chronicler regards the southern tribes of Judah and Benjamin, along with Simeon, as the real depositories of the Divine blessing. Much space is given to the religious leaders; and one cannot fail to realize that the Levites are the supreme consideration in the author's interest.

The chronicler describes the early allocation of territory to the tribes, and intermingles much information as to their post-exilic places of residence, but he entirely omits the whole period of the Judges and the unsuccessful attempt of Saul to found a kingdom. The reason for these and other omissions is plain. By the time of the chronicler the very existence of the ten northern tribes in the promised land had become a matter of ancient history—further away from his contemporaries than the Wars of the Roses are from us. Hence these northern tribes were a negligible factor for one who was tracing the Divine purpose in history, and all interest must centre in the southern kingdom. But the southern kingdom was to all intents and purposes founded solely by David, the divinely chosen favourite of Jehovah. And David had become the ideal hero, the glamour of whose deeds so dazzled the returned exiles that they failed to see his faults. Compared to him, Saul was merely the head of a rejected house, and the preceding Judges were merely individual strong men of an unsettled period which was of little consequence to Hebrew religious history. Therefore the chronicler simply ignored those periods which seemed to have had no part in moulding the ecclesiastical institutions of his day. The reign of David became to him the all-important subject, and that in an idealized form which compelled him to ignore the years of his effete rule in Hebron and to omit such blemishes as the Bath-sheba incident. With regard to the northern monarchy, even the better features are ignored, as though they were entirely obliterated by the national apostasy ; its kings are only mentioned in so far as they had contact with Judah ; its greatest prophet, Elijah, is but once named, and then only as the author of a letter to a Jewish king ; and Elisha is not so much as referred to.

There is no doubt, then, that the chronicler's entire absorption in his own Levitic calling determined his reading of his country's history. How far this impaired his accuracy as an historian has been pointed out already (Introd. § vi). His omissions and his selections do frequently present history in a different light from that of Samuel and Kings. Yet we must not lose sight of the honesty of our present historian. When the Chronicles are read from the view-point of their author they do not appear to be an attempt to construe history for a narrow purpose, much less to miscontrue it. The constant reference of his readers to earlier and extant sources is proof sufficient of this. But it appears that he is really compiling an eclectic history as a kind of up-to-date textbook for the community among which he lived. If we are not warranted in regarding him as an historian of unimpeachable accuracy, we are just as little warranted in undervaluing his position as a religious guide to history. And this view of our author is in complete accordance with the character of the Hebrew men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell

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scriptures, which claimed to be the record of the ways of God among men rather than an infallible narrative of secular history.

The remaining chapters of 1 Chronicles may be roughly divided thus :—

(1) x. Saul's overthrow.
(2) xi–xxi. Establishment of David's kingdom.
(3) xxii–xxix. Preparations for Temple-building.

The material for these chapters is largely taken from 2 Samuel, but there is no extant original of xxii–xxix. From the narratives of 2 Samuel the chronicler omits the account of David's reign in Hebron and all his family discords; the remaining material is only occasionally rearranged; and the whole is worked up in conformity with the distinctly religious aims of the compiler.

The sources of x–xxi may be indicated in a general way thus :—

1 Chron.	x. 1–12	1 Sam.	xxxi.
,,	xi. 1–9	2 Sam.	v. 1–3, 6–10.
,,	xi. 10–41^{a}	,,	xxiii. 8–39^{a}.
,,	xiii. 6–18	,,	vi. 2–11.
,,	xiv. 1–16	,,	v. 11–25.
,,	xv. 25–29	,,	vi. 12–16.
,,	xvi. 1–3	,,	vi. 17–19.
,,	xvi. 8–22	Psalm	cv. 1–15.
,,	xvii–xix	2 Sam.	vii, viii–x.
,,	xx	,,	xii. 1, 26–31 ; xxi. 18–22.
,,	xxi	,,	xxiv.

(1) x. *Fall of the House of Saul.*

(1) x. 1–7. *Death of Saul.* (Cf. 1 Sam. xxxi. 1–7.) It is fairly certain that the reign of Saul must be dated 1025–1010 B.C.[1] (Acts xiii. 21 being a general estimate which historic facts show to be excessive). In any case the disastrous battle of Gilboa, which closed Saul's last campaign with the Philistines, occurred about B.C. 1010.

1. the Philistines: the inhabitants of the maritime plain lying between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean. Tradition identifies them with the natives of Crete, belonging to a tribe of Semitic immigrants who settled in the island and subsequently returned to Syria; it seems certain that they entered Syria from the south, by way of Egypt. They proved the inveterate foes of Israel during its early history.

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[1] Cf. Excursus on Chronology in *Century Bible*, on Samuel by Kennedy and on Kings by Skinner.

2 down slain in mount Gilboa. And the Philistines followed
hard after Saul and after his sons; and the Philistines
slew Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchi-shua, the sons
3 of Saul. And the battle went sore against Saul, and the
archers overtook him; and he was distressed by reason of
4 the archers. Then said Saul unto his armourbearer, Draw
thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these
uncircumcised come and abuse me. But his armour-
bearer would not; for he was sore afraid. Therefore
5 Saul took his sword, and fell upon it. And when his
armourbearer saw that Saul was dead, he likewise fell
6 upon his sword, and died. So Saul died, and his three
7 sons; and all his house died together. And when all the

Mount Gilboa lies to the south-east of the great Plain of Esdraelon which runs from Carmel to the Jordan valley. In all probability Saul followed the Philistine armies, which had mustered at Aphek, in their march into Esdraelon. Thence the invaders seem to have moved across the plain towards Shunem, and Saul formed his camp on the heights of Gilboa overlooking them. The cause of the campaign is not disclosed, but it may well have been either the desire to secure the route to Damascus for the Philistine traders, or the ambition to gain possession of the Jordan valley. In either case it was essential to dislodge Saul from Mount Gilboa. Hence the attack followed, which must have been delivered from the easier slopes to the south where mounted forces could operate. Saul had the advantage of position, but was overwhelmed by the fury of the Philistine onset. On the mountain-slopes his three sons fell fighting with the courage of despair; and the fugitive and wounded king, refusing to meet humiliation at the invaders' hands, and preferring suicide to insult, must have met death on the loftier crests of the mountain.

3. he was distressed: this implies that the giant king was mentally overwrought, and cannot be made by any means to give the sense of the A. V., 'he was wounded.'

4. abuse me: it was insult before death that Saul dreaded. Death, even suicide, was to him preferable to the indignities which often awaited a captured king. Instances of suicide are very rare in the O. T.

6. all his house: a mode of expressing the fact that the entire staff and body-guard of the king fell in the last despairing resistance on Gilboa.

men of Israel that were in the valley saw that they fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook their cities, and fled; and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.

And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines 8
came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his sons
fallen in mount Gilboa. And they stripped him, and 9
took his head, and his armour, and sent into the land of
the Philistines round about, to carry the tidings unto
their idols, and to the people. And they put his armour 10
in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the
house of Dagon. And when all Jabesh-gilead heard all 11
that the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men 12

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7. The victory of the Philistines was so complete that the cities of the Plain and of the Jordan valley were evacuated before the invaders.

(2) x. 8–12. *Burial of Saul.* (Cf. 1 Sam. xxxi. 8–13.) The account of the indignities heaped upon Saul and his sons is full of a pathetic simplicity. The humiliation of Israel seems all the more complete as contrasted with the exultation in the heathen temples of Philistia. The courageous devotion of the men of Jabesh-gilead is the one bright spot in the midnight.

10. Dagon: the only grounds for regarding Dagon as a fish-god is the derivation of the name from *dāg*, 'a fish'—but Philo-Byblius derived it from *dāgān*, 'corn,' and represented the god as a god of husbandry. The latter is the more probable derivation, and seems to accord better with 1 Sam. v. 4. There were temples of Dagon in Gaza (Judges xvi. 21) and at Ashdod (1 Sam. v. 1), but we have no proof that he was the national deity of the Philistines. In the parallel passage of 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 we read 'they put his armour in the house of the Ashtaroth: and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan.' As to the variations from 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, it is evident that the earlier work preserves the correct text, which is also found in the Syriac version of this passage.

11. Jabesh-gilead: the site of Jabesh is doubtful, but it lay somewhere in the hills to the east of the Jordan valley, probably on a parallel with Mount Gilboa. The deed of its inhabitants here recorded was probably prompted by gratitude for their deliverance from the Ammonites through Saul's aid several years previously (cf. 1 Sam. xi. 1–10).

arose, and took away the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, and brought them to Jabesh, and buried their bones under the oak in Jabesh, and fasted seven days.
13 [**Ch**] So Saul died for his trespass which he committed against the LORD, because of the word of the LORD, which he kept not; and also for that he asked counsel of one
14 that had a familiar spirit, to inquire *thereby*, and inquired not of the LORD: therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse.

11 [H] Then all Israel gathered themselves to David unto

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12. buried their bones: the statement in 1 Samuel, that they first burned the bodies, is unlikely to be correct, and the text needs to be emended.

under the oak: this tree, called a 'tamarisk' in 1 Samuel, was probably a well-known one. The tamarisk seems to have been a sacred tree, and the change to 'the oak' may be an intentional variation due to the chronicler's religious bent.

(3) x. 13, 14. *Moral deductions.* These verses form the chronicler's homily upon the historic events recorded. He accuses Saul of disobedience to Jehovah and of complicity with the sorceress of Endor.

14. inquired not of the LORD: as a matter of fact Saul had inquired of Jehovah, but no answer had been vouchsafed; it was only subsequently that he went to the sorceress.

(2) xi–xxi. *Establishment of David's Kingdom.*

(1) xi. *David in Hebron.*

(1) xi. 1–9. *David called to the throne of Israel.* David is introduced by the historian with almost startling suddenness. As the narrative runs it seems to imply that, immediately upon the death of Saul, all Israel assembled at Hebron and ratified the Divine choice of one whom they already knew as a military leader to be their king. And no sooner had the new king entered into a covenant with the Hebrew princes than, on the chronicler's showing, the whole host proceeded to Jerusalem and captured it under the leadership of Joab; and thereupon the kingdom of David attained to its glory. At the same time there is no mention of David's plebeian origin, of his entrance into the service of Saul, of his outlaw life, of his alliance with the Philistines, of his seven and a half years' reign over the southern tribes in Hebron,

Hebron, saying, Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh.
In times past, even when Saul was king, it was thou that 2
leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the LORD thy
God said unto thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel,
and thou shalt be prince over my people Israel. So all 3
the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron; and
David made a covenant with them in Hebron before the
LORD; and they anointed David king over Israel, according to the word of the LORD by the hand of Samuel.

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or of the long warfare with Ish-bosheth. Evidently the chronicler has omitted all incidents derogatory to the person and rule of David because he desires to show the Divine origin and the ancient glory of the Davidic monarchy. Doubtless the result would be to give such a false impression of the early monarchy as might be called a complete distortion of facts, were it not the case that the larger history was accessible to all readers. And any dishonesty of purpose on the chronicler's part is excluded by the facts that these other histories were at the time permanently established in the national possession and that he constantly refers to supplementary sources of information. For verses 1–9 cf. 2 Sam. v. 1–3 and 6–10.

1. Hebron: David had already reigned over Southern Israel in this ancient stronghold for seven and a half years; during this time he may have been partially under the suzerainty of the Philistine conquerors of Saul, only gradually becoming strong enough to assert his independence. This troubled period also contains the two years' reign of Ish-bosheth with the military preponderance of Abner.

2. This verse contains the only reference of the chronicler to David's early career. He contents himself with leaving the impression that David had been a great soldier, a national hero, marked out by Divine favours as the future leader of the covenant people.

3. made a covenant: the parley between David and the northern princes resulted in a definition of the duties and relationships of king and people; it is the foreshadowing of a constitution. Indeed, the entire history of Judah shows that the title to the throne was based upon the dual sanction of the Divine call and the popular election. The remark that these events occurred 'according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Samuel' is the chronicler's own comment upon the historic facts.

4 And David and all Israel went to Jerusalem (the same is
Jebus); and the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land,
5 were there. And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David,
Thou shalt not come in hither. Nevertheless David
took the strong hold of Zion; the same is the city of
6 David. And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebus-
ites first shall be chief and captain. And Joab the son of
7 Zeruiah went up first, and was made chief. And David
dwelt in the strong hold; therefore they called it the city
8 of David. And he built the city round about, from Millo

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xi. 4-9. *The Capture of Jerusalem.*

4. Jerusalem: the earliest historic reference to this famous city occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (where it is called U-ru-sa-lim), about 1400 B.C. At that date it was apparently held for the king of Egypt by a chieftain named Abd-ḫiba. During the four centuries which intervened between that day and its capture by David it seems to have remained in the hands of the Canaanite tribe known as Jebusites. Its position was one of great strategic value; but the lack of references to it implies that it was small and unimportant. David, however, recognized its strength, and determined to make it the capital of the new kingdom. Probably the time of his attack was dictated by the importance of inaugurating his reign over united Israel by a military triumph over an alien fortress.

5. Thou shalt not come in hither. The chronicler omits the greater part of the obscure taunt of the Jebusites, which implied that it was sufficient for the defence of Jebus to man the wall with cripples. But David's veterans proved able to reduce the stronghold, i. e. to secure the eastern ridge of the two hills covered by the modern Jerusalem.

6. The obscure passage of 2 Sam. v. 8, 'let him get up to the watercourse,' &c., is omitted, probably because it was already unintelligible in the chronicler's day. In its place we have the promise of David to raise the successful leader of the siege to the post of commander-in-chief.

8. Millo: more correctly, 'the Millo.' It was an important fortification of the new capital, and may have been of the nature of a fortified embankment connecting the 'city of David' with the 'Temple mount' on the other side of the ravine. It is included among the works of Solomon in 1 Kings ix. 15, and was rebuilt by Hezekiah (cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5). The meaning of the word

even round about: and Joab repaired the rest of the city.
And David waxed greater and greater; for the LORD of 9
hosts was with him.

[Ch²] Now these are the chief of the mighty men 10
whom David had, who shewed themselves strong with
him in his kingdom, together with all Israel, to make him
king, according to the word of the LORD concerning
Israel. [H] And this is the number of the mighty men 11

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is more fully discussed in the *Century Bible* on 1 Kings ix. 15 (Skinner).

9. the LORD of hosts was with him: the fact that this is not an addition of the chronicler's but a quotation from the earlier source indicates that the later religious reading of history was only a natural outcome of the earlier. The phrase 'LORD of hosts' is a title for the Divine Being which came into use during the later monarchy (cf. Cheyne in *Encycl. Bibl.* on names, § 123).

LORD: a name of somewhat doubtful form, derived from the Hebrew verb 'to be,' which expresses the idea of life, or self-existence. Its probable pronunciation was Yahveh; but the sense of God's holiness and unapproachableness led the Israelites to shun the utterance of the name and to substitute the vowels of the Hebrew word for 'Lord' (*'Adonai*) for those of 'Yahveh' while retaining its consonants; hence the English word 'Jehovah' is composed of the consonants of one word and the vowels of another.

(2) xi. 10–47. *David's Heroes.* (Cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39ᵃ.) The warriors who surrounded David in the work of establishing the kingdom were divided into two knightly orders, 'The Three' and 'The Thirty.' Admission to these orders was conditioned by deeds of personal prowess. The register given in verses 10–41ᵃ is derived from 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39, with numerous textual variations, the text of Chronicles being the better preserved; and the same list is partly repeated in 1 Chron. xxvii. 2–15. Verses 41–47 have no parallel in 2 Samuel, and have evidently been taken from an historic source no longer extant.

10. This verse is original, and constitutes the chronicler's introduction to the following lists. In the heroism of these early kingdom-builders he sees the fulfilment of that Divine purpose which, to him, is so clearly written upon his country's history in the events under the Davidic monarchy.

xi. 11–14. *The Three.* From the hopelessly corrupt readings

whom David had: Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite,
the chief of the thirty; he lifted up his spear against
12 three hundred and slew them at one time. And after
him was Eleazar the son of Dodo, the Ahohite, who was
13 one of the three mighty men. He was with David at
Pas-dammim, and there the Philistines were gathered
together to battle, where was a plot of ground full of
barley; and the people fled from before the Philistines.
14 And they stood in the midst of the plot, and defended it,
and slew the Philistines; and the LORD saved them by a
15 great victory. And three of the thirty chief went down to

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of 2 Samuel and the versions we may extract what is probably the correct rendering of verse 11, 'Ishbaal the Hachmonite, chief of the Three.' The two other heroes of this select band were Eleazar and Shammah. The chronicler, however, in copying from 2 Samuel has omitted verses 9^b–11^a, which describe the deeds of Eleazar and give the name of Shammah. Owing to this omission, he has continued his narrative in such a way as to ascribe the prowess of Shammah to Eleazar. The narrative requires to be emended by inserting these verses (2 Sam. xxiii. 9^b–11^a) after 'he was with David' (verse 13). By this means we secure a clear account of the deeds of 'The Three'; and it is probable that the section concluded here with the phrase 'these things did the three mighty men,' which now closes verse 19. But the episode of the three unnamed heroes of the well of Beth-lehem has been inserted in our text in such a way as to imply that their deed of heroism was performed by Ishbaal, Eleazar, and Shammah. This seems to be an unwarranted connexion; and, moreover, the use of the phrase 'three of the thirty chief' in verse 15 shows that the section, verses 15–19, should probably be placed at the end of the list after the heroes have been named.

13. Pas-dammim: called Ephes-dammim in x. 17, but we have the correct reading here.

xi. 15–19. *Episode of the Well of Beth-lehem.* No more complete proof than this could be given of the utter devotion of these warriors to their outlaw chief; and David's dedication of the water to Jehovah is an equal proof of his esteem of the courage of his heroes.

15. The word **chief** should probably be omitted with the LXX. The phrase **cave of Adullam** should be rendered 'stronghold of

the rock to David, into the cave of Adullam; and the host of the Philistines were encamped in the valley of Rephaim. And David was then in the hold, and the 16
garrison of the Philistines was then in Beth-lehem. And 17
David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me water to drink of the well of Beth-lehem, which is by the gate!
And the three brake through the host of the Philistines, 18
and drew water out of the well of Beth-lehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: but David would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the LORD,
and said, My God forbid it me, that I should do this: 19
shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy? for with *the jeopardy of* their lives they brought it. Therefore he would not drink it. These
things did the three mighty men. And Abishai, the 20

Adullam'—the fortress, where David and his outlaw band took refuge during Saul's reign, lay high on the western hill-line of Judah overlooking the Shephelah; it was about twelve miles south-west of Beth-lehem, and is represented by the modern 'Aid-el-Mor.

16. Beth-lehem: five miles south of Jerusalem, amid fertile valleys. Although it is to-day entirely without springs, the nearest being 800 yards south-east of the town, its waters were famed in David's day. The incident narrated here describes the temporary occupation of Beth-lehem by the marauding Philistines (cf. 2 Sam. v. 18) and the daring adventure of the three heroes, who, cutting their way through the invaders, brought water for their chieftain from the well which flowed by the gate of Beth-lehem. David's appreciation is well shown by his description of the water as 'the blood of men who have jeopardized their lives.'

xi. 20–25. *The chief of the Thirty.* There is little room to doubt that the text has become obscured by the confusing of the terms 'The Three' and 'The Thirty.' We have really no mention of a second Three. Abishai and Benaiah are merely singled out as prominent members of the Thirty.

20. Abishai: the younger brother of Joab and the nephew of David (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 6 ff.; 2 Sam. ii. 24—iii. 30, x. 10 ff., xviii. 2 ff., xx. 6 ff.).

brother of Joab, he was chief of the three: for he lifted
up his spear against three hundred and slew them, and
21 had a name among the three. Of the three, he was more
honourable than the two, and was made their captain:
22 howbeit he attained not to the *first* three. Benaiah the
son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man of Kabzeel, who
had done mighty deeds, he slew the two *sons of* Ariel of
Moab: he went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a
23 pit in time of snow. And he slew an Egyptian, a man of
great stature, five cubits high; and in the Egyptian's hand
was a spear like a weaver's beam; and he went down to
him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyp-
24 tian's hand, and slew him with his own spear. These
things did Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and had a name
25 among the three mighty men. Behold, he was more

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chief of the three: read, with LXX (B) and Syriac, 'he was captain of the Thirty; he swung his spear over 300 slain and had a name like that of the Three.'

21. The text yields no sense as it stands and must be emended. The opening words, 'Of the Three,' are probably an erroneous duplication of the closing words of verse 20; and the words 'than the two' must either be deleted or read 'as two' (i. e. equal to two). The best rendering, obtained by the aid of verse 25, is 'He was more honourable than the Thirty, and was made their captain; howbeit he attained not to the Three.'

22. Benaiah: the text is corrupt, but may be restored by the aid of the LXX reading of the parallel passage in 2 Samuel, thus: 'Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, a hero of mighty deeds, a native of Kabzeel.' **Kabzeel:** in Southern Judah, on the frontiers of Edom.

sons of **Ariel:** this is the reading of LXX (L). The rendering of our A. V., 'two lion-like men,' can scarcely be obtained from the original. This deed stands quite distinct from the following statement that he had courage enough to grapple at close quarters with lions famished amid the snow.

23. five cubits high: the Egyptian giant must have stood some eight and a half feet in height. The cubit (= elbow) may roughly be taken as twenty inches.

24. among the three: read, as in verse 20, 'like that of the

honourable than the thirty, but he attained not to the *first*
three: and David set him over his guard.

Also the mighty men of the armies; Asahel the brother 26
of Joab, Elhanan the son of Dodo of Bethlehem;
Shammoth the Harorite, Helez the Pelonite; Ira the 27, 2
son of Ikkesh the Tekoite, Abiezer the Anathothite;
Sibbecai the Hushathite, Ilai the Ahohite; Maharai the 29, 3
Netophathite, Heled the son of Baanah the Netophathite;
Ithai the son of Ribai of Gibeah of the children of 31
Benjamin, Benaiah the Pirathonite; Hurai of the brooks 32
of Gaash, Abiel the Arbathite; Azmaveth the Baharumite, 33
Eliahba the Shaalbonite; the sons of Hashem the 34
Gizonite, Jonathan the son of Shage the Hararite; Ahiam 35
the son of Sacar the Hararite, Eliphal the son of Ur; 36
Hepher the Mecherathite, Ahijah the Pelonite; Hezro 37
the Carmelite, Naarai the son of Ezbai; Joel the brother 38
of Nathan, Mibhar the son of Hagri; Zelek the 39
Ammonite, Naharai the Berothite, the armourbearer of
Joab the son of Zeruiah; Ira the Ithrite, Gareb the 40

Three.' Benaiah was not classed with the members of the first order, although his renown equalled theirs.

25. over his guard. The royal bodyguard was composed of foreign mercenaries, known as the Cherethites (Heb. *Krēthi*) and the Pelethites (Heb. *Plēthi*); the former, as the LXX indicates, were of Cretan origin, although long reckoned as a Philistine tribe; and the latter were Philistines proper. A new light is shed upon David's attitude to the inveterate foes of the Hebrews when we see him not only putting himself under the flag of Achish, but actually forming his bodyguard of Philistines when he had secured the throne.

26–47. *Roll of the Thirty.* The list contains more than thirty names. Hence we gather that the name of the order was not intended to convey the idea of a rigid limitation of its members—or else we have names of members who were incorporated when vacancies subsequently occurred (e. g. Asahel, verse 26, fell at the outset of David's reign). The list given in 2 Samuel concludes

41 Ithrite; Uriah the Hittite, [H^2] Zabad the son of Ahlai;
42 Adina the son of Shiza the Reubenite, a chief of
43 the Reubenites, and thirty with him; Hanan the son
44 of Maacah, and Joshaphat the Mithnite; Uzzia the
Ashterathite, Shama and Jeiel the sons of Hotham the
45 Aroerite; Jediael the son of Shimri, and Joha his brother,
46 the Tizite; Eliel the Mahavite, and Jeribai, and Joshaviah, the sons of Elnaam, and Ithmah the Moabite;
47 Eliel, and Obed, and Jaasiel the Mezobaite.

12 [Ch] Now these are they that came to David to Ziklag,
while he yet kept himself close because of Saul the son of

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with the name of Uriah (verse 41); but the additions of the chronicler must have been derived from reliable historic sources. Nothing is known of any of these heroes except Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 18–23) and Uriah (2 Sam. xi).

(**2**) xii. *Register of David's Warriors.*

The chapter is a register of the warriors who allied themselves with David at Ziklag, at Adullam, and at Hebron. The first part, verses 1–22, refers to his fighting men during the days of Saul; the latter part, verses 23–40, registers the warriors who rallied round David in Hebron on Saul's defeat. The whole chapter is the original work of the chronicler, and its sources are no longer extant; but its material is derived 'undoubtedly from very ancient sources, although the chronicler here and there adds a few words in his own style' (Ewald).

(1) xii. 1–22. *David's earliest followers.*

1–7. *Benjamite Warriors with David at Ziklag.*

1. Ziklag: probably the modern Zuheilike, in the plains of Philistia, some eleven miles south-east of Gaza. The town was assigned to Simeon at the conquest; but it passed under the power of the Philistines, and was presented by Achish to David on his becoming his vassal (1 Sam. xxvii. 1–7). Here David resided for fourteen months, and his standard was joined by numerous Benjamite freebooters.

because of Saul. One cannot fail to note how completely the chronicler ignores the kingship of Saul, as an apostate who had placed himself outside the channel of the divine purpose for Israel, and how little space he devotes to such events of David's career as his Philistine alliance.

Kish: and they were among the mighty men, his helpers
in war. They were armed with bows, and could use both 2
the right hand and the left in slinging stones and in
shooting arrows from the bow; they were of Saul's
brethren of Benjamin. The chief was Ahiezer, then 3
Joash, the sons of Shemaah the Gibeathite; and Jeziel,
and Pelet, the sons of Azmaveth; and Beracah, and
Jehu the Anathothite; and Ishmaiah the Gibeonite, a 4
mighty man among the thirty, and over the thirty; and
Jeremiah, and Jahaziel, and Johanan, and Jozabad the
Gederathite; Eluzai, and Jerimoth, and Bealiah, and 5
Shemariah, and Shephatiah the Haruphite; Elkanah, 6
and Isshiah, and Azarel, and Joezer, and Jashobeam, the
Korahites; and Joelah, and Zebadiah, the sons of Jeroham 7
of Gedor. And of the Gadites there separated themselves 8
unto David to the hold in the wilderness, mighty men of

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2. **Saul's brethren:** members of the same tribe are meant, not relatives.

3. **the Gibeathite:** a native of Saul's own town of Gibeah, the modern Tell-el-Fûl, four miles north of Jerusalem.

the Anathothite: a native of Anathoth, the modern 'Anāta,' north-east of Jerusalem.

4. **Ishmaiah** is not mentioned in the list of 'The Thirty' given in ch. xi, although here called their chief.

Gederathite: a native of Gedera, in the lowlands of Northern Judah.

5. **Haruphite:** a member of the family named in Neh. vii. 24 as B'nē Hariph.

6. **Korahites:** the late priestly guild of singers. Though they belonged to the tribe of Levi, they are named here as having probably been incorporated with the Benjamites.

xii. 8–18. *David's Warriors in the 'hold.'* The Gadite and Benjamite warriors here named joined David during the first year of his flight from Saul (1 Sam. xxii–xxiv), and were rewarded by being made captains of the outlaw band, which he recruited from the discontented and oppressed of all the tribes till it numbered 600 men. Their names would probably be preserved with pride by their tribesmen.

8. **the hold in the wilderness.** No single stronghold is here

valour, men trained for war, that could handle shield and
spear; whose faces were like the faces of lions, and they
9 were as swift as the roes upon the mountains; Ezer the
10 chief, Obadiah the second, Eliab the third; Mishmannah
11 the fourth, Jeremiah the fifth; Attai the sixth, Eliel the
, 13 seventh; Johanan the eighth, Elzabad the ninth; Jere-
14 miah the tenth, Machbannai the eleventh. These of the
sons of Gad were captains of the host: he that was least
was equal to an hundred, and the greatest to a thousand.
15 These are they that went over Jordan in the first month,
when it had overflown all its banks; and they put to
flight all them of the valleys, both toward the east, and
16 toward the west. And there came of the children of
17 Benjamin and Judah to the hold unto David. And
David went out to meet them, and answered and said
unto them, If ye be come peaceably unto me to help me,
mine heart shall be knit unto you: but if *ye be come* to
betray me to mine adversaries, seeing there is no wrong
in mine hands, the God of our fathers look thereon, and
18 rebuke it. Then the spirit came upon Amasai, who was

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referred to. David occupied various mountain refuges in the wilds of Judah, and the aid of such men of military prowess as the eleven Gadite heroes must have been very welcome to him during his flight from Saul. We are unable to determine the time when the exploit of verse 15 was performed; but it evidently represents deeds wrought in the defence of David. To cross the Jordan when swollen to a rushing torrent by the melting snows of Lebanon and then make a victorious raid into the plains demanded considerable prowess.

xii. 16–18. These verses record the advent of a band of warriors from Benjamin and Judah, giving the name of their chief alone. David held a parley with the new recruits to learn whether they were trustworthy men or mere emissaries of Saul. Their spokesmen voiced their determination to be loyal to David in poetic language.

18. the spirit came upon Amasai. The speaker has been variously and uncertainly identified with Amasa and with Abishai.

chief of the thirty, *and he said*, Thine are we, David, and
on thy side, thou son of Jesse: peace, peace be unto
thee, and peace be to thine helpers; for thy God helpeth
thee. Then David received them, and made them
captains of the band. Of Manasseh also there fell away 19
some to David, when he came with the Philistines
against Saul to battle, but they helped them not: for
the lords of the Philistines upon advisement sent him
away, saying, He will fall away to his master Saul to the
jeopardy of our heads. As he went to Ziklag, there fell 20
to him of Manasseh, Adnah, and Jozabad, and Jediael,
and Michael, and Jozabad, and Elihu, and Zillethai,
captains of thousands that were of Manasseh. And they 21
helped David against the band of rovers: for they were
all mighty men of valour, and were captains in the host.
For from day to day there came to David to help him, 22
until it was a great host, like the host of God.

The inspiration of the Divine Spirit is recognized as the guiding factor in the conduct of the troop of warriors; and, as usual, the utterance of men under the influence of a higher Power is represented as taking poetical shape. Although the language of the text bears no trace of its earliest and perfect poetical form, it can still be recognized as poetry by its parallelism:—

To thee (we belong), O David;
    and with thee (we stand), O son of Jesse:
Peace, peace, to thee,
    and peace to thy helpers:
For thy helper is thy God.

xii. 19-22. *Recruits from Manasseh.* We are definitely informed that the seven captains from the tribe of Manasseh deserted from Saul to David on the eve of the campaign which ended in the rout at Gilboa. The events here referred to are narrated in 1 Sam. xxix. 2-11. David had resolved to be loyal to his patron and overlord, Achish of Gath, even though it involved war upon his countrymen; but the Philistine chiefs distrusted him, and insisted upon his dismissal. At this point the recruits from Manasseh joined him and proved a valuable aid in avenging the Amalekite raid upon Ziklag.

22. The verse is a summary of the facts concerning the con-

23 And these are the numbers of the heads of them that
were armed for war, which came to David to Hebron, to
turn the kingdom of Saul to him, according to the word
24 of the LORD. The children of Judah that bare shield
and spear were six thousand and eight hundred, armed
25 for war. Of the children of Simeon, mighty men of
valour for the war, seven thousand and one hundred.

stant accession of Israelite warriors to David. The band of adherents grew steadily throughout his outlaw days, and must have received a large accession after the carnage at Gilboa. The courage and strength of his bands led the chronicler to describe them as 'like the host of God.'

(2) xii. 23–40. *The King-makers of Hebron.* The discrepancies between this narrative and the earlier histories are more apparent than real. It is, indeed, implied here that so soon as Saul fell the Philistines abandoned their conquests, so that the leaders and people from all the tribes were able to gather in their thousands to acclaim David king at Hebron. Thus the whole of David's reign of seven and a half years at Hebron, the long conflict with the house of Saul, and the gradual extension of David's ascendancy over the northern tribes are passed over in silence. The early days of the monarchy of David are so stripped of all derogatory features as to seem to rise in a blaze of glory which did not really exist. Yet the modern charge levelled against the chronicler of perverting history is mitigated when we remember how frequently he refers his readers to the contemporary records, where the supplementary facts were stated. Our narrative, then, is a condensed representation of the event which ultimately took place, when all Israel finally acknowledged the divine call of David, ratifying his selection unanimously and enthusiastically. Observe that there is no note of time either here or in the briefer record of the national acquiescence in David's kingship given in xi. 1–3.

Various questions are evoked by the enumeration of the warriors who assembled at Hebron. Evidently the figures refer to the entire bands ('heads' of verse 23) which mustered at the proclamation of David as king. Judah's contingent, and also Simeon's, are represented as comparatively insignificant; but these tribes had already accepted David's rule for seven and a half years, and needed not to send a large contingent to the recognition ceremony. If the Benjamites were also few, it was probably accounted for by the distrust existing in Saul's tribesmen towards the late king's

Of the children of Levi four thousand and six hundred. 26
And Jehoiada was the leader of *the house of* Aaron, and 27
with him were three thousand and seven hundred; and 28
Zadok, a young man mighty of valour, and of his father's
house twenty and two captains. And of the children of 29

outlawed son-in-law. Ephraim, too, may have been influenced by its hereditary jealousy for Judah to send but few representatives as compared with the half tribe of Manasseh. And, again, the large contingents from Zebulun and Naphtali only speak of the prosperity of their more peaceful districts.

The numbers actually given are as follows: —

Judah	6,800	
Simeon	7,100	
Levi	4,600	
With Jehoiada	3,700	
With Zadok	(814(?))	22 captains.
Benjamin	3,000	
Ephraim	20,800	
Half Manasseh	18,000	
Issachar	(7,400(?))	200 captains and their men.
Zebulun	50,000	
Naphtali	37,000	1,000 captains.
Dan	28,600	
Asher	40,000	
Trans-Jordanic tribes	120,000	
	339,600	1,222 captains.

(or 347,814 including the estimate of Issachar and Zadok's men).

Although the figures are evidently only round numbers, there is no cause for doubting their general accuracy. The omission of the numbers for Issachar is probably an error arising in transcription from the fuller records which must have been available to the chronicler.

27. Jehoiada: probably identical with the father of Benaiah (cf. xi. 27), and designated here 'leader of Aaron' because he was head of the priestly clans which joined David at Hebron.

28. Zadok: he afterwards became high-priest. The prosperity of the house of Eleazar is here shown by the fact that it could muster two and twenty captains, or clan-leaders. If the basis of representation be the same for all the contingents, as Naphtali had 1,000 captains to 37,000 men, then Zadok brought 814 men with him.

Benjamin, the brethren of Saul, three thousand: for hitherto the greatest part of them had kept their alle-
30 giance to the house of Saul. And of the children of Ephraim twenty thousand and eight hundred, mighty men of valour, famous men in their fathers' houses.
31 And of the half tribe of Manasseh eighteen thousand, which were expressed by name, to come and make David
32 king. And of the children of Issachar, men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do; the heads of them were two hundred; and all
33 their brethren were at their commandment. Of Zebulun, such as were able to go out in the host, that could set the battle in array, with all manner of instruments of war, fifty thousand; and that could order *the battle array*,
34 *and were* not of double heart. And of Naphtali a thousand captains, and with them with shield and spear thirty
35 and seven thousand. And of the Danites that could set the battle in array, twenty and eight thousand and six
36 hundred. And of Asher, such as were able to go out in the host, that could set the battle in array, forty thousand.
37 And on the other side of Jordan, of the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and of the half tribe of Manasseh, with all manner of instruments of war for the battle, an hundred
38 and twenty thousand. All these, being men of war, that could order the battle array, came with a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David king over all Israel: and all the rest also of Israel were of one heart to make David king.
39 And they were there with David three days, eating and

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32. Issachar: on the same basis of representation the tribal contingent must have numbered 7,400 men.

39. eating and drinking: the clansmen of Judah had prepared for a festive celebration of the proclamation of their leader as king of reunited Israel. But the 'joy in Israel' took the form of a great

drinking: for their brethren had made preparation for them. Moreover they that were nigh unto them, *even* as 40
far as Issachar and Zebulun and Naphtali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, victual of meal, cakes of figs, and clusters of raisins, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep in abundance: for there was joy in Israel.

And David consulted with the captains of thousands 13

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national festival in which all the tribes played a part in preparing for the festivities.

(3) xiii–xvi. *Early days of David's Reign.*

The register of David's heroes which extends from xi. 10 to xii. 40 has interrupted the orderly narrative of history upon which the chronicler had set out in ch. x. He has already described the conquest of Jebus and the establishment of Jerusalem as the capital of the reunited people. He now continues the narrative with an account of the removal of the Ark to the capital, a statement regarding David's building operations, and the increase of his harem, and with a review of the organization of the national religious life.

The four chapters of this section are derived, with various changes, from the narrative of 2 Samuel, thus:—

xiii. 6–14	2 Sam. vi. 2–4.
xiv. 1–16	,, v. 11–25.
xv. 25–29	,, vi. 12–16.
xvi. 1–3	,, vi. 17–19.
xvi. 8–22	Psalm cv. 1–15.

Throughout the section the most noticeable features are the prominence given to the Levites and the tacit assumption that the regulations of the priestly code had been observed from the early days of David. The chronicler is reading the past in the light of his own day.

(*a*) xiii. *Removal of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim.*

The victory of David over the alien inhabitants of the fortress of Jebus was a brilliant inauguration of the new monarchy; but the determination to ensconce within the new capital the sacred symbol of the presence of Jehovah with His people is an evident proof of the political foresight and religious enthusiasm of the king. The presence of the Ark added a glamour of sanctity to the royal city; and its removal thither afforded another opportunity for a national gathering under David's auspices. Prior to the

2 and of hundreds, even with every leader. And David said unto all the assembly of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and if it be of the LORD our God, let us send abroad

bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem there had been no authorized and authoritative centre for the national worship. Ancient shrines existed and religious rites were performed in many spots, and the worship of Jehovah upon the high-places was recognized as legitimate. Prophets (e. g. Samuel at Bethlehem) and kings (e.g. Saul at Gilgal) were accustomed to lead the people in worship and sacrifice, but there was no central sanctuary extant. The lodging of the Ark in Jerusalem was the first step in the centralization of the religious life of Israel, which proceeded on a perfectly natural course under the Levitical and priestly systems until the Deuteronomic code secured its authoritative adoption.

xiii. 1–5. *The Ark of God.* The consultation of David with the military chieftains is not recorded in the parallel account in 2 Sam. vi, but the earlier narrative is of such a nature as to lead us to suspect that something has been omitted. The mustering of 30,000 men from all Israel (2 Sam. vi. 1) implies that a warlike expedition was contemplated, and it needs no great knowledge of the relations between Israel and her neighbours to suppose that the Philistines were the object of the campaign in question. This supposition, moreover, throws light upon the question of the popular attitude towards the Ark[1]. It is highly probable that the Philistines had maintained their authority over the cities of the Gibeonite league, of which Kiriath-jearim was a member; so that the Ark, although allowed to return to territory belonging by right to Israel, had virtually remained under Philistine power ever since the Hebrew defeat in the days of Eli. If, now, David had returned from a successful campaign against the Philistines, which had restored Kiriath-jearim to Israel, it was at length possible to turn attention to the national symbol of Jehovah's presence. Such highly probable suppositions would further explain the unbroken silence of Hebrew historians regarding the Ark in the period between Eli and David. At the same time, this neglect of the Ark is almost inconceivable if during all this time it had still been in the uninterrupted possession of the people of Israel.

1. There is no indication of time, but the events recorded here followed the capture of Jebus (xi. 1–9) and the probable subsequent campaign against Philistia.

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[1] Cf. Kennedy, on 'Samuel,' in *Century Bible*, Appendix, for a full discussion of the place occupied by the Ark in Israel.

every where unto our brethren that are left in all the land
of Israel, with whom the priests and Levites are in their
cities that have suburbs, that they may gather themselves
unto us: and let us bring again the ark of our God to us: 3
for we sought not unto it in the days of Saul. And all 4
the assembly said that they would do so: for the thing
was right in the eyes of all the people. So David 5
assembled all Israel together, from Shihor *the brook* of

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2. priests and Levites. There is no mention of Levites in the narrative of Samuel. Later conditions are reflected in the chronicler's description.

3. the ark of our God: Heb. Arōn, the wooden chest in which were kept the Tables of stone (2 Chron. v. 10). It is known by various titles which are to some extent peculiar to the schools of religious thought extant during different ages in Hebrew history. The earliest title, found in the prophetic school of writers and the early histories, is 'the Ark of Jehovah.' The Deuteronomic school preferred the title 'Ark of the Covenant,' and the author of Deuteronomy informs his readers that it was made of acacia wood (x. 3). The priestly school employed the title 'Ark of the Testimony,' and one of their number describes it as overlaid with gold and surmounted by an elaborate lid (Exod. xxv). As the chronicler mainly compiled his history from the earlier works of the prophetic school, he employed the titles used in the Hexateuch (JE section) and early histories alongside of later expressions. The following titles are actually found in his work :—

The Ark	18 times.
Ark of God	11 ,,
Ark of our God	1 ,,
Ark of thy strength	2 ,,
Ark of the Covenant ...	11 ,,
Ark of Jehovah	5 ,,

He invariably shows his sense of the sanctity of the Ark.

sought not unto it in the days of Saul. Probably the long residence of the Ark within the sphere of the Philistine power had produced a general indifference to it during Saul's time.

4. A great national assembly is convened for the solemn convoy of the sacred Ark to Jerusalem. But the sway of David at this time was scarcely so extensive as the territory whence the people are said to have been summoned.

5. Shihor of Egypt: the modern El Arish, a wady fifty miles south-west of Gaza, which divided Syria from Egypt.

Egypt even unto the entering in of Hamath, to bring the
6 ark of God from Kiriath-jearim. [H] And David went
up, and all Israel, to Baalah, *that is*, to Kiriath-jearim,
which belonged to Judah, to bring up from thence the
ark of God, the LORD that sitteth upon the cherubim,
7 which is called by the Name. And they carried the ark
of God upon a new cart, *and brought it* out of the house
8 of Abinadab: and Uzza and Ahio drave the cart. And
David and all Israel played before God with all their
might: even with songs, and with harps, and with
psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with
9 trumpets. And when they came unto the threshing-floor
of Chidon, Uzza put forth his hand to hold the ark; for
10 the oxen stumbled. And the anger of the LORD was

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the entering in of Hamath: the mountain pass between Hermon and Lebanon, some distance south of Hamath (the modern Hāma on the river Orontes), was regarded as the northern limit of Palestine.

xiii. 6–14. *First Attempt to bring up the Ark.* The design of bringing the Ark to the citadel of Zion was hindered by an unfavourable occurrence; it was, however, reattempted with success three months later. The chronicler changes the earlier account in many minor points to bring it into harmony with the thought of his day.

6. to Baalah, that is, to Kiriath-jearim: Kiriath-jearim ('the city of the Woods') lay on the western border of Benjamin in Mount Jearim, nine miles west of Jerusalem. It is probably represented by the modern Khuret 'Erma, south of the mountains, although others associate it with Kuriet 'Eneb to the north. The fact that the Ark rested there in the house of Abinadab for seventy years was the probable origin of the alternative name Baalah (from Baal, 'Lord', a title used for 'Jehovah'). The town was one of the four included in the Gibeonite league (Joshua ix. 17), and probably contained many Philistine inhabitants at this time.

called by the Name: i. e. where Jehovah was invoked in worship. The latter part of the verse, descriptive of the Ark, bears the appearance of being a late insertion.

7. Abinadab. Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 1.

9. Chidon: called Nacon in 2 Samuel vi. 6 and omitted in LXX.

10–11. There is a critical tendency to-day to regard this incident

kindled against Uzza, and he smote him, because he put forth his hand to the ark: and there he died before God.
And David was displeased, because the LORD had broken 11
forth upon Uzza: and he called that place Perez-uzza,
unto this day. And David was afraid of God that day, 12
saying, How shall I bring the ark of God home to me?
So David removed not the ark unto him into the city 13
of David, but carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom
the Gittite. And the ark of God remained with the 14
family of Obed-edom in his house three months: and the LORD blessed the house of Obed-edom, and all that he had.

And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, **14**

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as unhistorical and to treat it as a traditional explanation of the place-name Perez-Uzza. The chronicler's view, however, is that the Ark was a symbol of Jehovah's presence, so sacred that it could not be touched with impunity even from the best of motives. No moral transgression is implied in the thoughtless rashness of Uzza, but rather the unapproachable sanctity of Jehovah Himself is emphasized. The whole proceedings were in open violation of the regulations laid down in Num. iv. 5, 15.

13. Obed-edom the Gittite. Much ingenuity has been exercised in explaining the act of David in entrusting the sacred Ark to a Philistine guardian. Some critics (e. g. T. K. Cheyne) hold that the Ark had never really left Philistine territory, being merely shifted from the temple of Dagon to a private house, and that it was in a great campaign against Gath (cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 20) that David recovered the Ark and subsequently carried it to Baalah, whence he removed it to Jerusalem. This is ingenious, but it is far more probable, and does less violence to the narrative, to regard Obed-edom as a naturalized Philistine enjoying all the religious privileges of the worshippers of Jehovah. David would have no antipathy to such a man, as we see from the fact that he subsequently chose his bodyguard from Philistine warriors. In xv. 18, 24 we find an Obed-edom actually enrolled among the Levitical doorkeepers.

(*b*) xiv. *David's Buildings, Harem, and Early Wars.*

The chronicler at this point departs from the order of events as narrated in 2 Sam. vi, and returns to matters treated earlier in

and cedar trees, and masons, and carpenters, to build him
2 an house. And David perceived that the LORD had established him king over Israel, for his kingdom was exalted on high, for his people Israel's sake.

3 And David took more wives at Jerusalem: and David
4 begat more sons and daughters. And these are the names of the children which he had in Jerusalem;
5 Shammua, and Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon; and
6 Ibhar, and Elishua, and Elpelet; and Nogah, and
7 Nepheg, and Japhia; and Elishama, and Beeliada, and Eliphelet.

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2 Samuel, but all of which clearly display David's zeal for the new kingdom (cf. 2 Sam. v. 11-25).

xiv. 1, 2. *Royal Architecture.* The king's first concern was for the construction of a palace which should be a fit sign of his power. In this he was aided by the friendly offices of the king of Tyre.

1. Hiram: the dates of the reign of Hiram I (cf. Joseph., *c. Ap.* i. 18) are generally accepted as 968-935 B.C. If we regard this as accurate then the events of this chapter must have occurred towards the close of David's reign and are misplaced here; for Solomon, whose friend Hiram was, apparently reigned from 971 to 932 B.C. Of course the statement of Josephus, which is based upon the Chronicle of Meander of Ephesus, may be incorrect; but it is more probable that the name of Hiram has crept into our text by an error for that of his father Abiba'al. The connexion implies that the king of Tyre, who probably was in full sympathy with David as a common enemy of the Philistines, sent congratulations to David upon his accession, and that David thereupon requested help in his schemes of palace-building. Tyre was noted for its skilled craftsmen.

3-7. *The Royal Harem.* It is entirely in accord with early oriental ideas that the power and glory of a king should be reflected in the size of his harem. The names of David's new wives are not given; but the names of the thirteen sons born to him in Jerusalem are given as in 1 Chron. iii. 5-8, with only orthographical variations. The parallel list in 2 Sam. v. 15, 16 omits the names of Elpelet and Nogah, and agrees with 1 Chron. iii. 8 in reading Eliada for the more correct Beeliada.

And when the Philistines heard that David was 8
anointed king over all Israel, all the Philistines went up
to seek David: and David heard of it, and went out
against them. Now the Philistines had come and made 9
a raid in the valley of Rephaim. And David inquired of 10
God, saying, Shall I go up against the Philistines? and
wilt thou deliver them into mine hand? And the LORD
said unto him, Go up; for I will deliver them into thine
hand. So they came up to Baal-perazim, and David 11
smote them there; and David said, God hath broken
mine enemies by mine hand, like the breach of waters.
Therefore they called the name of that place Baal-perazim.
And they left their gods there; and David gave com- 12

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xiv. 8–17. *Philistine Campaigns.* Considerable obscurity surrounds the question of David's relationship to the Philistines in the early part of his career. We know, of course, that he willingly put himself under the protection of Achish in the year preceding the Philistine victory of Gilboa. But it is highly probable that he continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Philistines for several years to come, reigning at Hebron with the sanction of the conquerors of Saul. Meantime he won his way by diplomacy and by increasing power. When, however, he was recognized as king by the reunited tribes of Israel, the Philistines determined to exert their strength and humiliate a vassal who was attaining a menacing degree of independence. Hence the campaigns here recorded. The parallel passage in 2 Sam. v seems to connect this campaign with a period prior even to the capture of Jebus, when David still ruled in Hebron (cf. 2 Sam. v. 17–25 and xiii. 13).

9. valley of Rephaim: cf. note on xi. 16.

10. inquired of God. This is the usual phrase for asking counsel of Jehovah through the sacred oracle. The questions were put in such a manner that a direct affirmative or negative reply could be given. The answer in this case is in apparent conflict, but in real agreement, with that given in 2 Samuel.

12. left their gods: 'images' in 2 Sam. v. Probably the chronicler regarded it as inconsistent for David to retain such spoil, and therefore added the statement that he burned the idols in accordance with the injunctions of Deut. vii. 5. This is quite a typical addition on the part of our author.

13 mandment, and they were burned with fire. And the
14 Philistines yet again made a raid in the valley. And
David inquired again of God; and God said unto him,
Thou shalt not go up after them: turn away from them,
and come upon them over against the mulberry trees.
15 And it shall be, when thou hearest the sound of marching
in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt go
out to battle: for God is gone out before thee to smite
16 the host of the Philistines. And David did as God
commanded him: and they smote the host of the
17 Philistines from Gibeon even to Gezer. And the fame of
David went out into all lands; and the LORD brought
the fear of him upon all nations.

15 [Ch] And *David* made him houses in the city of

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14. mulberry trees: a better rendering is 'baca-bushes.' The exact tree intended is uncertain: but the leaves were of such a kind as to make a sound like 'weeping' when rustled by the breeze. All Semitic races regarded trees as the haunts of spirits and as means of guidance by omens.

16. from Gibeon even to Gezer: the Gibeon in question must be some place near Jerusalem, but the valley along which the Philistine flight took place contains several towns of this name. Gezer is the modern Tell-Jezer.

17. This verse is a characteristic addition of the chronicler's.

(*c*) xv–xvi. 3. *The Ark brought to Jerusalem.*

The authentic original narrative of the successful convoy of the Ark to Jerusalem is found in 2 Sam. vi. 11–23, and the remarkable differences between it and our present narrative can have but one explanation. The chronicler has evidently taken the facts of the earlier record and given them a modern setting, rewriting the incident so as to present what might have been the course of the ceremony if the Ark had been transferred to the capital in the fourth century B.C. instead of what actually occurred in the tenth century B.C. As he is practically writing a church-history, he deals mainly with the ecclesiastical side of the function. The whole ceremony is represented as an elaborately planned ecclesiastical affair rather than as a popular gathering; Levites now dominate the scene; and the organization is as complete as it was in the days succeeding Ezra's reforms. Of

David; and he prepared a place for the ark of God,
and pitched for it a tent. Then David said, None ought 2
to carry the ark of God but the Levites: for them hath
the LORD chosen to carry the ark of God, and to minister
unto him for ever. And David assembled all Israel at 3
Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the LORD unto its place,
which he had prepared for it. And David gathered 4
together the sons of Aaron, and the Levites: of the sons 5
of Kohath; Uriel the chief, and his brethren an hundred
and twenty: of the sons of Merari; Asaiah the chief, and 6
his brethren two hundred and twenty: of the sons of 7
Gershom; Joel the chief, and his brethren an hundred
and thirty: of the sons of Elizaphan; Shemaiah the 8
chief, and his brethren two hundred: of the sons of 9
Hebron; Eliel the chief, and his brethren fourscore: of 10

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course this is not genuine history in our sense of the term; but early events are presented in such a garb as to render them appreciable to the uncritical readers of the compiler's own age. Changes so great as this are unlikely, however, to be entirely the work of the chronicler; and it has been pointed out by Kittel and other critics that more hands than his must have been at work here. Signs of later work in his source occur in such matters as the sixfold division of the Levites (verses 5-10), whereas the chronicler really knows of only three divisions in David's time (xxiii. 1 ff.).

xv. 1-16. *Renewed Conference regarding the transport of the Ark.*

1. prepared a place for the ark: in connexion with his own palace-building David prepared a place for the sacred Ark, erecting a new tent for it, probably after the model of the ancient Tabernacle.

2. to carry the ark: the regulations of Num. i. 50, iv. 15, vii. 9, x. 17 determine that the Levites were to carry the Ark whenever it required to be moved, the duty devolving upon the sons of Kohath, with whom were associated the Gershonites and the Merarites. These injunctions had been disregarded in the earlier popular attempt to bring up the Ark.

4-10. The six Levitical clans are represented as being summoned by the king for the ecclesiastical convoy of the Ark. They gathered at Jerusalem, to the number of 862 men, under the

the sons of Uzziel; Amminadab the chief, and his
11 brethren an hundred and twelve. And David called for
Zadok and Abiathar the priests, and for the Levites, for
Uriel, Asaiah, and Joel, Shemaiah, and Eliel, and
12 Amminadab, and said unto them, Ye are the heads of the
fathers' *houses* of the Levites: sanctify yourselves, both ye
and your brethren, that ye may bring up the ark of the
Lord, the God of Israel, unto *the place* that I have
13 prepared for it. For because ye *bare it* not at the first,
the Lord our God made a breach upon us, for that
14 we sought him not according to the ordinance. So
the priests and the Levites sanctified themselves to bring
15 up the ark of the Lord, the God of Israel. And the
children of the Levites bare the ark of God upon their
shoulders with the staves thereon, as Moses commanded
16 according to the word of the Lord. And David spake
to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren the
singers, with instruments of music, psalteries and harps

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leadership of Uriel, Asaiah, Joel, Shemaiah, Eliel, and Amminadab. Their numbers are differently given in the LXX.

11. Zadok and Abiathar: joint high-priests at the time; but the chronicler does not recognize the legitimacy of the house of Ithamar in his genealogical tables.

12. sanctify: the original meaning of the word is 'to set apart for sacred uses,' and, in the present case, it implied the due performance of the rites of purification.

13. because ye bare it not: the failure of the first convoy is traced to the disregard of Levitic regulations.

15. as Moses commanded: cf. Num. vii. 9.

16. the singers: David is consistently represented by the chronicler as the prime organizer of the musical service of the Temple, and there is no room to doubt that he did actually lay the foundation of the elaborate choirs which rendered the service of praise in the second Temple. As to the instruments mentioned here, the *psaltery* resembled a long box with convex sounding-board, over which wire strings were stretched; the *harp* would be more correctly described as a lute; and the *cymbal* was a brass instrument to which was attached a bell.

and cymbals, sounding aloud and lifting up the voice
with joy. So the Levites appointed Heman the son 17
of Joel; and of his brethren, Asaph the son of Berechiah;
and of the sons of Merari their brethren, Ethan the son of
Kushaiah; and with them their brethren of the second 18
degree, Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel, and Shemiramoth,
and Jehiel, and Unni, Eliab, and Benaiah, and Maaseiah,
and Mattithiah, and Eliphelehu, and Mikneiah, and
Obed-edom, and Jeiel, the doorkeepers. So the singers, 19
Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, *were appointed*, with cymbals
of brass to sound aloud; and Zechariah, and Aziel, 20
and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab,
and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries set to
Alamoth; and Mattithiah, and Eliphelehu, and Mikneiah, 21
and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps set to
the Sheminith, to lead. And Chenaniah, chief of the 22

XV. 17-24. *The great Procession.* The procession conveying the Ark evidently took the following order:—At the head came the great choir of vocalists and instrumentalists under the leadership of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan; in the centre came the Ark, preceded by Chenaniah, two door-keepers and seven priests with trumpets, and followed by two more door-keepers; lastly the king and the troops brought up the rear.

17, 18. The leaders of song and the custodians, or door-keepers, are carefully named, as is natural by an author belonging to their order.

18. Ben is certainly a scribal error, and must be omitted with some Hebrew MSS. The forms of other names in the list are corrupt and unreliable.

19, 20. Three bands of musicians were appointed with cymbals, psalteries, and harps respectively. Heman, Asaph, and Ethan were the actual leaders of the choirs, and the two other bands acted as instrumentalists.

20. psalteries set to Alamoth: the expression is obscure. It has been explained as indicating soprano, or female voices; but may probably be taken here as indicating a high pitch of tone.

21. harps set to the Sheminith: i. e. an octave lower than the psalteries.

XV. **22-24.** The list of Levites in the procession closes with the

Levites, was over the song: he instructed about the song,
23 because he was skilful. And Berechiah and Elkanah
24 were doorkeepers for the ark. And Shebaniah, and
Joshaphat, and Nethanel, and Amasai, and Zechariah,
and Benaiah, and Eliezer, the priests, did blow with the
trumpets before the ark of God: and Obed-edom and
25 Jehiah were doorkeepers for the ark. [Ch^2] So David,
and the elders of Israel, and the captains over thousands,
went to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out
26 of the house of Obed-edom with joy: and it came to pass,
when God helped the Levites that bare the ark of the
covenant of the LORD, that they sacrificed seven bullocks
27 and seven rams. And David was clothed with a robe of
fine linen, and all the Levites that bare the ark, and the
singers, and Chenaniah the master of the song *with* the

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names of the leader of the convoy, seven trumpeters, and four custodians of the Ark.

22. Chenaniah is said to have been 'over the song,' but the verse is obscure and it is preferable to read 'over the transport,' in spite of the LXX. The Hebrew word is מַשָּׂא, which almost invariably means a 'burden' and is the usual word for the bearing of the Ark.

xv. 25—xvi. 3. *Ritual and Festivities.* The chronicler, having given at considerable length the disposition of the Levites, now returns to the narrative of 2 Sam. vi. 12^b–19, which he follows with considerable variations.

26. In 2 Sam. vi. 13 we find the expression 'they that bare the Ark,' but the chronicler expressly states that these were Levites. He also describes the royal sacrifice as consisting of the 'seven bullocks and seven rams' demanded by the later ecclesiastical legislation, whereas the author of Samuel puts it at 'an ox and a fatling'—although it is quite possible to explain the discrepancy by referring the sacrifices to different points on the route.

27. We have here a description of the priestly garb worn alike by king and Levites. The author of Samuel also speaks of David's participation in the whirling dance, resembling that of the Dervishes, which preceded the Ark. The chronicler's omission of the dancing of David is not due to any sense of its incongruity, for he alludes to it in verse 29, nor can it be explained as a con-

singers: [**R²**] and David had upon him an ephod of
linen. [**H**] Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the 28
covenant of the LORD with shouting, and with sound
of the cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals,
sounding aloud with psalteries and harps. And it came 29
to pass, as the ark of the covenant of the LORD came to
the city of David, that Michal the daughter of Saul looked
out at the window, and saw king David dancing and
playing; and she despised him in her heart. And they
brought in the ark of God, and set it in the midst of the **16**
tent that David had pitched for it: and they offered burnt
offerings and peace offerings before God. And when
David had made an end of offering the burnt offering 2
and the peace offerings, he blessed the people in the
name of the LORD. And he dealt to every one of Israel, 3
both man and woman, to every one a loaf of bread, and
a portion *of flesh*, and a cake of raisins.

[**Ch**] And he appointed certain of the Levites to 4

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fusion of the somewhat similar words for dancing and being clothed (*m^e^karker* and *m^e^kurbal*); it arose simply from his intention of describing the dress of the king and priests.

ephod of linen: evidently a kind of tunic or short skirt worn round the waist; the phrase seems to be a late gloss.

29. Michal (cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 27). It was the scantiness of the royal attire that gave offence to Michal.

xvi. 1–3. The success of the transport of the Ark was celebrated by sacrifices and national rejoicing. David performed an act which was the exclusive prerogative of the priesthood when he 'invoked the name of Jehovah' over the people; but throughout the ceremony the priestly character of the kingship is acknowledged, in that David also wore priestly garments and offered sacrifice.

3. The royal bounty was extended to all the people present. It consisted of bread and raisins and certain other victuals, although it is impossible to say whether the unknown word used of the latter refers to flesh or to wine.

xvi. 4–43. *The Religious Festival and the Service before the Ark.* The substance of this section is not found in 2 Samuel, where

minister before the ark of the Lord, and to celebrate
and to thank and praise the Lord, the God of Israel:
5 Asaph the chief, and second to him Zechariah, Jeiel, and
Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Mattithiah, and Eliab, and
Benaiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, with psalteries and
with harps; and Asaph with cymbals, sounding aloud;
6 and Benaiah and Jahaziel the priests with trumpets continually, before the ark of the covenant of God.
7 Then on that day did David first ordain to give thanks
unto the Lord, by the hand of Asaph and his brethren.

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verse 43 of this chapter follows immediately upon verse 3 (cf. 2 Sam. vi. 19^b, 20^a). David's first care was to order the musical service for the new abode of the sacred Ark.

4. to celebrate (Heb. *l*^{e}*hazkir*) is the musical term for the chanting of the set Psalms at the hour of worship; the word is used in the superscription of Psalms xxxviii and lxx; **to thank** (Heb. *l*^{e}*hôdôth*) refers to Psalms which tell of the goodness of God; and **to praise** (Heb. *l*^{e}*hallēl*) indicates Psalms of joy.

5, 6. The Levites appointed to lead the worship before the Ark were taken from among those named in the procession (xv. 17–21), omitting Heman and Ethan from among the chief singers, and also omitting five instrumentalists and five trumpeters.

7. David appointed Asaph to conduct the service of song. There follows at once a specimen of the songs used by the Asaphite guild of singers. The first fifteen verses of this song are identical with Psalm cv. 1–15; the next eleven are found in Psalm xcvi; and the doxology occurs in Psalm cvi. 1, 47–8. The questions of authorship, sources, and date are thus raised at the outset. All modern critics assign these Psalms to the post-exilic period upon indisputable internal evidence; and, consequently, we must conclude either that the present song is a skilful composition from portions of three popular songs of the second Temple, or that the authors of three of these later Psalms have each appropriated a portion of the original Davidic song. But the whole tendency of the chronicler is to compile his matter from various sources and to carry back the familiar things of his own day to the different conditions of the past. Hence we naturally reach the conclusion that he either composed the song from songs in use in his day, or that he found it in its present composite form as a late Psalm—the former being the more probable. Doubtless the chronicler was guided by contemporary

[**H**] O give thanks unto the LORD, call upon his name: 8
Make known his doings among the peoples.
Sing unto him, sing praises unto him; 9
Talk ye of all his marvellous works.
Glory ye in his holy name: 10
Let the heart of them rejoice that seek the LORD.
Seek ye the LORD and his strength; 11
Seek his face evermore.
Remember his marvellous works that he hath done; 12
His wonders, and the judgements of his mouth;
O ye seed of Israel his servant, 13
Ye children of Jacob, his chosen ones.
He is the LORD our God: 14
His judgements are in all the earth.
Remember his covenant for ever, 15
The word which he commanded to a thousand generations;
The covenant which he made with Abraham, 16
And his oath unto Isaac;
And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a statute, 17
To Israel for an everlasting covenant:
Saying, Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, 18
The lot of your inheritance:
When ye were but a few men in number; 19
Yea, very few, and sojourners in it;

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opinion in selecting such a specimen of the early Psalmody before the Ark.

xvi. 8–22. Cf. Psalm cv. 1–15. The singer calls for praise to Jehovah for His wondrous deeds, celebrates the glory of His covenant with Israel, and tells of the sufficiency of His grace vouchsafed to the patriarchs.

13. Israel his servant: Ps. cv. 6, 'Abraham his servant.' All the references of this section are to the early days of Hebrew history and are uttered in a tone of buoyant praise.

20 And they went about from nation to nation,
And from one kingdom to another people.
21 He suffered no man to do them wrong;
Yea, he reproved kings for their sakes;
22 *Saying*, Touch not mine anointed ones,
And do my prophets no harm.
23 Sing unto the LORD, all the earth;
Shew forth his salvation from day to day.
24 Declare his glory among the nations,
His marvellous works among all the peoples.
25 For great is the LORD, and highly to be praised:
He also is to be feared above all gods.
26 For all the gods of the peoples are idols:
But the LORD made the heavens.
27 Honour and majesty are before him:
Strength and gladness are in his place.
28 Give unto the LORD, ye kindreds of the peoples,
Give unto the LORD glory and strength.
29 Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name:
Bring an offering, and come before him:
Worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness.
30 Tremble before him, all the earth:
The world also is stablished that it cannot be moved.
31 Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;
And let them say among the nations, The LORD reigneth.
32 Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof;

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xvi. 23-33. Cf. Psalm xcvi, omitting clauses from verses 1, 2, 10, and 13. The singer calls for universal praise and worship, and speaks of the rejoicing of inanimate nature at Jehovah's presence.

27. gladness . . . in his place: the chronicler's variant for 'beauty in his sanctuary.'

31. The clauses of Ps. xcvi. 10 are transposed.

Let the field exult, and all that is therein;
Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy before 33
the LORD,
For he cometh to judge the earth.
O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good: 34
For his mercy *endureth* for ever.
And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation, 35
And gather us together and deliver us from the
nations,
To give thanks unto thy holy name,
And to triumph in thy praise.
Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, 36
From everlasting even to everlasting.
And all the people said, Amen, and praised the LORD.

[**Ch**] So he left there, before the ark of the covenant 37
of the LORD, Asaph and his brethren, to minister before
the ark continually, as every day's work required: and 38

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33. This recognition of the universality of God's reign and of the sole reality of Jehovah as the living God is found only in the more developed, later religious thought of Israel.

xvi. 34–6. Cf. Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48. The song concludes with a burst of praise in the doxology.

35. The opening clause paraphrases Ps. cvi. 47.

36. The exhortation which closes Ps. cvi. 48 is here turned into a record of the popular response at the close of the service of song.

xvi. 37–43. *The Levites and Public Worship.* During the sojourn of the Ark in land under Philistine sway the centre of Hebrew religious interest still continued to be the ancient Tabernacle at Gibeon. David had now formed a new centre in Zion by bringing back the Ark, and the first steps were possible towards the real centralization of worship. The organization of worship at the new shrine consequently engaged his early attention and he sought to allocate the Levites to the service of Jehovah in the capital.

37. Asaph, with his guild, was left in charge of the service before the Ark and of the daily routine of worship.

Obed-edom with their brethren, threescore and eight;
Obed-edom also the son of Jeduthun and Hosah to be
39 doorkeepers: and Zadok the priest, and his brethren
the priests, before the tabernacle of the LORD in the high
40 place that was at Gibeon, to offer burnt offerings unto
the LORD upon the altar of burnt offering continually
morning and evening, even according to all that is written
in the law of the LORD, which he commanded unto Israel;
41 and with them Heman and Jeduthun, and the rest that
were chosen, who were expressed by name, to give thanks
42 to the LORD, because his mercy *endureth* for ever; and
with them Heman and Jeduthun *with* trumpets and
cymbals for those that should sound aloud, and *with*
instruments for the songs of God: and the sons of

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38. Obed-edom with their brethren: either a name has dropped out or we should read 'his brethren,' with the LXX. The name of Obed-edom occurs so frequently (cf. xv. 21, 24, &c.) that more than one individual may be designated; the corruption of the text leaves the identity an open question.

39. Zadok and his guild were left in charge of the ancient Tabernacle at the high-place in Gibeon. Zadok was the legitimate representative of Eleazar's line and therefore was entrusted with the care of the older shrine. Probably the Tabernacle had been moved to Gibeon after the slaughter of the priests at Nob by Saul, and it is to be inferred that Nob had been chosen as its resting-place after the destruction of Shiloh by the Philistines in the earlier days of Saul.

high place (Heb. *bāmāh*): the regular designation for the eminence outside a town which was consecrated to the worship of the deities by the early Canaanite inhabitants of the land. The Israelites appropriated these early shrines for the worship of Jehovah. Such worship was regarded as legitimate prior to the rise of the later Deuteronomic school; for instance, Samuel leads the worship at the high-place at Bethlehem; and no word of condemnation is uttered against it by either Elijah or Elisha. Hence there is nothing to excite wonder in the presence of the Tabernacle and the brazen altar at the *bāmāh* of Gibeon.

41. With Zadok at Gibeon were the musicians Heman and Jeduthun (i.e. Ethan).

42. Evidently the first clause of the verse has been wrongly

Jeduthun to be at the gate. And all the people departed 43
every man to his house: and David returned to bless
his house.

[**H**] And it came to pass, when David dwelt in his **17**
house, that David said to Nathan the prophet, Lo, I
dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of the covenant
of the LORD *dwelleth* under curtains. And Nathan said 2

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repeated by an oversight from verse 41. The LXX omits the names and reads 'with them were trumpets and cymbals, &c.'

43. Cf. 2 Sam. vi. 19^b–20^a. The chronicler omits the scene of domestic altercation with Michal, as derogatory to the splendour of the early monarchy.

(4) xvii. *The Temple and the Dynasty* (cf. 2 Sam. vii).

Upon the completion of the royal palace the king realized how incongruous it was that the Ark of God should be housed in a tent; consequently he proceeded at once to lay before the prophet Nathan plans for the erection of a Temple. The fact that this incident is narrated immediately after that of the convoy of the Ark to Jerusalem is merely due to the natural connexion of the themes; but in all probability several years elapsed between them. The entire chapter occurs in 2 Sam. vii, where its whole tone and form are such as to suggest that it must have been recast in its present form by a later Deuteronomic redactor, who took the opportunity of clearly expressing in it the developed Messianic hope of the later years of the monarchy; this has led critics to date its composition about 600 B.C., in the time of Josiah. The chronicler embodies it in his narrative with the usual redactional variations.

xvii. 1–6. *David's plan to build a Temple.*

1. Nathan the prophet appears to have been the court-prophet of the reigns of David and Solomon. He evidently held an important position in the royal household; he was admitted to the king's council regarding the Temple, and was respectfully listened to in his rebuke which followed the murder of Uriah; he may also have occupied the post of chronicler, for he wrote a history of the times of David and Solomon (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 29 and 2 Chron. ix. 29).

the ark of the covenant of the LORD: a phrase specially common in the Deuteronomic school of writers.

under curtains: cf. xvi. 1. David's purpose to build a Temple is merely implied in the comparison between his own palace and the tent; but the implication is unmistakable.

unto David, Do all that is in thine heart; for God is with
3 thee. And it came to pass the same night, that the
4 word of God came to Nathan, saying, Go and tell David
my servant, Thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not build
5 me an house to dwell in: for I have not dwelt in an
house since the day that I brought up Israel, unto this
day; but have gone from tent to tent, and from *one*
6 tabernacle *to another*. In all places wherein I have
walked with all Israel, spake I a word with any of the
judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people,
saying, Why have ye not built me an house of cedar?
7 Now therefore thus shalt thou say unto my servant
David, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I took thee from
the sheepcote, from following the sheep, that thou shouldest
8 be prince over my people Israel: and I have been with

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xvii. 2–6. Nathan's approval of the king's suggestions was due to a natural sympathy with his religious zeal. However, during the night's communion with God the matter appeared in a different light. It was against all precedent for the Ark to be housed otherwise than in the simplicity of the earlier days.

2. God is with thee: the chronicler frequently substitutes the word 'God' (Heb. *'Elohīm*) for 'the LORD' (i. e. Jehovah) of Samuel (cf. xiii. 8, 12, 14, xiv. 10, 11, 14, 15, xvi. 1, 2).

4. Thou shalt not build me an house: from the narratives of Samuel and Kings we gather that the lack of precedent was not the sole cause of the veto placed upon David's plan. David himself was not the man for such an undertaking, seeing that he was a man of war and that his hands were not clean.

5. from tent to tent: the chronicler's apparent expansion of the language of the earlier history is due to an evident corruption of the text. The LXX and Syriac preserve traces of the briefer reading, but the point emphasized is the primitive simplicity of the early religious institutions as compared with the elaborate ritual of later Judaism.

xvii. 7–15. *The Dynasty confirmed.* The prophet returns with a message from God to David. He reminds the king of former mercies; he declares that God's favour will be continued to Israel; and he foretells the durance of the dynasty. Throughout

thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all
thine enemies from before thee; and I will make thee
a name, like unto the name of the great ones that are in
the earth. And I will appoint a place for my people 9
Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their
own place, and be moved no more; neither shall the
children of wickedness waste them any more, as at the
first, and *as* from the day that I commanded judges to 10
be over my people Israel; and I will subdue all thine
enemies. Moreover I tell thee that the LORD will build
thee an house. And it shall come to pass, when thy 11
days be fulfilled that thou must go to be with thy fathers,
that I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall be of

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there are traces of rhythmic structure in Nathan's utterance, as is so often the case with the words of the prophets, but it is no longer possible to restore their poetical form without doing more violence to the text than is permissible. The parallelism, which forms the basis of Hebrew poetry, can be traced throughout, except in verse 11.

9. be moved no more: this phrase is generally held to be a proof that the words were pre-exilic; but it is by no means certain that the later Jews ever regarded the Exile as a destruction of the dynasty; and, in any case, the chronicler saw no reason to emend the words of Nathan to bring them into line with history.

10. the LORD will build thee an house: this is the promise of God to David, and it stands in clear contrast to David's desire to build a house for God.

11. thy seed: we have here an expansion and explanation of the simple promise of verse 10. But it must be observed that the promise is not connected with any individual; it is quite general and concerns the Davidic dynasty (cf. 'his house,' i. e. David's house). As, therefore, the structure of the Hebrew sentences compels us to refer verse 11 and the concluding verses of the passage to David's 'seed' generally and not to a specific son of David, it is held by many modern scholars that verse 12 is a later insertion to harmonize with the promise to Solomon regarding the Temple. The chronicler undoubtedly takes the word 'seed' in the later Messianic sense and omits various phrases (e. g. 'if he commit iniquity,' &c.) from the narrative of 2 Samuel to secure a fuller harmony with later ideas regarding the Messiah.

12 thy sons; and I will establish his kingdom. He shall
build me an house, and I will establish his throne for
13 ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son: and
I will not take my mercy away from him, [Ch[2]] as I took
14 it from him that was before thee: but I will settle him
in mine house and in my kingdom for ever: and his
15 throne shall be established for ever. [**H**] According to
all these words, and according to all this vision, so did
Nathan speak unto David.

16 Then David the king went in, and sat before the LORD;
and he said, Who am I, O LORD God, and what is my
17 house, that thou hast brought me thus far? And this
was a small thing in thine eyes, O God; but thou hast
spoken of thy servant's house for a great while to come,
and hast regarded me according to the estate of a man

The full Messianic significance of the passage is carefully discussed by Prof. Briggs in *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 126 ff.

14. for ever: it is again noticeable that the chronicler uses the words of the final assurance in reference to 'the seed' of David in the Messianic sense, whereas 2 Samuel refers them directly to David himself. The whole verse has been remodelled by our author.

xvii. 16–27. *David's Prayer of Thanksgiving.*

16. David . . . sat before the LORD: the effect upon David of the promise of God through Nathan was the production of humiliation and gratitude. Entering the tent of the Ark he voiced the prayer which is given in verses 16–27. One cannot fail to trace in all the religious exercises practised by David at this time a close resemblance to the practices of the modern Dervishes: when the Ark was carried up to the citadel he danced the whirling dance of the Dervish before it; he now assumes the attitude of sitting for prayer, i.e. he would sink down upon his heels while keeping head and body erect. This attitude for prayer is mentioned nowhere else in the O. T.

17. The latter half of the verse is so corrupt that it is scarcely possible to offer any satisfactory alternative to the present reading. Evidently the phrase in 2 Sam. vii. 19 was already utterly obscure in the days of the chronicler, but he replaced it by one equally obscure. Perhaps we get as near as possible to the original

of high degree, O LORD God. What can David *say* yet 18
more unto thee concerning the honour which is done to
thy servant? for thou knowest thy servant. O LORD, 19
for thy servant's sake, and according to thine own heart,
hast thou wrought all this greatness, to make known all
these great things. O LORD, there is none like thee, 20
neither is there any God beside thee, according to all
that we have heard with our ears. And what one nation 21
in the earth is like thy people Israel, whom God went to
redeem unto himself for a people, to make thee a name
by great and terrible things, in driving out nations from
before thy people, which thou redeemedst out of Egypt?
For thy people Israel didst thou make thine own people 22
for ever; and thou, LORD, becamest their God. And 23
now, O LORD, let the word that thou hast spoken concerning
thy servant, and concerning his house, be
established for ever, and do as thou hast spoken. And 24
let thy name be established and magnified for ever,
saying, The LORD of hosts is the God of Israel, even a
God to Israel: and the house of David thy servant is
established before thee. For thou, O my God, hast 25

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meaning if we read, with Ewald, 'and hast made me look upon the ranks of men onward' (i. e. upon his descendants).

18. The better reading is preserved in 2 Samuel.

21. Again the text is very confused; but the variations are evidently due to the chronicler's desire to present Jehovah's redeeming mercies to Israel without the necessity of alluding to the deities of heathen races; cf. note on 2 Sam. vii. 23 (*Century Bible*: Kennedy).

22. The covenant relationship between Jehovah and His people is regarded as a unique distinction between Israel and the heathen.

24. let thy name be established: 'the Name' (i. e. Jehovah) is frequently used for God Himself, in that it designates God in His personal existence in relation to Israel.

even a God to Israel: the redundance is a modification of the original.

revealed to thy servant that thou wilt build him an house:
therefore hath thy servant found *in his heart* to pray
26 before thee. And now, O LORD, thou art God, and
27 hast promised this good thing unto thy servant: and now
it hath pleased thee to bless the house of thy servant,
that it may continue for ever before thee: for thou,
O LORD, hast blessed, and it is blessed for ever.

18 [H] And after this it came to pass, that David smote
the Philistines, and subdued them, and took Gath and
2 her towns out of the hand of the Philistines. And he

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(5) xviii-xx. *David's Campaigns and Officials.*

The material for these chapters is derived from 2 Sam. viii, x, xi. 1, xii. 26-31, xxi. 18-22, with little variation. The original is a condensed account of the wars of David, such as frequently stands at the close of the history of a reign. In making use of it the chronicler narrates David's victories over Philistia, Moab, Zobah, Damascus, and Edom (ch. xviii), and gives a list of the chief officers of state. Then follows the account (ch. xix) of the arduous campaign against the Ammonites and Syrians, which is apparently taken from a different source than 2 Sam. viii. And, lastly, we have (ch. xx) the narrative of the capture of Rabbah, derived from 2 Sam. xxi, with a brief appendix of the names of certain heroes. From the narrative of 2 Samuel the chronicler omits the chequered picture of David's family troubles, of his crime regarding Uriah, and of the fate of Saul's sons. The few divergencies from the original are due mainly to obscurities in the text or to condensation.

xviii. *Wars and Ministers of State* (cf. 2 Sam. viii).

(1) xviii. 1. *War with the Philistines.*

1. Gath and her towns: the chronicler's rendering of 'the bridle of the mother city' of 2 Sam. viii. 1—a very plausible emendation of a text which must already have been obscure. It is far from certain whether the original will bear the rendering of 'the mother city' (R.V.). The Hebrew אמה means 'a cubit,' and can scarcely be taken as an equivalent for אם 'mother,' i. e. metropolis. But the unmistakable meaning is that David threw off the Philistine yoke from Israel and established his supremacy over the lands ruled by the lords of Gath.

Gath is represented to-day by extensive ruins around a conspicuous hill called the Tell-es-Safiêh, which rises from the plain at

smote Moab; and the Moabites became servants to David, and brought presents. And David smote Hadarezer 3
king of Zobah unto Hamath, as he went to stablish his
dominion by the river Euphrates. And David took from 4
him a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen,
and twenty thousand footmen: and David houghed all
the chariot horses, but reserved of them for an hundred
chariots. And when the Syrians of Damascus came to 5
succour Hadarezer king of Zobah, David smote of the
Syrians two and twenty thousand men. Then David put 6
garrisons in Syria of Damascus; and the Syrians became
servants to David, and brought presents. And the LORD
gave victory to David whithersoever he went. And David 7
took the shields of gold that were on the servants of
Hadarezer, and brought them to Jerusalem. And from 8

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the foot of the hills of Judah. It was one of the five royal cities of Philistia.

(2) **2.** *War with Moab.*
The chronicler entirely omits all reference to the cruelty which David, in the hour of victory, displayed to the land which had once offered asylum to his parents. The reasons for David's changed attitude are unknown; but he reduced the land to subjection and imposed tribute upon it.

(3) **3, 4.** *War with Zobah.*
Zobah was a petty Aramaean kingdom in the neighbourhood of Damascus. In xix. 6 we read of provocation which led to this war; in the issue, however, David extended his frontiers to Hamath and the Euphrates. Textual errors here, as so frequently in the O. T., account for the discrepancies in the numbers of the captives.

(4) xviii. 5-10. *War with Damascus, &c.*
5. Damascus: a city of the remotest antiquity, lying in a fertile plain east of Hermon. The city rises like an island of white from the midst of orchards at the foot of a range of limestone hills. It was proverbial for its great prosperity. David seems to have established his suzerainty over it, and to have exacted tribute.

Tibhath and from Cun, cities of Hadarezer, David took
very much brass, [**Ch^2**] wherewith Solomon made the
brasen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass.
9 [**H**] And when Tou king of Hamath heard that David
10 had smitten all the host of Hadarezer king of Zobah, he
sent Hadoram his son to king David, to salute him, and
to bless him, because he had fought against Hadarezer
and smitten him; for Hadarezer had wars with Tou;
and *he had with him* all manner of vessels of gold and
11 silver and brass. These also did king David dedicate
unto the LORD, with the silver and the gold that he
carried away from all the nations; from Edom, and from
Moab, and from the children of Ammon, and from the
12 Philistines, and from Amalek. Moreover Abishai the son
of Zeruiah smote of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt

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8. Tibhath and . . . Cun: 2 Samuel reads Betah and Berothai. Cun may be the same as Cuna-Cunnae, between Laodicea and Heliopolis (Kittel).

the brasen sea, &c.: this account of the use which Solomon made of the captured brass is the chronicler's addition to the text of 2 Samuel, and is prompted by his unique interest in all Temple matters. From our text the LXX has also introduced these statements into the parallel passage in 2 Samuel.

9. Hamath: an important city on the river Orontes. It may have been the capital of the early Hittite kingdom.

11. These also did king David dedicate: in accordance with the ancient custom of dedicating spoils to the god of the country, David dedicates these gifts to Jehovah.

(5) xviii. 12, 13. *Wars with Edom.*

12. Abishai: as the author of 2 Samuel refers only to David in this connexion, it appears that the original text, where also 'Syrians' is wrongly read for 'Edom,' was already doubtful; probably 'Abishai' is a misinterpretation of the words 'had returned' of 2 Sam. viii. 13 (Heb. בְּשֻׁבוֹ, *b*^{e}*shūbō*). The inscription of Psalm lx attributes the victory to Joab.

the Valley of Salt: the modern Wady-el-Milḥ, which branches off from the Wady-eṣ-Ṣeba' at Beer-sheba. The two wadies form a kind of indefinite first frontier between Israel and

eighteen thousand. And he put garrisons in Edom; 13
and all the Edomites became servants to David. And
the LORD gave victory to David whithersoever he went.

And David reigned over all Israel; and he executed 14
judgement and justice unto all his people. And Joab 15
the son of Zeruiah was over the host; and Jehoshaphat
the son of Ahilud was recorder. And Zadok the son of 16
Ahitub, and Abimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests;
and Shavsha was scribe; and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada 17
was over the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and the
sons of David were chief about the king.

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the steppes beyond. It was the scene of more than one conflict between Israel and Edom (cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 11).

(6) xviii. 14–17. *David's administration.*

14. he executed judgement and justice: David was personally accessible to all the people, and acted in the capacity of chief justice.

15. Joab . . . was over the host: i. e. commander-in-chief of the national militia; all able-bodied men seem to have been liable to military service.

recorder: he probably held a position analogous to the grand vizier of an Eastern court, keeping the king apprised of the affairs of state. The Hebrew word (*mazkir*) denotes 'one who reminds.'

16. Zadok . . . and Abimelech: a certain amount of confusion has here crept into the narrative; cf. note on vi. 4–15. *Zadok,* here mentioned for the first time, did not belong to the house of Eli (i. e. of Ithamar) as here represented. If he was actually the 'son of Ahitub' (cf. vi. 8), then this is a different Ahitub from the priest of that name of Eli's line, for Zadok was the legitimate representative of the house of Eleazar. On the other hand, *Abiathar* was the son of Abimelech (or Ahimelech), the son of Ahitub. The representatives of the two rival lines fulfilled a dual high-priesthood under David.

Shavsha: LXX Sousa, 2 Sam. Seraiah; the correct form cannot now be determined. The post he occupied was that of secretary to the king; it possibly included the duties of royal historian and custodian of the state records.

17. Cherethites and . . . Pelethites: the royal bodyguard composed of Carian and Philistine mercenaries. Cf. note on xi. 25.

the sons of David were chief about the king: the author

19 And it came to pass after this, that Nahash the king of
the children of Ammon died, and his son reigned in his
2 stead. And David said, I will shew kindness unto Hanun
the son of Nahash, because his father shewed kindness to
me. So David sent messengers to comfort him concerning his father. And David's servants came into the land
of the children of Ammon to Hanun, to comfort him.
3 But the princes of the children of Ammon said to Hanun,
Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father, that he
hath sent comforters unto thee? are not his servants
come unto thee for to search, and to overthrow, and to
4 spy out the land? So Hanun took David's servants, and
shaved them, and cut off their garments in the middle,
5 even to their buttocks, and sent them away. Then there
went certain, and told David how the men were served.

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of Samuel says emphatically that they were 'priests'; but the chronicler, writing at a time when the priesthood was the exclusive prerogative of the house of Levi, changed what he must have regarded as an unjustifiable assertion, in accordance with his custom throughout his work of compilation. Even the LXX has changed the 'priests' of 2 Samuel into 'chiefs of the court,' *αὐλάρχαι.*

(7) xix—xx. 3. *Wars with Ammon and Syria* (cf. 2 Sam. x, xi. 1, xii. 26-31).

This campaign was the outcome of an insult offered by the suspicious and boastful king of Ammon to the ambassadors whom David had sent to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne. The chronicler omits all reference to the guilty relations of David and Bath-sheba, which were so closely connected with these events. The narrative concludes with an account of the siege and fall of the Ammonite metropolis.

1. Nahash had warred against Israel in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 1 ff.), and had naturally been in sympathy with his outlawed son-in-law.

3. to spy out the land: the Ammonite chieftains, probably rendered suspicious by David's conquest of Edom and Moab, suggest that the ambassadors had come to Rabbah as spies.

4. Hanun treats the inviolable persons of David's embassy with every mark of insult and contumely.

And he sent to meet them; for the men were greatly
ashamed. And the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your
beards be grown, and then return. [Ch^2] And when the 6
children of Ammon saw that they had made themselves
odious to David, Hanun and the children of Ammon sent
a thousand talents of silver to hire them chariots and
horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Aram-maacah,
and out of Zobah. So they hired them thirty and two 7
thousand chariots, and the king of Maacah and his
people; who came and pitched before Medeba. And
the children of Ammon gathered themselves together
from their cities, and came to battle. [H] And when 8
David heard of it, he sent Joab, and all the host of the
mighty men. And the children of Ammon came out, 9
and put the battle in array at the gate of the city: and
the kings that were come were by themselves in the field.
Now when Joab saw that the battle was set against him 10
before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of Israel,

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6. The Ammonites immediately recognized what must be the inevitable consequences of their outrage upon the ambassadors of a victorious neighbour; and they hastened to secure their position by an alliance with the petty kings of Syria. The number of chariots supplied by the king of Maacah looks suspicious for so insignificant a state. The names of the allies of Hanun differ so widely in Chronicles and 2 Samuel that it is impossible to harmonize them.

7. Medeba: the allies pitched their camp at Medeba, on the tableland of Moab, south of Heshbon.

8. Joab was at once dispatched with the nucleus of the national army to take the field against the allies.

9. at the gate of the city: evidently they fell back upon the capital, Rabbah, and formed their line of battle before the gates.

xix. 10–13. The Syrian allies had contrived to turn the wing of the Hebrew army and take them in the rear. Joab, therefore, with a band of picked men, directs his operations against them, leaving Abishai to attack the Ammonite warriors. Promises of mutual support are given and words of encouragement spoken before the onset.

11 and put them in array against the Syrians. And the rest
of the people he committed into the hand of Abishai his
brother, and they put themselves in array against the
12 children of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too
strong for me, then thou shalt help me: but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will help
13 thee. Be of good courage, and let us play the men for
our people, and for the cities of our God: and the LORD
14 do that which seemeth him good. So Joab and the
people that were with him drew nigh before the Syrians
15 unto the battle; and they fled before him. And when
the children of Ammon saw that the Syrians were fled,
they likewise fled before Abishai his brother, and entered
16 into the city. Then Joab came to Jerusalem. And
when the Syrians saw that they were put to the worse
before Israel, they sent messengers, and drew forth the
Syrians that were beyond the River, with Shophach the
17 captain of the host of Hadarezer at their head. And it
was told David; and he gathered all Israel together, and

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13. for the cities of our God: the phrase is unusual, and, as no Hebrew cities were actually in danger, it is conjectured that the correct reading should be 'for the Ark of our God.' Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 11 (Klostermann, Budde, &c.).

15. Joab came to Jerusalem: the early part of the campaign was now over, and Joab, having defeated the Syrians and compelled the Ammonites to abandon the open country, returned to Jerusalem satisfied with his temporary success. The activity of the enemy, however, soon reassumed formidable proportions through the formation of a Syrian confederacy (verse 16). There is no sufficient reason for regarding this narrative as a doublet of 2 Sam. viii. 3-8, for it is not improbable that Hadarezer should have recovered strength sufficiently to take the field once more against David.

16. beyond the River: Hadarezer's authority is here represented as extending beyond the Euphrates into Assyria.

17. all Israel: David mustered the entire fighting strength of Israel for a decisive stroke. The battle is said to have taken

passed over Jordan, and came upon them, and set the
battle in array against them. So when David had put
the battle in array against the Syrians, they fought with
him. And the Syrians fled before Israel; and David 18
slew of the Syrians *the men of* seven thousand chariots,
and forty thousand footmen, and killed Shophach the
captain of the host. And when the servants of Hadar- 19
ezer saw that they were put to the worse before Israel,
they made peace with David, and served him: neither
would the Syrians help the children of Ammon any more.

And it came to pass, at the time of the return of **20**
the year, at the time when kings go out *to battle*, that Joab
led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country
of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rab-
bah. But David tarried at Jerusalem. And Joab smote
Rabbah, and overthrew it. And David took the crown 2
of their king from off his head, and found it to weigh a

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place at Helam (2 Sam. x. 17), probably Aleppo, which is called Helman in the Assyrian inscriptions.

18. the Syrians fled: the defeat became a rout and a carnage. The numbers of the slain are corrupt.

19. they made peace: David extended his supremacy over the domains of the Aramaean confederacy. As a result of this victory he was in a position to deal with the Ammonites single-handed.

xx. **1. the return of the year:** cf. 2 Sam. xi. 1. After the time of the early rains the spring campaign is opened with offensive operations by Joab. The open country is desolated and the siege of the capital is hotly and successfully pressed.

Rabbah: the modern 'Ammān, was situated about twenty-two miles east of the Jordan on one of the head-waters of the river Jabbok. In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus it received the name of Philadelphia, and was colonized by Greek settlers.

xx. 2-3. Cf. 2 Sam. xii. 26-31. We learn from the earlier history that Joab captured the lower portions of the city, which lay on either side of the Wady 'Ammān, and then summoned David to reduce the citadel.

2. the crown of their king: the LXX reads 'of Milcom,'

talent of gold, and there were precious stones in it; and it was set upon David's head: and he brought forth the
3 spoil of the city, exceeding much. And he brought forth the people that were therein, and cut *them* with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes. And thus did David unto all the cities of the children of Ammon. And David and all the people returned to Jerusalem.

4 And it came to pass after this, that there arose war at Gezer with the Philistines: then Sibbecai the Hushathite slew Sippai, of the sons of the giant: and they were sub-
5 dued. And there was again war with the Philistines; and Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a

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i.e. of the god of Ammon. That this is probably the correct reading is seen in the fact that no man could wear a crown which, at the lowest estimate, weighed 54 lb. avoirdupois, and also in the fact that the same consonants may be read either as 'their king' or as 'Milcom.' Probably the meaning is that the crown of the idol weighed half a hundredweight, and contained a precious stone which was set upon David's head.

3. cut them **with saws:** clearly the chronicler means to state that David tortured the captives. The author of Samuel so expresses himself as to leave it indeterminable whether he alludes to torture or to forced labour (cf. R. V. margin). Modern opinion inclines to interpret the original as referring to compulsory toil upon the royal buildings.

(8) xx. 4–8. *The Philistine Champions slain.*

The three cases of heroism against the giants of Gath are narrated in 2 Sam. xxi. 18–22. There they are preceded by the account of David's narrow escape from Ishbi-benob; but the chronicler omits a narrative which appeared to tarnish David's fame in war.

4. at Gezer: 2 Samuel reads Gob, an unknown locality. Gezer lay on an isolated hill, the modern Tell Jezer, in the northern Shephelah.

5. Lahmi the brother of Goliath: the variation from the text of Samuel is very marked, and betrays an evident attempt to do away with the difficulty raised by the statement of the earlier historian that 'Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Beth-lehemite

weaver's beam. And there was again war at Gath, where 6
was a man of great stature, whose fingers and toes were
four and twenty, six *on each hand*, and six *on each foot*;
and he also was born unto the giant. And when he defied 7
Israel, Jonathan the son of Shimea David's brother slew
him. These were born unto the giant in Gath; and 8
they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his
servants.

[Ch²] And Satan stood up against Israel, and moved **21**

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slew Goliath the Gittite.' That statement has sometimes been construed as a proof that the story of David's early heroism and victory over Goliath is merely the invention of a popular hero-worship. The question is discussed by Dr. Kennedy (in the *Century Bible* on 1 Sam. xvii), and with his conclusions of the historicity of David's prowess we fully concur. Our text may perhaps be emended thus, 'Elhanan the son of Jair the Bethlehemite slew (the brother of) Goliath the Gittite.'

The last of the Philistine giants fell at Gath by the hand of David's nephew.

(6) xxi—xxii. 1. *The Census and the Pestilence.*

The narrative of David's sin in taking the census is introduced by the chronicler because it leads up to the acquisition of the sacred site of the Temple. The material is derived from 2 Sam. xxiv; it has been re-edited throughout, and Kittel sees in it the work of an intermediate Levitic scribe or midrashist. The variations are mainly explicable by the altered view-point of the chronicler, and will be discussed in the notes. According to our narrative, Satan incited David to number the people, which he does in spite of Joab's remonstrance. Subsequently David realizes the sinfulness of the act, and, on his repentance, is asked to choose between three forms of punishment. He selects the pestilence. Thereupon the destroying angel ravages the country. Jerusalem, however, is spared, and David sacrifices upon the spot where the angel of destruction had appeared. This spot thus becomes the consecrated site of the Temple.

xxi. 1-7. *The Census.*

1. Satan . . . moved David to number Israel: cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, 'The Lord . . . moved David against them.' The word 'Satan' signifies 'an adversary'; but it is used here, without the article, as a proper name. It is the contention of Ewald that the

2 David to number Israel. And David said to Joab and
to the princes of the people, Go, number Israel from
Beer-sheba even to Dan; and bring me word, that I may
3 know the sum of them. And Joab said, The LORD make
his people an hundred times so many more as they be:
but, my lord the king, are they not all my lord's servants?
why doth my lord require this thing? why will he be a
4 cause of guilt unto Israel? Nevertheless the king's word

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word 'Satan' stood originally in 2 Samuel also; but there are good grounds upon which the difference between the two narratives may be explained without such a supposition. The belief in a spirit who is the author of evil is implicit in the early religious ideas of the Hebrew people. It is quite probable that contact with Babylonia and Persia had much to do with the growth of such a belief; but it seems to have developed along with the growing sense of the incongruity of tracing moral evil directly to God. The supposed antagonism between Samuel and Chronicles in this respect is rather apparent than real, and can be fully explained on the grounds of the advance in moral susceptibility made by Hebrew thinkers. In the interval between the composition of the two histories this advance was very marked. And the chronicler, with perhaps a finer sense of the holiness of Jehovah, here refuses to speak of Him as the author of evil. At the same time no dualism is involved in his indication of Satan as the author of the temptation in question. The chronicler simply ignores the problem of the origin of evil, and contents himself with a definite reference to the activities of an evil spirit in the temptation which assailed David.

The author of Samuel had left it doubtful at the outset of his narrative whether the proposition to take the census was morally wrong. The chronicler, by ascribing it to Satan, leaves no shadow of doubt concerning its sinfulness.

2. to Joab and to the princes of the people: as it was the compilation of a military register for the purpose of conscription that David had in view, he entrusted the task to his military chieftains.

from Beer-sheba even to Dan: the chronicler's reversal of the order of the towns constituting the limits of the land, as compared with the wording in 2 Samuel, is quite likely to be due to a sense of the superior importance of the southern kingdom.

3. a cause of guilt unto Israel: it is not stated wherein the sinfulness of the census lay. It was probably a wholly new

prevailed against Joab. Wherefore Joab departed, and
went throughout all Israel, and came to Jerusalem. And 5
Joab gave up the sum of the numbering of the people
unto David. And all they of Israel were a thousand
thousand and an hundred thousand men that drew sword:
and Judah was four hundred threescore and ten thousand
men that drew sword. But Levi and Benjamin counted 6
he not among them: for the king's word was abominable
to Joab. And God was displeased with this thing; 7
therefore he smote Israel. And David said unto God, I 8
have sinned greatly, in that I have done this thing: but

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departure prompted by pride of power—a kind of overgrown imperialism.

4. **the king's word prevailed:** as absolute monarch David overruled all objections, and Joab commenced the taking of the census.

came to Jerusalem: the chronicler has not merely represented the census as commencing at Beer-sheba, but he omits all details of its progress (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 5-8). The task of Joab is said to have occupied nine months and twenty days.

5. Here we have the common difficulty of numerical discrepancies in a marked form. The figures given in this verse differ from those of 2 Sam. xxiv. 9 and also from those of 1 Chron. xxvii. 1-5. Corruption of the text may be one cause of these discrepancies. It is difficult to explain the number of Israelite warriors as 1,100,000, while Samuel places the number at 800,000; but the reduction of the numbers for Judah from 500,000 to 470,000 may be explained by the fact that Levi and Benjamin are expressly omitted in the chronicler's estimate.

6. **Levi and Benjamin counted he not:** the verse is an addition of the chronicler. According to the Deuteronomic law, Levi was to be exempted from enumeration in the political census (cf. Num. i. 47-54); but we have no further grounds for crediting the statement concerning the omission of Benjamin.

7. **God was displeased with this thing:** these words are not found in the earlier history. The chronicler implies that David's repentance was awakened when he saw the Divine anger manifested in the pestilence, whereas the author of Samuel shows how David was troubled by a guilty conscience (verse 10). Evidently the conviction of sin was due both to subjective and to objective causes.

8. **I have sinned:** David frankly acknowledges his error.

now, put away, I beseech thee, the iniquity of thy servant;
9 for I have done very foolishly. And the LORD spake
10 unto Gad, David's seer, saying, Go and speak unto David,
saying, Thus saith the LORD, I offer thee three things;
11 choose thee one of them, that I may do it unto thee. So
Gad came to David, and said unto him, Thus saith the
12 LORD, Take which thou wilt; either three years of famine;
or three months to be consumed before thy foes, while
that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee; or else
three days the sword of the LORD, even pestilence in the
land, and the angel of the LORD destroying throughout all
the coasts of Israel. Now therefore consider what answer
13 I shall return to him that sent me. And David said unto
Gad, I am in a great strait: let me fall now into the hand
of the LORD; for very great are his mercies: and let me
14 not fall into the hand of man. So the LORD sent a
pestilence upon Israel: and there fell of Israel seventy
15 thousand men. And God sent an angel unto Jerusalem
to destroy it: and as he was about to destroy, the LORD
beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the
destroying angel, It is enough; now stay thine hand.
And the angel of the LORD stood by the threshing-floor
16 of Ornan the Jebusite. And David lifted up his eyes,

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9. Gad, David's seer: Gad had joined David during his outlaw life; he appears in the varied rôles of councillor, musician, and historian (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. xxix. 25).

12. the angel of the LORD: these words are an addition to the earlier narrative, and further indicate the increased belief in angelic ministrations.

13. very great are his mercies: David's choice of the punishment was determined by a sense of God's mercy.

15. an angel: probably the article has fallen out; it is the destroying angel who is intended.

Ornan the Jebusite. In 2 Samuel we read 'Araunah' and

and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth
and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched
out over Jerusalem. Then David and the elders, clothed
in sackcloth, fell upon their faces. And David said unto
God, Is it not I that commanded the people to be num- 17
bered? even I it is that have sinned and done very
wickedly; but these sheep, what have they done? let
thine hand, I pray thee, O Lord my God, be against me,
and against my father's house; but not against thy people,
that they should be plagued. Then the angel of the
Lord commanded Gad to say to David, that David should 18
go up, and rear an altar unto the Lord in the threshing-
floor of Ornan the Jebusite. And David went up at the
saying of Gad, which he spake in the name of the Lord. 19
And Ornan turned back, and saw the angel; and his four
sons that were with him hid themselves. Now Ornan 20
was threshing wheat. And as David came to Ornan,
Ornan looked and saw David, and went out of the 21
threshing-floor, and bowed himself to David with his face
to the ground. Then David said to Ornan, Give me the
place of this threshing-floor, that I may build thereon an 22

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in the LXX 'Ornah.' Ornan was one of the remaining Jebusite inhabitants of Jerusalem.

16. The chronicler has here expanded the simple statement of 2 Samuel that 'he saw the angel that smote the people.'

18. the angel of the LORD commanded Gad: still we note the prominence of the angel-ministry. The Divine command to build an altar on Ornan's threshing-floor involves the consecration of the spot where the angel had stood.

20. and saw the angel: it is quite possible that the text should read 'and saw the king,' as in the LXX. The error would easily arise, as the Hebrew words differ only by a single letter (מלאך *mal'ak*, 'angel,' and מלך *melek*, 'king').

Ornan was threshing wheat: this addition of the chronicler's seems to be an echo of the LXX reading of 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 'when the days were the days of wheat harvest,' &c.

altar unto the Lord: for the full price shalt thou give it
me: that the plague may be stayed from the people.
23 And Ornan said unto David, Take it to thee, and let my
lord the king do that which is good in his eyes: lo, I
give *thee* the oxen for burnt offerings, and the threshing
instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meal offer-
24 ing; I give it all. And king David said to Ornan, Nay;
but I will verily buy it for the full price: for I will not
take that which is thine for the Lord, nor offer a burnt
25 offering without cost. So David gave to Ornan for the
26 place six hundred shekels of gold by weight. And David
built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt
offerings and peace offerings, and called upon the Lord;
and he answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar
27 of burnt offering. And the Lord commanded the angel;
and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof.

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22. for the full price: David's design is to purchase the site.

23. I give it all: the obscure words of 2 Samuel have been incorrectly interpreted as implying that Ornan was the dethroned king of Jebus. Ornan's free offer of the requisites for sacrifice was probably made in the true spirit of Oriental bargaining, and was never meant to be taken literally.

24. I will verily buy it: David recognizes the principle which is the spring of all genuine sacrifice. It is the voluntary and self-renouncing nature of the gift that alone makes sacrifice valid.

25. six hundred shekels of gold: a sum of about £1,200. In 2 Samuel it is given as fifty shekels of silver, i.e. £7.

26. David built there an altar: on the same spot subsequently stood the great altar of burnt offering of Solomon's Temple. To-day the spot is covered by the Ḳubbet-eṣ-Ṣaḥra, or Dome of the Rock, one of the most famous Mohammedan mosques in the world.

he answered him from heaven by fire: this visible sign of God's acceptance was a further indication that the spot was to be sacred.

27—xxii. 1. These five verses form an appendix to the narrative of the consecration of Ornan's threshing-floor. They

At that time, when David saw that the LORD had 28
answered him in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite,
then he sacrificed there. For the tabernacle of the LORD, 29
which Moses made in the wilderness, and the altar of
burnt offering, were at that time in the high place at
Gibeon. But David could not go before it to inquire of 30
God: for he was afraid because of the sword of the angel
of the LORD. [**Ch**] Then David said, This is the house 22
of the LORD God, and this is the altar of burnt offering
for Israel.

And David commanded to gather together the 2
strangers that were in the land of Israel; and he set
masons to hew wrought stones to build the house of
God. And David prepared iron in abundance for the 3

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point out the special circumstances of the case which made it permissible for David to sacrifice in a way contrary to the Deuteronomic regulations. These circumstances were the impossibility of his going to the Tabernacle in Gibeon, where the pestilence probably still raged. The proofs of God's mercy which were manifested at the time led David to sanctify the spot to be used henceforth for burnt offering. In indicating this spot as the site of the Temple, the chronicler was evidently following a reliable historical tradition. In the parenthetical statements of verses 28–30 we probably have the chronicler's original addition to the re-edited version of 2 Sam., which he used as his source.

(7) xxii. 2–19. *Preparation for the Temple.*

It is quite natural that the chronicler, whose main interest in earlier history concerns itself with the religious aspects of the national life, should immediately follow the narrative of the consecration of the Temple-site by an account of the king's provision for the establishment of the national sanctuary and its worship. Thus in ch. xxii he describes David's endeavours to order the religious institutions of his people. The entire narrative is the independent work of the chronicler, but is based upon some Levitic authorities.

xxii. 2–5. *Materials for the Temple-building.*

2. the strangers: i. e. the descendants of the Canaanites whom the Israelite conquerors had left in the land (cf. 2 Chron. viii. 7 ff.).

nails for the doors of the gates, and for the couplings;
4 and brass in abundance without weight; and cedar trees
without number: for the Zidonians and they of Tyre
5 brought cedar trees in abundance to David. And David
said, Solomon my son is young and tender, and the
house that is to be builded for the LORD must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all
countries: I will therefore make preparation for it. So
David prepared abundantly before his death.

6 Then he called for Solomon his son, and charged him
7 to build an house for the LORD, the God of Israel. And
David said to Solomon his son, As for me, it was in my
heart to build an house unto the name of the LORD my
8 God. But the word of the LORD came to me, saying,
Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great

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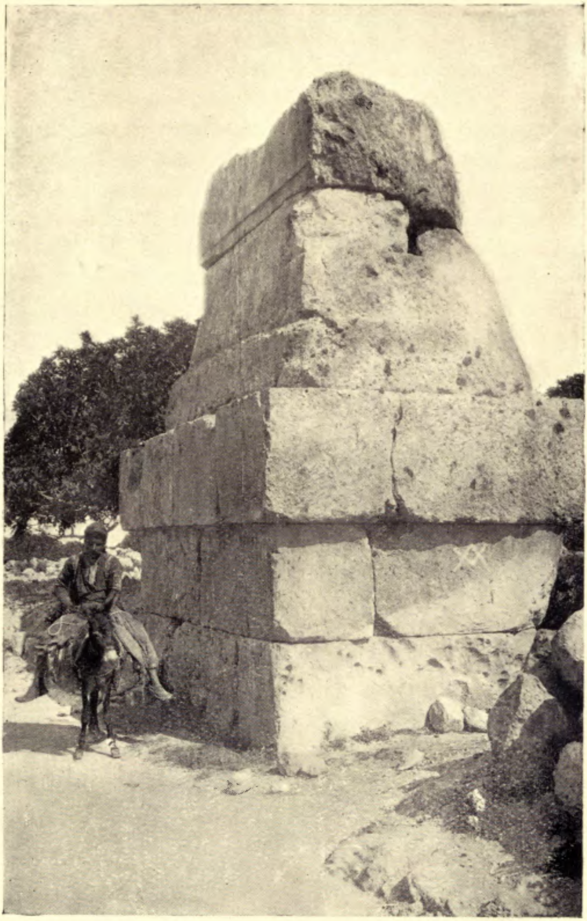
4. they of Tyre brought cedar trees: a regular traffic was kept up between Israel and Phoenicia, and both David and Solomon subsequently made commercial treaties with Hiram, king of Tyre. In exchange for the Tyrian cedars Israel probably sent agricultural produce.

5. David prepared abundantly: these vast preparations for the Temple were in due proportion to David's ambitious architectural schemes; and the whole was prompted by a burning zeal for the glory of Jehovah.

xxii. 6-16. *The Building of the Temple entrusted to Solomon.*

David calls Solomon to a formal audience; he informs him of his early wish to build a Temple to Jehovah, and of God's refusal to permit him, as a man of bloodshed, to execute his schemes; and he now solemnly entrusts the work to his son. Throughout the history the wars undertaken by David for the establishment of the kingdom are looked upon as the wars of Jehovah. No slur is cast upon David, therefore, when he is prohibited from building the Temple; it is merely the seeming incongruity of bloodshed and temple-building that is emphasized; and the two duties are entrusted to men whose circumstances fitted them for the divergent undertakings.

6. Solomon: the name (Heb. *Shelōmō*) means 'rich in peace'; cf. verse 9. David had had little leisure, amid the anxiety of incessant campaigning, to execute the works of peace.



TOMB OF HIRAM

wars: thou shalt not build an house unto my name,
because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in
my sight: behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall 9
be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his
enemies round about: for his name shall be Solomon,
and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his
days: he shall build an house for my name; and he 10
shall be my son, and I will be his father; and I will
establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel for ever.
Now, my son, the LORD be with thee; and prosper thou, 11
and build the house of the LORD thy God, as he hath
spoken concerning thee. Only the LORD give thee 12
discretion and understanding, and give thee charge
concerning Israel; that so thou mayest keep the law of
the LORD thy God. Then shalt thou prosper, if thou 13
observe to do the statutes and the judgements which
the LORD charged Moses with concerning Israel: be
strong, and of good courage; fear not, neither be
dismayed. Now, behold, in my affliction I have pre- 14
pared for the house of the LORD an hundred thousand
talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver;

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12. the law of the LORD thy God: the word 'law' (Heb. *tôrah*) means 'instruction' or 'teaching'; in the mind of the chronicler it would naturally stand for the Deuteronomic code of moral and religious instruction contained in the Hexateuch.

13. The promises and exhortations uttered by David betray a very close familiarity with 'the law of Moses.' It is an accepted belief of modern scholarship that the Mosaic legislation, as we possess its record to-day, had undergone very considerable development between the days of Moses and its final committal to writing; but this in no way conflicts with a belief in its Mosaic basis nor with its Divine sanction.

14. in my affliction: the words probably refer to the king's zealous labours for the future Temple during the unsettled years of his warlike reign. The LXX reads, 'in my poverty.'

an hundred thousand talents of gold. The talent (Heb. *kikkār*) was an ingot or bar of metal; its value can only be

and of brass and iron without weight; for it is in abundance: timber also and stone have I prepared; and
15 thou mayest add thereto. Moreover there are workmen with thee in abundance, hewers and workers of stone and timber, and all men that are cunning in any manner of
16 work; of the gold, the silver, and the brass, and the iron, there is no number; arise and be doing, and the LORD
17 be with thee. David also commanded all the princes of
18 Israel to help Solomon his son, *saying*, Is not the LORD your God with you? and hath he not given you rest on every side? for he hath delivered the inhabitants of the land into mine hand; and the land is subdued before
19 the LORD, and before his people. Now set your heart and your soul to seek after the LORD your God; arise

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approximately determined by the aid of Josephus and of ancient coins and weights. Both the Babylonian and the Phoenician systems of weights seem to have been in use in Palestine, the former system giving to the shekel and talent double the value given by the latter. Moreover, a double scale, heavy and light, seems to have been used in each system, one being twice the weight of the other. Probably the Phoenician system was in use in David's time. If this supposition be correct, we may value the shekel of gold at £2 1*s.* 0*d.*, and the shekel of silver at 2*s.* 9*d.* (heavy scale). Then, reckoning the talent as 3,000 shekels, we find that David's provision amounted to the almost fabulous sum of £615,000,000 of gold and £412,500,000 of silver. If the lighter scale were employed, it would give £307,500,000 of gold and £206,250,000 of silver. Such sums seem incredibly large, and it is quite possible that textual errors have arisen or that some scale of reckoning was used of which we are ignorant. Still, vast treasures were not infrequently stored by Eastern monarchs and plundered by their conquerors, so that even the great sums named above are not wholly incredible.

17-19. *David's Charge to the Princes.* David reminds the princes of the fact that God had given him victory on all sides and had reduced the kingdom to perfect order. He, therefore, exhorts them to support Solomon in carrying out the plans he had formed for the religious life of the nation. The sanctuary is to be built and the sacred Ark safely housed for the honour of Jehovah.

therefore, and build ye the sanctuary of the LORD God, to bring the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and the holy vessels of God, into the house that is to be built to the name of the LORD.

Now David was old and full of days; and he made **23**
Solomon his son king over Israel. And he gathered 2
together all the princes of Israel, with the priests and the

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(2) xxiii–xxvi. *Organization of the Levites.*

These four chapters deal with the leaders of the cultus of the Temple, the Levites, priests, musicians, guardians, and other officials. They are the independent work of the chronicler, save for a few possible later editorial additions. While they purport to represent the state of things extant at the close of David's reign one cannot lose sight of the fact that the chronicler wrote with the contemporary later organization of the Levites in his mind. That is to say, he practically presented what to him were the modern conditions of the Levitic service which had been moulded by David seven hundred years earlier. This will be apparent in our study of the text. But we may even go further and say that, if we are to credit the descriptions of such an historian as Josephus, then the chronicler describes a state of things which was ideal rather than real even in his own day. Our author first gives the numbers and divisions of the Levites (ch. xxiii); then he passes on to a catalogue of the Aaronic priests (ch. xxiv) and the orders of the Temple musicians (ch. xxv); and finally he gives a list of various minor officials of the Temple (ch. xxvi).

xxiii. *Levitical Organization.*

Undoubtedly the chronicler composed this chapter by the aid of documentary material. This material is of such a nature as to vindicate the description of the institutions referred to as Davidic; yet it bears every token of later Levitical writings and reflects the conditions extant in the fourth, rather than the eleventh, century B.C.

1. he made Solomon . . . king: this may be taken to mean that David designated Solomon as his successor. It was at this same time that David fully organized the administration of his kingdom and laid down his regulations for the ecclesiastical affairs of the land under his successors.

xxiii. 2–5. *Census and Division of the Levites.*

2. A matter of such national importance as that which David had in hand necessitated his convening the assembly of representatives of the tribes.

3 Levites. And the Levites were numbered from thirty
years old and upward: and their number by their polls,
4 man by man, was thirty and eight thousand. Of these,
twenty and four thousand were to oversee the work of the
house of the LORD; and six thousand were officers and
5 judges: and four thousand were doorkeepers; and four
thousand praised the LORD with the instruments which I
6 made, *said David*, to praise therewith. And David
divided them into courses according to the sons of Levi;
7 Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Of the Gershonites;
8 Ladan and Shimei. The sons of Ladan; Jehiel the
9 chief, and Zetham, and Joel, three. The sons of Shimei;
Shelomoth, and Haziel, and Haran, three. These were
10 the heads of the fathers' *houses* of Ladan. And the sons
of Shimei; Jahath, Zina, and Jeush, and Beriah. These
11 four were the sons of Shimei. And Jahath was the chief,
and Zizah the second: but Jeush and Beriah had not
many sons; therefore they became a fathers' house in

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3. from thirty years old: probably an error for 'twenty years old': cf. verses 24 and 27. In Num. iv. 3, 23, 35, and 47 we learn that the age at which Levitical service begun was generally thirty, although in Num. viii. 23 we find the age given as twenty. The age-limit seems to have been gradually extended, and, as only a few Levites returned from the Captivity (cf. Ezra ii. 40–42, &c.), the period of service was definitely fixed by Zerubbabel as commencing in the twentieth year (cf. Ezra iii. 8).

4, 5. Of the 38,000 Levites, 24,000 conducted the service of the Temple-cultus, 6,000 administered justice, 4,000 were guardians of the Temple-doors, and 4,000 were musicians.

xxiii. 6–23. *Levitic Households.*

6. The ancient threefold division of the tribe of Levi into Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites is taken as the basis of division for the Levitic service.

(*a*) **7–11.** *The Gershonites.* Two lines of descent from Gershon are given, but the exact relationship of the founders of these fathers' houses is not stated. There seems to be some confusion in the names (cf. Exod. vi. 17, &c.).

one reckoning. The sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, 12
Hebron, and Uzziel, four. The sons of Amram; Aaron 13
and Moses: and Aaron was separated, that he should
sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons, for ever,
to burn incense before the LORD, to minister unto him,
and to bless in his name, for ever. But as for Moses the 14
man of God, his sons were named among the tribe of
Levi. The sons of Moses; Gershom and Eliezer. The 15, 1
sons of Gershom; Shebuel the chief. And the sons of 17
Eliezer were, Rehabiah the chief. And Eliezer had none
other sons; but the sons of Rehabiah were very many.
The sons of Izhar; Shelomith the chief. The sons of 18, 1
Hebron; Jeriah the chief, Amariah the second, Jahaziel
the third, and Jekameam the fourth. The sons of Uzziel; 20
Micah the chief, and Isshiah the second. The sons of 21
Merari Mahli and Mushi. The sons of Mahli; Eleazar
and Kish. And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but 22
daughters only: and their brethren the sons of Kish took
them *to wife*. The sons of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, and 23
Jeremoth, three. [R] These were the sons of Levi after 24

(*b*) **12–20.** *The Kohathites.* Among the four sons of Kohath special prominence is given to the office of Aaron and to the descendants of Moses.

13. that he should sanctify the most holy things, he: R.V. (marg.) reads 'to sanctify as most holy him,' and the clause should be interpreted as referring to Aaron himself, in that the deliberate setting apart of his life for God's service constituted a sanctifying of himself to be 'a most holy one.' In this consecrated life he burned incense, performed the priestly ministry, and pronounced the blessing upon the worshippers.

18. Izhar was a brother of Amram, as also was **Hebron** (verse 19). Thus we have nine houses descended from Kohath, in addition to the house of Aaron.

(*c*) **21–23.** *The Merarites.* Only four houses are traced to Merari.

xxiii. 24–32. *Appendix.* Possibly these nine verses are a later

their fathers' houses, even the heads of the fathers' *houses* of those of them that were counted, in the number of names by their polls, who did the work for the service of the house of the LORD, from twenty years old and upward.
25 For David said, The LORD, the God of Israel, hath given rest unto his people; and he dwelleth in Jerusalem for
26 ever: and also the Levites shall no more have need to carry the tabernacle and all the vessels of it for the service
27 thereof. For by the last words of David the sons of Levi were numbered, from twenty years old and upward.
28 For their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the LORD, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all holy things,
29 even the work of the service of the house of God; for the shewbread also, and for the fine flour for a meal offering, whether of unleavened wafers, or of that which is baked in the pan, or of that which is soaked, and for
30 all manner of measure and size; and to stand every morning to thank and praise the LORD, and likewise at
31 even; and to offer all burnt offerings unto the LORD, in the sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the set feasts, in number according to the ordinance concerning them,

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editorial addition to the record of the Levitic houses, in that the age limit given in verses 24 and 27 conflicts with that given in verse 3.

25, 26. The new conditions of Levitic service in the settled kingdom are given as reasons for the extended service of the tribe.

27. by the last words of David: this cannot be rendered 'according to the later histories of David,' as some suggest: it must refer to the closing acts of his reign.

29. the shewbread: cf. Lev. xxiv. 8 ff.

all manner of measure and size: i. e. to superintend public weights and measures.

30. to thank and praise the LORD: this was the office of the musicians of the Temple, and it is more fully described in ch. xxv.

continually before the LORD: and that they should keep 32
the charge of the tent of meeting, and the charge of the
holy place, and the charge of the sons of Aaron their
brethren, for the service of the house of the LORD.

[Ch] And the courses of the sons of Aaron *were these*. **24**
The sons of Aaron; Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and
Ithamar. But Nadab and Abihu died before their 2
father, and had no children: therefore Eleazar and
Ithamar executed the priest's office. And David with 3
Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons
of Ithamar, divided them according to their ordering in
their service. And there were more chief men found of 4
the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar; and
thus were they divided: of the sons of Eleazar there

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32. The duties of the Levites are finally summarized as constituting a threefold charge—over the Tabernacle, over the Temple, and over the Aaronic priesthood.

xxiv. *The Aaronic Priests.*

Following upon the enumeration of the Levitical houses, which occupied ch. xxiii, we have here the divisions of the Aaronic priesthood. The Aaronites, descended from Eleazar and Ithamar, were divided into twenty-four classes, performing their duties in an order determined by lot. The duties of the Kohathites and Merarites are then stated in some detail. The Davidic origin of the twenty-four courses of the priests is repudiated by certain modern scholars (e. g. de Wette, Herzfeld, &c.), but it is testified to by Josephus; and their pre-exilic existence is borne out by Ezekiel (cf. viii. 16–18) and Nehemiah (cf. xii. 1–7, 12–21).

xxiv. 1–19. *The Twenty-four Courses of the Priests.*

1. The chronicler here takes up anew the subject of the Aaronic priesthood, which he had touched upon in xxiii. 13.

2. Nadab and Abihu: they had perished for their sin of offering 'strange fire.' Cf. Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 61.

3. The ordering of the priestly courses is represented as the joint work of the king and the priestly heads of the two lines of Eleazar and Ithamar, Zadok and Abiathar.

4. The descendants of Eleazar constituted sixteen priestly households or clans; those of Ithamar composed only eight.

were sixteen, heads of fathers' houses; and of the sons of
5 Ithamar, according to their fathers' houses, eight. Thus
were they divided by lot, one sort with another; for there
were princes of the sanctuary, and princes of God, both
6 of the sons of Eleazar, and of the sons of Ithamar. And
Shemaiah the son of Nethanel the scribe, who was of the
Levites, wrote them in the presence of the king, and the
princes, and Zadok the priest, and Ahimelech the son of
Abiathar, and the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the
priests and of the Levites: one fathers' house being
7 taken for Eleazar, and one taken for Ithamar. Now the
first lot came forth to Jehoiarib, the second to Jedaiah;
8, 9 the third to Harim, the fourth to Seorim; the fifth to
10 Malchijah, the sixth to Mijamin; the seventh to Hakkoz,

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5. by lot: the use of the lot was always recognized in the Jewish religious community as a divinely-appointed method of deciding upon doubtful alternatives. It was usually performed by means of coloured stones, one giving an affirmative and the other a negative response to the questioner. The Urim and Thummin were probably of the nature of such oracular stones. In the present case the names of the priestly households would probably be written upon parchment and drawn from the urn.

princes of the sanctuary: the chronicler is recording the historic fact that the honours of the priestly dignity had been enjoyed by descendants of both the sons of Aaron, and, the confusion having so long existed even as far as concerned the high-priesthood, David perpetuated the existing state of things in the case of the minor priestly offices. Eventually the high-priesthood was given over entirely to the house of Eleazar.

6. The verse is somewhat obscure, but the sense seems to be that Shemaiah-ben-Nethanel, a Levitic scribe, recorded the results of the lottery, as a representative was selected alternately from the house of Eleazar and of Ithamar. As the number of the former was double that of the latter we cannot determine in what way the discrepancy was rectified.

7–18. The twenty-four courses are here named according to the Davidic organization. Many of the names are entirely void of interest to us, but it is worth noting that Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, belonged to the eighth class (cf. Luke i. 5). Each course performed the duties of the office for a week in rotation.

the eighth to Abijah; the ninth to Jeshua, the tenth to 11
Shecaniah; the eleventh to Eliashib, the twelfth to Jakim; 12
the thirteenth to Huppah, the fourteenth to Jeshebeab; 13
the fifteenth to Bilgah, the sixteenth to Immer; the 14, 1
seventeenth to Hezir, the eighteenth to Happizzez; the 16
nineteenth to Pethahiah, the twentieth to Jehezkel; the 17
one and twentieth to Jachin, the two and twentieth to
Gamul; the three and twentieth to Delaiah, the four and 18
twentieth to Maaziah. This was the ordering of them in 19
their service, to come into the house of the LORD according
to the ordinance *given* unto them by the hand of
Aaron their father, as the LORD, the God of Israel, had
commanded him.

[R^2] And of the rest of the sons of Levi: of the sons 20
of Amram, Shubael; of the sons of Shubael, Jehdeiah.
Of Rehabiah: of the sons of Rehabiah, Isshiah the chief. 21
Of the Izharites, Shelomoth; of the sons of Shelomoth, 22
Jahath. And the sons *of Hebron*; Jeriah *the chief*, 23
Amariah the second, Jahaziel the third, Jekameam the
fourth. The sons of Uzziel, Micah; of the sons of 24
Micah, Shamir. The brother of Micah, Isshiah: of the 25
sons of Isshiah, Zechariah. The sons of Merari; Mahli 26
and Mushi: the sons of Jaaziah; Beno. The sons of 27
Merari; of Jaaziah, Beno, and Shoham, and Zaccur, and

20–31. *Organization of other Levites.* The section clearly refers only to the Levites who were occupied with the public worship of the Sanctuary, for the singers and other officials are enumerated in ch. xxvi. The catalogue is limited to the families of the lines of Kohath and Merari. The chronicler first names three of the Kohathite chiefs, Jehdeiah, Isshiah, and Jahath, representing the houses of Amram, Rehabiah, and Izhar; and then follow four Kohathite chiefs descended from Hebron (verse 23), although the name Hebron is omitted both in the Hebrew and in the LXX (but cf. xxiii. 19). The Merarite chiefs are then named. And the statement is added that these Levites were organized into classes

28, 29 Ibri. Of Mahli; Eleazar, who had no sons. Of Kish;
30 the sons of Kish, Jerahmeel. And the sons of Mushi;
Mahli, and Eder, and Jerimoth. These were the sons
31 of the Levites after their fathers' houses. These likewise
cast lots even as their brethren the sons of Aaron in the
presence of David the king, and Zadok, and Ahimelech,
and the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the priests and
of the Levites; the fathers' *houses* of the chief even as
those of his younger brother.

25 [Ch] Moreover David and the captains of the host separated for the service certain of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals: and the

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for service in the same way as were the priests. Hence, although only fifteen classes are actually named, it is highly probable that they originally fell into twenty-four courses, the additional nine houses being found among the uncatalogued descendants of the Hebronites and the Mushites. In all probability a later scribe has added the entire section.

xxv. *The Temple Musicians.*

As with the leading priests and with their assistants of ch. xxiv, so the musicians of the Temple were divided into twenty-four courses. The organization of the service of praise in the second Temple was most elaborate and must have been of special interest to the chronicler. But the question again presents itself as to whether he is actually recording the facts of the Davidic organization in the present chapter or whether he describes the later developed organization which sprung from David's early attempt to order the music of the Sanctuary. In the issue it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the chronicler is seeking to read backward from his own day to that of David, instead of placing himself in the genuine historic attitude of reading forward from David's day to his own.

1. The musical guilds contained representatives of each of the great Levitical houses, Asaph being a Gershonite, Heman a Kohathite, and Jeduthun a Merarite.

prophesy with harps: the word is used in its wider sense of voicing inspired thought to the accompaniment of music. Speak-

number of them that did the work according to their
service was: of the sons of Asaph; Zaccur, and Joseph, 2
and Nethaniah, and Asharelah, the sons of Asaph; under
the hand of Asaph, who prophesied after the order of the
king. Of Jeduthun: the sons of Jeduthun; Gedaliah, 3
and Zeri, and Jeshaiah, Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, six;
under the hands of their father Jeduthun with the harp,
who prophesied in giving thanks and praising the LORD.
Of Heman: the sons of Heman; Bukkiah, Mattaniah, 4
Uzziel, Shebuel, and Jerimoth, [R[2]] Hananiah, Hanani,
Eliathah, Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah,
Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth: all these were the sons of 5

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ing under the influence of inspiration seemed closely associated with music in early days, as we see from the case of Elisha, &c.

2. the sons of Asaph: as each class is said to consist of twelve men (cf. verse 9 n.), who are called 'sons' of the leader, it is clear that family relationship is not indicated, but merely membership of the guild in question. Also a comparison of verses 2-5 with verses 9-31 shows that these 'sons' of Asaph, Jeduthun and Heman, mentioned in the earlier verses, were really the leaders of the musical courses and that the later verses give the details of the subdivisions of the guilds.

3. The name of Shimei has fallen out; cf. verse 17.

4. Suspicions regarding the genuineness of this list of the names of the fourteen 'sons' (i. e. guilds) of Heman are aroused by the fact that six of the names, read consecutively as they stand, form a complete Hebrew sentence. These names are 'Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir. Mahazioth,' which literally means:—

'I have magnified and I have exalted help;
Sitting in trouble I have spoken oracles in abundance.'

Now this sentence is either an obscure and ancient prayer which has been mistaken for a list of names by the compiler (the mistake being shared by the LXX and the Syriac translators), or else the compiler has purposely strung together these significant names in such an order as to form a sentence. That the latter case is what has actually occurred is far more probable than that an obscure sentence should have been inserted in a list of names.

5. This verse again is obscure. Not improbably it is a late insertion, added along with verse 4 by a redactor. As it stands it

Heman the king's seer in the words of God, to lift up the
horn. And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three
6 daughters. [**Ch**] All these were under the hands of their
father for song in the house of the LORD, with cymbals,
psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God;
Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman being under the order of
7 the king. And the number of them, with their brethren
that were instructed in singing unto the LORD, even all
that were skilful, was two hundred fourscore and eight.
8 And they cast lots for their charges, all alike, as well the
9 small as the great, the teacher as the scholar. Now the
first lot came forth for Asaph to Joseph: the second to
Gedaliah; he and his brethren and sons were twelve:
10 the third to Zaccur, his sons and his brethren, twelve:
11 the fourth to Izri, his sons and his brethren, twelve:
12 the fifth to Nethaniah, his sons and his brethren, twelve:
13 the sixth to Bukkiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve:
14 the seventh to Jesharelah, his sons and his brethren,

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implies that Heman was both musician and seer and that God had honoured him (lifted up his horn) in his gifts and in his sons.

6. This verse stands as an introduction to the detailed enumeration which follows. Under the king there came the three chief musicians, and under them were the guilds.

7. the number of them . . . was two hundred fourscore and eight: comparing this statement with xxiii. 5 we gather that of the 4,000 Levites appointed by David as musicians only 288 skilled men were selected to form the twenty-four choirs. The others would be learners. But as all cast lots for their order in the courses (cf. verse 8), it appears that the remainder of the 4,000 were under the charge of the 288, by whom they were probably trained and whom they would assist when duly qualified.

9–31. As a result of the casting of the lots, the first, third, fifth, and seventh places fell to Asaphites; the second, fourth, eighth, twelfth, and fourteenth fell to Jeduthunites; and the sixth, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, and the last ten places fell to Hemanites.

9. On the analogy of the following verses we should certainly restore the words 'he and his sons and their brethren, twelve' at the close of the verse. At the same time we must read in the first

twelve: the eighth to Jeshaiah, his sons and his brethren, 15
twelve: the ninth to Mattaniah, his sons and his brethren, 16
twelve: the tenth to Shimei, his sons and his brethren, 17
twelve: the eleventh to Azarel, his sons and his brethren, 18
twelve: the twelfth to Hashabiah, his sons and his 19
brethren, twelve: for the thirteenth, Shubael, his sons 20
and his brethren, twelve: for the fourteenth, Mattithiah, 21
his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the fifteenth to 22
Jeremoth, his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the six- 23
teenth to Hananiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve:
for the seventeenth to Joshbekashah, his sons and his 24
brethren, twelve: for the eighteenth to Hanani, his sons 25
and his brethren, twelve: for the nineteenth to Mallothi, 26
his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the twentieth to 27
Eliathah, his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the one 28
and twentieth to Hothir, his sons and his brethren,
twelve: for the two and twentieth to Giddalti, his sons 29
and his brethren, twelve: for the three and twentieth to 30
Mahazioth, his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the 31
four and twentieth to Romamti-ezer, his sons and his
brethren, twelve.

For the courses of the doorkeepers: of the Korahites; **26**

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clause of the verse, 'to Asaph and to Joseph,' which is required both for the sake of symmetry and also to make up the correct number of 288.

xxvi. *Various Temple Officers.*

The catalogues of Levitic officers are brought to a close with lists of the door-keepers, treasury officials, and minor officers.

xxvi. 1–19. *The Door-keepers.* There is difficulty in determining the number of the Temple door-keepers. In this passage 93 are enumerated, of the descendants of Korah and Merari. In xxiii. 5 it is stated that David appointed 4,000 door-keepers; whence it seems that they were under the charge of the 93 here named. But in ix. 22 it is stated that David appointed 212 door-keepers, and one only reaches an explanation of such a discrepancy by referring the appointments to different periods.

Meshelemiah the son of Kore, of the sons of Asaph.
2 And Meshelemiah had sons; Zechariah the firstborn,
Jediael the second, Zebadiah the third, Jathniel the
3 fourth; Elam the fifth, Jehohanan the sixth, Eliehoenai
4 the seventh. And Obed-edom had sons; Shemaiah the
firstborn, Jehozabad the second, Joah the third, and
5 Sacar the fourth, and Nethanel the fifth; Ammiel the
sixth, Issachar the seventh, Peullethai the eighth: for
6 God blessed him. Also unto Shemaiah his son were
sons born, that ruled over the house of their father: for
7 they were mighty men of valour. The sons of Shemaiah;
Othni, and Rephael, and Obed, Elzabad, whose brethren
8 were valiant men, Elihu, and Semachiah. All these were
of the sons of Obed-edom: they and their sons and their
brethren, able men in strength for the service; threescore
9 and two of Obed-edom. And Meshelemiah had sons
10 and brethren, valiant men, eighteen. Also Hosah, of
the children of Merari, had sons; Shimri the chief, (for
though he was not the firstborn, yet his father made him
11 chief;) Hilkiah the second, Tebaliah the third, Zechariah
the fourth: all the sons and brethren of Hosah were
12 thirteen. Of these were the courses of the doorkeepers,
even of the chief men, having charges like as their breth-
13 ren, to minister in the house of the LORD. And they
cast lots, as well the small as the great, according to their
14 fathers' houses, for every gate. And the lot eastward fell

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1. of the sons of Asaph: we must read Ebiasaph, as in ix. 19 (cf. LXX (B), which reads Abia Saphar). Asaph was a Gershonite.

4. Obed-edom (cf. note in xiii. 13 and xvi. 38): he is here reckoned as a member of the Korahites. His eight sons and six grandsons are specially mentioned as men of strength and honour.

12. the courses of the doorkeepers: the charge of the Temple gates, which faced the points of the compass, was assigned by lot to their guardians; twenty-four posts had to be provided for (verse 13).

to Shelemiah. Then for Zechariah his son, a discreet
counsellor, they cast lots; and his lot came out northward.
To Obed-edom southward; and to his sons the store- 15
house. To Shuppim and Hosah westward, by the gate 16
of Shallecheth, at the causeway that goeth up, ward
against ward. Eastward were six Levites, northward four 17
a day, southward four a day, and for the storehouse two
and two. For Parbar westward, four at the causeway, 18
and two at Parbar. These were the courses of the 19
doorkeepers; of the sons of the Korahites, and of the
sons of Merari.

And of the Levites, Ahijah was over the treasuries 20

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15. the storehouse seems to have stood in the outer court of the Temple near the southern entrance and to have been used for the storage of the Temple goods.

16. To Shuppim: the word is not a proper name, but an unintelligible intrusion which must be deleted. It probably arose by the repetition of the last word of the preceding verse (Heb. *'Aṣuppim*).

the gate of Shallecheth: nothing is known of this gate, which is here said to have been situated to the west of the Temple. It is not unlikely that the word is a scribal error for 'the chambers' (Heb. *Shākoth*).

at the causeway: this was evidently the path leading from the lower city to the hill on which the Temple stood.

18. Parbar: the word is a crux of criticism. Its repetition in this one verse is unaccountable. The versions give us little help. The LXX presents a simpler text and evidently did not know the word. The Syriac transliterates. The later Latin Vulgate makes a guess and writes 'in the cells of the janitors.' Some see in the word a connexion with the Persian word 'parwar,' which means 'a balcony,' or 'an open gallery.' Probably it indicates some outbuilding to the west of the Temple.

xxvi. 20–28. *Treasury Officials.*

20. of the Levites, Ahijah: the abruptness of this opening clause, coming as it does after several chapters upon Levitical organization, and introducing Ahijah without mention of his family connexion, is suspicious. We prefer the reading of the LXX: 'And the Levites, their brethren, over the treasuries,' &c., as a more suitable superscription; and the error is readily

of the house of God, and over the treasuries of the
21 dedicated things. The sons of Ladan; the sons of
the Gershonites belonging to Ladan, the heads of the
fathers' *houses* belonging to Ladan the Gershonite;
22 Jehieli. The sons of Jehieli; Zetham, and Joel his
brother, over the treasuries of the house of the LORD.
23 Of the Amramites, of the Izharites, of the Hebronites,
24 of the Uzzielites: and Shebuel the son of Gershom, the
25 son of Moses, was ruler over the treasuries. And his
brethren; of Eliezer *came* Rehabiah his son, and Jeshaiah
his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelo-
26 moth his son. This Shelomoth and his brethren were
over all the treasuries of the dedicated things, which
David the king, and the heads of the fathers' *houses*, the
captains over thousands and hundreds, and the captains
27 of the host, had dedicated. Out of the spoil won in
battles did they dedicate to repair the house of the LORD.
28 And all that Samuel the seer, and Saul the son of Kish,
and Abner the son of Ner, and Joab the son of Zeruiah,
had dedicated; whosoever had dedicated any thing,
it was under the hand of Shelomoth, and of his brethren.

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accounted for by the resemblance between 'Ahijah' and 'their brethren' (Heb. *aḥēhem*).

21, 22. The verses are obscure, but the sense is clearly that the treasuries of Jehovah's house were entrusted to Zetham and Joel, chiefs of the house of Jehieli, which traced its descent from Gershom through Ladan.

23, 24. The meaning is that from among the four branches of the family of Kohath, Shebuel was selected for the charge of the other treasuries. **Shebuel** is styled 'ruler over the treasuries,' and the word employed (Heb. *nāgīa*) implies that he held the place of chief treasury-official, superintending the Levites who had charge of the two treasuries. This fact has often been overlooked because Shebuel's office is described between those of the under-treasurers instead of at the outset.

25–28. Shelomoth and his brethren: they were related to Shebuel and had the charge of all consecrated offerings, and also

Of the Izharites, Chenaniah and his sons were for the 29
outward business over Israel, for officers and judges. Of 30
the Hebronites, Hashabiah and his brethren, men of
valour, a thousand and seven hundred, had the oversight
of Israel beyond Jordan westward; for all the business of
the LORD, and for the service of the king. Of the 31
Hebronites was Jerijah the chief, even of the Hebronites,
according to their generations by fathers' *houses*. In the
fortieth year of the reign of David they were sought for,
and there were found among them mighty men of valour
at Jazer of Gilead. And his brethren, men of valour, 32
were two thousand and seven hundred, heads of fathers'
houses, whom king David made overseers over the
Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of the
Manassites, for every matter pertaining to God, and for
the affairs of the king.

Now the children of Israel after their number, *to wit*, **27**

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of the spoils of war accumulated by David, Saul, and the military chieftains, for Temple use.

xxvi. 29-32. *External Officials.* In the enumeration of these officials, who performed the duties of scribes and judges throughout the country, it is noticeable that they represent the houses of the Kohathites instead of being drawn from all the families of Levi, and that their number only amounts to 4,400 instead of the 6,000 mentioned in xxiii. 4. It is, therefore, evident that we have here an imperfect list. It is also somewhat curious that 2,700 should be assigned to the districts east of Jordan, and only 1,700 to the western districts.

29. Chenaniah: cf. note on xv. 22.

31. This verse is of the nature of a parenthesis, having reference to the Levites mentioned in verse 32.

32. heads of fathers' houses: the words must be understood of individuals, not of clans, for a single branch of the family of Hebron could not possibly contain 2,700 families, nor could so many families be required for the two and a half tribes, while only 1,700 individuals were required for the ten and a half tribes.

(3) xxvii. *David's Army and Administration.*

The chapter falls into four divisions, and describes the organiza-

the heads of fathers' *houses* and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and their officers that served the king, in any matter of the courses which came in and went out month by month throughout all the months of the year, of every course were twenty and four thousand.
2 [Ch[2]] Over the first course for the first month was Jashobeam the son of Zabdiel: and in his course were
3 twenty and four thousand. *He was* of the children of Perez, the chief of all the captains of the host for the first
4 month. And over the course of the second month was Dodai the Ahohite, and his course; and Mikloth the ruler: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
5 The third captain of the host for the third month was Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada the priest, chief: and in his
6 course were twenty and four thousand. This is that Benaiah, who was the mighty man of the thirty, and over the thirty: and *of* his course was Ammizabad his son.
7 The fourth *captain* for the fourth month was Asahel

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tion completed by David to render his kingdom secure and stable. The first section (verses 1–15) refers to the army and is indebted to 2 Sam. xxiv. 8 ff. The three following sections treat of the civil administration.

xxvii. 1–15. *Military Organization.* David organized his army on the basis of successive periods of service. The twelve army corps performed military service for a month in rotation. We may probably refer the scheme to the period of the unfortunate census.

1. The verse forms a somewhat weighty introduction, but its aim is to indicate that the organization was effected with reference to the number of men capable of bearing arms throughout the country.

2, 3. Jashobeam: cf. 1 Chron. xi. 11; he commanded the first army corps of 24,000.

5–15. Benaiah: cf. 1 Chron. xi. 22. **Asahel:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 26; he was slain some years before the organization of the army here narrated, which fact accounts for the reference to Zebadiah; but his name continued to be used in the army either

the brother of Joab, and Zebadiah his son after him:
and in his course were twenty and four thousand. The 8
fifth captain for the fifth month was Shamhuth the
Izrahite: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
The sixth *captain* for the sixth month was Ira the son of 9
Ikkesh the Tekoite: and in his course were twenty and
four thousand. The seventh *captain* for the seventh 10
month was Helez the Pelonite, of the children of
Ephraim: and in his course were twenty and four
thousand. The eighth *captain* for the eighth month was 11
Sibbecai the Hushathite, of the Zerahites: and in his
course were twenty and four thousand. The ninth 12
captain for the ninth month was Abiezer the Anathothite,
of the Benjamites: and in his course were twenty and
four thousand. The tenth *captain* for the tenth month 13
was Maharai the Netophathite, of the Zerahites: and in
his course were twenty and four thousand. The eleventh 14
captain for the eleventh month was Benaiah the Pirathonite,
of the children of Ephraim: and in his course
were twenty and four thousand. The twelfth *captain* for 15
the twelfth month was Heldai the Netophathite, of Othniel:
and in his course were twenty and four thousand.

[Ch] Furthermore over the tribes of Israel: of the 16
Reubenites was Eliezer the son of Zichri the ruler: of
the Simeonites, Shephatiah the son of Maacah: of Levi, 17
Hashabiah the son of Kemuel: of Aaron, Zadok: of 18

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honoris causa, or because a successor assumed it. **Shamhuth:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 27. **Ira:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 28. **Helez:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 27. **Sibbecai:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 29. **Abiezer:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 28. **Maharai:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 30. **Benaiah:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 31. **Heldai:** cf. 1 Chron. xi. 30.

xxvii. 16-24. *Tribal Governors.* David appointed rulers over all the tribes except Gad and Asher, for the omission of which we are unable to account.

Judah, Elihu, one of the brethren of David: of Issachar,
19 Omri the son of Michael: of Zebulun, Ishmaiah the son
20 of Obadiah: of Naphtali, Jeremoth the son of Azriel: of
the children of Ephraim, Hoshea the son of Azaziah:
of the half tribe of Manasseh, Joel the son of Pedaiah:
21 of the half *tribe* of Manasseh in Gilead, Iddo the son of
22 Zechariah: of Benjamin, Jaasiel the son of Abner: of
Dan, Azarel the son of Jeroham. These were the
23 captains of the tribes of Israel. But David took not the
number of them from twenty years old and under:
because the LORD had said he would increase Israel like
24 to the stars of heaven. Joab the son of Zeruiah began to
number, but finished not; and there came wrath for this
upon Israel; neither was the number put into the
account in the chronicles of king David.

25 And over the king's treasuries was Azmaveth the son

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17. Zadok: the high-priest of Eleazar's line had command of the entire priesthood.

20, 21. Manasseh: as the tribe was divided territorially it received two governors.

23, 24. The verses refer back to the military organization of verses 1–15. They imply that the object of David's census had been merely to ascertain the number of males above twenty years of age capable of bearing arms. The tragic close of the census is mentioned as the reason why no numerical details can be given by the chronicler.

xxvii. 25–31. *The Royal Domains.* The royal domains and treasures seem to have been very considerable. The treasures, under the care of Azmaveth and Jonathan, were stored in the capital and at various places in the provinces. The numerous flocks and herds, and the considerable extent of cultivated land, were put into the hands of ten skilled agriculturists and herdsmen who were of both Hebrew and alien extraction.

25. Azmaveth: the name should probably be read with different vowels as Azmôth. He was entrusted with the private possessions of the king which were in the royal palace. This is evident from the fact that all the other possessions are definitely located beyond the capital.

of Adiel: and over the treasuries in the fields, in the
cities, and in the villages, and in the castles, was Jonathan
the son of Uzziah: and over them that did the work of 26
the field for tillage of the ground was Ezri the son
of Chelub: and over the vineyards was Shimei the 27
Ramathite: and over the increase of the vineyards for
the wine cellars was Zabdi the Shiphmite: and over the 28
olive trees and the sycomore trees that were in the
lowland was Baal-hanan the Gederite: and over the
cellars of oil was Joash: and over the herds that fed 29
in Sharon was Shitrai the Sharonite: and over the herds
that were in the valleys was Shaphat the son of Adlai:
and over the camels was Obil the Ishmaelite: and over 30
the asses was Jehdeiah the Meronothite: and over the 31
flocks was Jaziz the Hagrite. All these were the rulers
of the substance which was king David's.

Also Jonathan David's uncle was a counsellor, a man 32
of understanding, and a scribe: and Jehiel the son of
Hachmoni was with the king's sons: and Ahithophel was 33

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28. in the lowland: literally 'in the Shephēlah,' i. e. in the low, undulating hill-country of Judah bordering on the maritime plain.

29. in Sharon: i. e. the fertile and luxuriant plain bordering the Mediterranean between Mount Carmel and the Philistine lowlands.

xxvii. 32-34. *David's Privy Council.* King David was surrounded by a number of trusted councillors, most of whom have already been named among his heroes.

32. Jonathan: this may have been David's nephew (cf. 1 Chron. xx. 7), as the word translated 'uncle' (Heb. *dōd*) is used very loosely to signify a near relative.

Jehiel was in charge of the young princes of the royal household.

33. Ahithophel: the councillor who subsequently deserted David during Absalom's rebellion and then took his own life; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 31, xvi. 23—xvii. 23.

the king's counsellor: and Hushai the Archite was the
34 king's friend: and after Ahithophel was Jehoiada the son of Benaiah, and Abiathar: and the captain of the king's host was Joab.

28 And David assembled all the princes of Israel, the princes of the tribes, and the captains of the companies that served the king by course, and the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, and the rulers over all the substance and possessions of the king and of his sons, with the officers, and the mighty men, even all the

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Hushai: the councillor who remained loyal to the king and frustrated the advice of Ahithophel; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16, xvii.

34. after Ahithophel: probably the word means 'as his successor.'

Jehoiada: son of the hero Benaiah, and evidently named after his grandfather; cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 17.

Abiathar: presumably the high-priest; cf. 1 Chron. xv. 11.

(4) xxviii–xxix. *David's last Acts and Death.*

The chronicler here takes up the threads of the narrative which have been dropped since ch. xxii. The long reign of David is crowned by a fitting close. It had been his lot, under a constant sense of his dependence upon Jehovah, to establish his kingdom politically, materially, and ecclesiastically. As the end approached he determined to make all arrangements for the succession. Summoning the officials and the national representatives to Jerusalem, he solemnly designated Solomon as his successor. After exhorting his son in words of genuine piety, he entrusted to him the plans for the Temple he was to build. In conclusion he bequeathed all his personal treasure to the fulfilment of the dream of his latter days—the erection of the Temple. In response to the king's appeal, the princes of the people add their offerings to those of the king. Prayer is then offered by the aged monarch, numerous sacrifices are offered to Jehovah, and Solomon is again anointed as the king-elect.

xxviii. 1–10. *David publicly settles the Succession.*

1. The assembly convened by David was thoroughly representative and included many of the officials named in the preceding chapters.

officers: i. e. the court chamberlains.

mighty men of valour, unto Jerusalem. Then David the 2
king stood up upon his feet, and said, Hear me, my
brethren, and my people: as for me, it was in mine heart
to build an house of rest for the ark of the covenant of
the LORD, and for the footstool of our God; and I had
made ready for the building. But God said unto me, 3
Thou shalt not build an house for my name, because thou
art a man of war, and hast shed blood. Howbeit the 4
LORD, the God of Israel, chose me out of all the house of
my father to be king over Israel for ever: for he hath
chosen Judah to be prince; and in the house of Judah,
the house of my father; and among the sons of my father
he took pleasure in me to make me king over all Israel:
and of all my sons, (for the LORD hath given me many 5
sons,) he hath chosen Solomon my son to sit upon the
throne of the kingdom of the LORD over Israel. And he 6
said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build my house
and my courts: for I have chosen him to be my son, and
I will be his father. And I will establish his kingdom 7
for ever, if he be constant to do my commandments and

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2. David . . . stood up: probably he had hitherto sat or reclined owing to the weakness due to his advanced years. The speech here given recapitulates what we already know. It is pregnant with deep religious feeling.

the ark of the covenant of the LORD: this is the full designation of the later Deuteronomists.

the footstool of our God: i. e. the lid or covering of the Ark upon which were enthroned the cherubim.

4, 5. David recognizes an unmistakable choice of God, firstly in his own selection to the throne as a representative of Judah, and secondly in the appointment of Solomon to be his successor. The theocratic character of the monarchy is clearly stated in the phrase with which David describes it—'the throne of the kingdom of the Lord.'

6, 7. The divine promise and the condition of obedience upon which it depended are recorded in xvii. 11 and xxii. 10, as well as in 1 Kings iii. 14, ix. 4.

8 judgements, as at this day. Now therefore, in the sight
of all Israel, the congregation of the LORD, and in the
audience of our God, observe and seek out all the commandments of the LORD your God: that ye may possess
this good land, and leave it for an inheritance to your
9 children after you for ever. And thou, Solomon my son,
know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a
perfect heart and with a willing mind: for the LORD
searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found
of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for
10 ever. Take heed now; for the LORD hath chosen thee
to build an house for the sanctuary: be strong, and do it.

11 Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of
the porch *of the temple*, and of the houses thereof, and of
the treasuries thereof, and of the upper rooms thereof,
and of the inner chambers thereof, and of the place of
12 the mercy-seat: and the pattern of all that he had by the
spirit, for the courts of the house of the LORD, and for all

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7. as at this day: i. e. according to the religious knowledge and practice then prevalent.

8. in the audience of our God: David appeals to God as witnessing the ceremony in progress before the assembled representatives of Israel.

9. David forcibly reminds Solomon of the omniscience of Jehovah and of the fact that the divine promises and blessings are invariably conditioned by obedience.

10. be strong, and do it: the charge to Solomon closes with words of cheer and exhortation.

xxviii. 11–19. *The Temple Plans.* David had already matured the plans for the Temple, both as regards its architecture and its furniture. These he now solemnly delivers to Solomon.

12. by the spirit: i. e. by the Spirit of God. Skill in handicraft was considered to be the gift of God; cf. Exod. xxxv. 31; and, similarly, the wisdom which enabled David to draw up the plans for the Temple is recognized as the outcome of the guidance of God.

the chambers round about, for the treasuries of the house
of God, and for the treasuries of the dedicated things:
also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for 13
all the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and
for all the vessels of service in the house of the LORD: of 14
gold by weight for the *vessels of* gold, for all vessels of
every kind of service; *of silver* for all the vessels of silver
by weight, for all vessels of every kind of service: by 15
weight also for the candlesticks of gold, and for the lamps
thereof, of gold, by weight for every candlestick and for
the lamps thereof: and for the candlesticks of silver, *silver*
by weight for *every* candlestick and for the lamps thereof,
according to the use of every candlestick: and the gold 16
by weight for the tables of shewbread, for every table;
and silver for the tables of silver: and the fleshhooks, 17
and the basons, and the cups, of pure gold: and for the
golden bowls by weight for every bowl; and for the silver
bowls by weight for every bowl: and for the altar of 18
incense refined gold by weight: and gold for the pattern
of the chariot, *even* the cherubim, that spread out *their
wings*, and covered the ark of the covenant of the LORD.
All this, *said David*, have I been made to understand in 19
writing from the hand of the LORD, even all the works of

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13. for the courses of the priests and the Levites: due provision was made within the precincts of the Temple enclosure, i. e. rooms were provided for their lodging and their official duties.

18. the chariot, even **the cherubim:** the two words are in apposition in that the cherubim were not placed beneath the chariot as were the wheels in Ezekiel's theophany, but constituted the chariot where God's glory appeared. The word 'cherub' is of disputed etymology, but it denotes a winged figure of human shape and of the higher order of angels.

19. The narrative is again in the first person and the speaker is evidently David. The king declares that the plans were not of

20 this pattern. And David said to Solomon his son, Be strong and of good courage, and do it: fear not, nor be dismayed: for the LORD God, even my God, is with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, until all the work for the service of the house of the LORD be finished.
21 And, behold, there are the courses of the priests and the Levites, for all the service of the house of God: and there shall be with thee in all manner of work every willing man that hath skill, for any manner of service: also the captains and all the people will be wholly at thy commandment.

29 And David the king said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath chosen, is yet young and tender, and the work is great: for the palace
2 is not for man, but for the LORD God. Now I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God the gold for the *things of* gold, and the silver for the *things of* silver, and the brass for the *things of* brass, the iron for the *things of* iron, and wood for the *things of*

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his own invention, but had been produced through the influence of Jehovah upon him.

20, 21. David concludes his charge to Solomon with words full of encouragement. He reminds him that the God whom he had found in his own personal experience (cf. 'even my God') to be all-sufficient was with him, and that he could count upon the willing co-operation of all classes of the Hebrew community.

xxix. 1–9. *Donations to the Temple Treasures.* David follows his exhortation to Solomon by addressing the assembled princes concerning his personal preparations and bounty towards the future Temple; he exhorts them to freely consecrate their substance to the work, and his appeal is met by an immediate response.

1. the palace: Jehovah was recognized as the King of Israel in this magnificent housing of the Ark of the Covenant.

2. with all my might: David's preparations for the Temple were enthusiastic and ceaseless.

wood; onyx stones, and *stones* to be set, stones for inlaid
work, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious
stones, and marble stones in abundance. Moreover also, 3
because I have set my affection to the house of my God,
seeing that I have a treasure of mine own of gold and
silver, I give it unto the house of my God, over and above
all that I have prepared for the holy house; even three 4
thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven
thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of
the houses withal: of gold for the *things of* gold, and of 5
silver for the *things of* silver, and for all manner of work *to
be made* by the hands of artificers. Who then offereth willingly to consecrate himself this day unto the LORD?
Then the princes of the fathers' *houses*, and the princes of 6
the tribes of Israel, and the captains of thousands and of
hundreds, with the rulers over the king's work, offered
willingly; and they gave for the service of the house of 7
God of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand darics,

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onyx stones: i. e. the green beryl, of the colour of leek.

marble stones: i. e. white marble.

3. David declares that he will contribute largely from his private treasures in addition to his official supply of material.

4. The royal donations were most lavish. The gold seems to have reached the almost fabulous value of £13,000,000, and the silver probably about £2,500,000. Such sums appear incredibly large, and should be read in the light of the chronicler's tendency to habitually exaggerate when giving numerical details.

5. to consecrate himself: lit. 'to fill his hand to-day to Jehovah.'

7. The offering of gold made by the princes and captains is reckoned at a sum which must have equalled twenty-two and a half millions sterling (in talents).

and ten thousand darics: the phrase may be a late insertion in the text from a marginal valuation of the contributions of gold, in which case they would prove that the lighter system of weights was employed; or, on the other hand, they may refer to additional gifts in coin. But in any case the gifts could not have been actually made in darics, for the daric was a Persian coin, unknown in David's day, valued at £1 2*s.* 6*d.* The use of the word is

and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen
thousand talents, and of iron a hundred thousand talents.
8 And they with whom *precious* stones were found gave
them to the treasure of the house of the LORD, under the
9 hand of Jehiel the Gershonite. Then the people rejoiced,
for that they offered willingly, because with a perfect
heart they offered willingly to the LORD: and David the
10 king also rejoiced with great joy. Wherefore David
blessed the LORD before all the congregation: and David
said, Blessed be thou, O LORD, the God of Israel our
11 father, for ever and ever. Thine, O LORD, is the
greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory,
and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the
earth *is thine*; thine is the kingdom, O LORD, and thou
12 art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour
come of thee, and thou rulest over all; and in thine hand
is power and might; and in thine hand it is to make
13 great, and to give strength unto all. Now therefore, our
14 God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But
who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able
to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of
15 thee, and of thine own have we given thee. For we are
strangers before thee, and sojourners, as all our fathers

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usually regarded as one of the many proofs that the chronicler wrote after the Persian period.

8. Jehiel: cf. 1 Chron. xxvi. 21 ff.

xxix. 10–19. *David's Thanksgiving.* David closes the representative assembly with a prayer which voices his thankfulness at the assured success of his plans for the national Temple. His joy is unbounded at the realization of the deepest desire of his heart, and the most spiritual of all his ambitions for his people.

10–12. The goodness and power of Jehovah are extolled by the aged king, who freely acknowledges Him as the King omnipotent.

13. we thank thee: the participle is used in the Hebrew as expressing the continuance of an enduring praise.

15. The verse is an echo of Psalms xxxix. 13 and xc. 9.

were: our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is
no abiding. O LORD our God, all this store that we have 16
prepared to build thee an house for thine holy name
cometh of thine hand, and is all thine own. I know also, 17
my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in
uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of mine heart
I have willingly offered all these things: and now have I
seen with joy thy people, which are present here, to offer
willingly unto thee. O LORD, the God of Abraham, of 18
Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers, keep this for ever in the
imagination of the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and
prepare their heart unto thee: and give unto Solomon 19
my son a perfect heart, to keep thy commandments, thy
testimonies, and thy statutes, and to do all these things, and
to build the palace, for the which I have made provision.
And David said to all the congregation, Now bless the 20
LORD your God. And all the congregation blessed the
LORD, the God of their fathers, and bowed down their
heads, and worshipped the LORD, and the king. And 21

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16. God is recognized as the Giver of all, and David admits that he is but the steward of all his material possessions.

17. In the sight of God the king can testify to the single-heartedness of himself and his people in the offering of their substance for the glory of Jehovah.

18. prepare their heart unto thee: i. e. guide them ever into such an attitude towards Thyself.

xxix. 20–22. *The Public Ceremony.* At David's bidding the assembly engaged in the worship of God. On the following day a great religious festival is held. At its close the assembled princes anoint Solomon as king and reconsecrate Zadok as high-priest.

20. worshipped the LORD, and the king: the chronicler certainly does not imply that adoration was addressed to David. There was no trace of idolatry in the later Judaism which he everywhere reflects. Deep homage was paid to the aged king, but it was as far removed as possible from the adoration rendered to the Roman emperors of a later period.

they sacrificed sacrifices unto the LORD, and offered
burnt offerings unto the LORD, on the morrow after that
day, even a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, and a
thousand lambs, with their drink offerings, and sacrifices
22 in abundance for all Israel; and did eat and drink before
the LORD on that day with great gladness. And they
made Solomon the son of David king the second time,
and anointed him unto the LORD to be prince, and Zadok
23 to be priest. Then Solomon sat on the throne of the
LORD as king instead of David his father, and prospered;
24 and all Israel obeyed him. And all the princes, and the
mighty men, and all the sons likewise of king David,
25 submitted themselves unto Solomon the king. And the
LORD magnified Solomon exceedingly in the sight of all
Israel, and bestowed upon him such royal majesty as had
not been on any king before him in Israel.

26 Now David the son of Jesse reigned over all Israel.
27 And the time that he reigned over Israel was forty years;
seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three
28 *years* reigned he in Jerusalem. And he died in a good
old age, full of days, riches, and honour: and Solomon

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22. the second time: for the first consecration of Solomon cf. 1 Chron. xxxiii. 1; 1 Kings i. 32 ff.

Zadok: it is interesting to note the part which the popular representatives played, not only in regard to the royal succession, but also in their sanction of the high-priesthood.

xxix. 23–30. *Solomon's Succession.*

23. on the throne of the LORD: a phrase by which the chronicler expresses the sanctity of the Davidic monarchy.

25. the LORD magnified Solomon: the historian views the reign of David as closing with a gorgeous sunset, while that of Solomon opens with a brilliant sunrise.

27. in Hebron: this is one of the few references of the chronicler to the early reign of David; the seven years in Hebron are passed over in silence.

his son reigned in his stead. Now the acts of David the 29
king, first and last, behold, they are written in the history
of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the
prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer; with all his 30
reign and his might, and the times that went over him,
and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the countries.

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29. The chronicler closes his account of the reign of David with a reference to his sources of information. For a discussion of the subject, see Introd. § iv.

over all the kingdoms: refers to the neighbouring states with which David came in contact.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF

THE CHRONICLES

1 [Ch] AND Solomon the son of David was strengthened

THIRD PART.

i–ix. The Reign of Solomon.

IN his treatment of the reign of Solomon the chronicler gives yet further indication of the special aim which determines his selection of material. Introducing the reader to the reign of Israel's most magnificent ruler by an account of the inaugural sacrifices at Gibeon and a brief reference to his extraordinary power and wealth, he devotes the greater part of his space to the central theme of the building of the Temple and the organization of its affairs. This is followed by a summary of Solomon's other architectural achievements, a description of his grandeur, and an account of his further ecclesiastical arrangements.

The materials for this narrative have been taken very largely from sources identical with those of 1 Kings i to xi; but the chronicler's work is remarkable both for its omissions and for its additions thereto. He undoubtedly represents Solomon in a different light from that in which he stands in the earlier history. To the author of 1 Kings, Solomon was a ruler of genius and initiative, anxious for the aggrandizement of himself and of his country. He depicts the unfolding civilization and the growing splendour of his age, and shows how the king's tastes were gratified by his costly building operations. But he also records his marriage alliance with an alien princess, his prolific idolatry, and his political troubles.

The chronicler depicts Solomon in a manner which would leave an altogether erroneous impression, did we not possess the supplementary details of 1 Kings. Omitting the history of Adonijah's conspiracy, the Egyptian marriage, the splendour of the court, the building of the palace, the growth of royal idolatry, and the numerous political dissensions, he shows Solomon as, *par excellence*, the Temple-Builder.

in his kingdom, and the LORD his God was with him, and
magnified him exceedingly. And Solomon spake unto all 2
Israel, to the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and
to the judges, and to every prince in all Israel, the heads of
the fathers' *houses*. So Solomon, and all the congregation 3
with him, went to the high place that was at Gibeon; for

So far as the chronicler was using 1 Kings for his source of information he was employing a composite narrative. In the *Century Bible* on 'Kings' (Skinner) the various constituents of this portion of 1 Kings are thus named:—(1) Annals of the reign of Solomon; (2) Description of the Temple and the utensils of worship; (3) Narratives of incidents in Solomon's reign; (4) Deuteronomic additions.

(1) i. *Commencement of Solomon's Reign.*

i. 1–13. *Solomon at Gibeon.* No sooner was Solomon safely established in his kingdom than he convened a great national religious assembly at the shrine of Gibeon. A solemn holocaust was offered upon the brazen altar before the ancient Tabernacle; and during the following night Jehovah appeared to Solomon in a dream and granted his request for the wisdom requisite for the discharge of the royal office. The material for the narrative is found in 1 Kings, thus:—

2 Chron. i. 3^a = 1 Kings iii. 4^a
„ i. 6^b–13 = „ iii. 4^b–13, 15^b, and iv. 1.

It has been fully worked over in the hands of the chronicler.

1. strengthened in his kingdom: the threatened rebellion of Adonijah was crushed, undesirable characters removed, and the throne rendered as secure as possible. Upon every act of the young monarch the divine blessing manifestly rested.

2. Solomon spake unto all Israel: it was a national and representative assembly that gathered to accompany the young king to this ecclesiastical consecration of the new reign.

3. the high place that was at Gibeon: Gibeon, in the territory of Benjamin, 6 miles north-west of Jerusalem, is represented by the modern el-Jib. The chronicler's assertion that Solomon convened the assembly at this spot is explained by the statement that the Mosaic Tabernacle and the brazen altar were there. This addition to the briefer narrative of 1 Kings is regarded by many critics as unreliable, and as due to the chronicler's reluctance to recognize that the high-place of Gibeon was the site of a prominent, ancient Canaanitish sanctuary. But the

there was the tent of meeting of God, which Moses the ser-
4 vant of the Lord had made in the wilderness. But the ark
of God had David brought up from Kiriath-jearim to *the
place* that David had prepared for it: for he had pitched
5 a tent for it at Jerusalem. Moreover the brasen altar,
that Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, had made,
was there before the tabernacle of the Lord: and Solo-
6 mon and the congregation sought unto it. [Ch^2] And
Solomon went up thither to the brasen altar before the
Lord, which was at the tent of meeting, and offered a
thousand burnt offerings upon it.
7 In that night did God appear unto Solomon, and said
8 unto him, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon
said unto God, Thou hast shewed great kindness unto
David my father, and hast made me king in his stead.
9 Now, O Lord God, let thy promise unto David my father
be established: for thou hast made me king over a
10 people like the dust of the earth in multitude. Give me

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chronicler is evidently recording what was a fixed belief in his own age, and as such it may be credited. We find the same belief expressed in 1 Chron. xxi. 29. Yet the dislike of the Deuteronomic school of historians to any reference to remnants of Canaanitish worship is shown even in 1 Kings iii. 4, where the words 'high place' are changed to 'the altar' in some MSS.

5. Bezalel: cf. Exod. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxvii. 1, &c.

was there: (Heb. *shām*) so many MSS. read, but many early MSS. and the Syriac version read 'he had put' (Heb. *sām*).

7. In that night: i. e. in the night following the great sacrifices. The author of Kings says that Jehovah appeared to Solomon in a dream, and this is at least implied here. Jehovah's words are, 'Ask what I shall give thee!'

i. 8-10. Solomon's reply is given much more briefly than in 1 Kings iii. 6-9, where the language is very heavily laden with Deuteronomic phrases. We are reminded by the wording of our passage of 1 Chron. xvii. 23.

10. Give me now wisdom and knowledge: 1 Kings says 'an understanding heart.' He desired intellectual and moral fitness

now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come
in before this people: for who can judge this thy people,
that is so great? And God said to Solomon, Because this 11
was in thine heart, and thou hast not asked riches, wealth,
or honour, nor the life of them that hate thee, neither yet
hast asked long life; but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou mayest judge my people, over
whom I have made thee king: wisdom and knowledge is 12
granted unto thee; and I will give thee riches, and wealth,
and honour, such as none of the kings have had that have
been before thee, neither shall there any after thee have
the like. So Solomon came *from his journey* to the high 13
place that was at Gibeon, from before the tent of meeting,
unto Jerusalem; and he reigned over Israel.

[H] And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: 14

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for his position, rather than wealth. The solemnity of the great religious ceremonies at Gibeon, together with a due appreciation of the responsibilities of his position, led Solomon to desire to be a discreet rather than a magnificent monarch. This request so reveals a harmony with the will of Jehovah that he not only grants it but promises to add to it all that will make the reign glorious.

that I may go out and come in: i. e. perform the duties of the kingship.

judge: the dispensation of justice was the prerogative of an eastern king, but the whole round of royal duties seems to be implied here.

i. 11–13. The promise of God is given in language considerably briefer than in 1 Kings, and the assurance of a long life is omitted, probably because Solomon failed to fulfil the condition and so to receive the promise.

13. to the high place: read 'from the high place' with LXX and Vulgate.

he reigned over Israel: corresponds to 1 Kings iv. 1, the intervening account of sacrifices before the Ark at Jerusalem being omitted by the chronicler.

i. 14–17. *Solomon's Horses and Chariots.* This section is taken very closely from 1 Kings x. 26–29 and is repeated with some variations in 2 Chron. ix. 13–28. The narrative deals with the

and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he placed in the
15 chariot cities, and with the king at Jerusalem. And the king made silver and gold to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as the sycomore trees that are
16 in the lowland, for abundance. And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt; the king's merchants received them in droves, each drove at a price.

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horses and chariots gathered by the king, the regular traffic in horses, and the prices paid. Verse 15 may be an interpolation in the original as it breaks the connexion of the narrative.

14. chariots and horsemen: this was contrary to the Deuteronomic legislation. Cf. Deut. xvii. 16. The numbers are given differently in the parallel passage in 2 Chron. ix. 25, and the various recensions of the LXX show considerable discrepancies in dealing with these passages and the corresponding verse in 1 Kings.

15. The verse is clearly out of place in the context.

in the lowland: i. e. the Shephēlah. Cf. note on 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.

16. The variations found in the LXX and in the Vulgate make it evident that the text is corrupt here. Another proof of corruption is found in the mention of Egypt, for it is almost certain that horses were not exported thence in the time of Solomon. In the Vulgate we read of a second place of exportation of horses in addition to Egypt: viz. Kuë, and this has led to the critical adoption of the reading suggested here by Hugo Winckler (cf. *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*): 'And the export of Solomon's horses was from Muẓri and Kuë.' The corruption of this text was an easy matter. Muẓri (the name for Cappadocia) was easily mistaken for Mizraim (Egypt) and then the Hebrew word Mikkoë ('from Koë,' i. e. Cilicia) was corrupted to Mikwē, 'a drove.' The original narrative declared that Solomon, like the kings of Syria (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 14), received his horses from the great horse-breeding districts of Cappadocia and Cilicia. The question then arises, How did the corruption occur? It is conceivable that the chronicler (1) found the text of 1 Kings already corrupt, or (2) himself misunderstood the original. It is probable that both causes contributed to our text, i. e. the chronicler already found Egypt (Mizraim) instead of Cappadocia (Muẓri) and then further modified the original to harmonize it with this corruption.

the king's merchants . . . price: read 'the king's merchants bought them from Kuë at a price.'

And they fetched up, and brought out of Egypt a chariot 17
for six hundred *shekels* of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means.

[Ch] Now Solomon purposed to build an house for 2
the name of the LORD, and an house for his kingdom.
[Ch²] And Solomon told out threescore and ten thousand 2

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17. Egypt: again read Muẓri, i. e. Cappadocia.

the kings of the Hittites: the ancient Hittite empire was situated between the Euphrates and the Orontes in northern Syria, with Carchemish as one of its most important centres. Its power was at its height as early as 1000 B. C. Solomon made marriage alliances with Hittite princesses. Between 1600 and 1300 B. C. the Pharaohs conducted numerous campaigns against the miscellaneous principalities of the Hittites which lay around the Taurus mountains, but never succeeded in completing their subjugation. Evidently the Hittites were formidable rivals of the Babylonians, although the name Hittite does not appear in any cuneiform inscription earlier than 1100 B. C., when Tiglath-Pileser I claims a victory over them. They disappeared from history as an imperial power in the eighth century B. C.

(2) ii. *Preparations for the Temple.*

The first great undertaking of the reign of Solomon was the building of the Temple. Upon the base of the lavish preparations of David, Solomon proceeded to make further provision. He entered into a commercial treaty with Huram, king of Tyre, to secure timber and skilled labour in return for oil and grain. Huram, long an ally of David's house, readily consented to further Solomon's schemes—all the more eagerly in that he was himself a renowned architect. The narrative is elaborated in the chronicler's usual manner from 1 Kings v. 2–18.

1. Solomon purposed to build an house: in the Hebrew text this verse stands as the closing verse of chap. i. It is, however, correctly placed by the Revisers as the introduction to the following narrative of Solomon's preparations for the Temple. The chronicler omits the account of Huram's embassy of congratulation to Solomon on his succession.

an house for his kingdom: this and chap. vii. 11 are the only references to the royal palace upon which Solomon bestowed more time and labour than upon the Temple. Cf. 1 Kings vii. 1, 2.

2. Solomon levied a vast body of men from among his subjects

men to bear burdens, and fourscore thousand men that
were hewers in the mountains, and three thousand and
3 six hundred to oversee them. And Solomon sent to
Huram the king of Tyre, saying, As thou didst deal with
David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him
4 an house to dwell therein, *even so deal with me*. Behold,
I build an house for the name of the Lord my God, to
dedicate it to him, and to burn before him incense of
sweet spices, and for the continual shewbread, and for the
burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths,
and on the new moons, and on the set feasts of the Lord
5 our God. This is *an ordinance* for ever to Israel. And

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for forced labour in cutting timber and hewing stone for the Temple and the palace (cf. note on verse 17). The numbers, though large, are not open to suspicion, as the work to be done would probably require as many workmen, when the conditions of forced labour are allowed for. In 1 Kings v. 13 we read of a smaller levy for the forest work in Lebanon. Our text has reference to the labour in the home quarries, where 70,000 were hauliers, 80,000 quarrymen, and 3,600 overseers (one to every forty-two workmen). In place of 3,600 for the overseers 1 Kings has 3,300; the difference being due to the fact that the earlier history only numbers the lower ranks of overseers.

in the mountains: good limestone was obtainable in the hills of Palestine.

ii. 3–16. *Treaty with Huram.*

3. Huram the king of Tyre: cf. note on 1 Chron. xiv. 1. The original form of the name probably was Hîrôm. According to the accepted chronology (cf. Winckler), Huram ascended the throne of Tyre in 968 B. C., or some three years later than the accession of Solomon to the throne of David. Huram's friendship is said to have cheered David's later days, but cf. note on 1 Chron. xiv. 1.

4. an house for the name of the LORD: i.e. for Jehovah Himself. The specific acts of worship named are those prescribed in the Deuteronomic ritual.

an ordinance **for ever:** the wide difference between this passage and the parallel passage in 1 Kings shows that both authors were freely paraphrasing the royal message. The language of 2 Chronicles betrays the standpoint of one who was familiar with the ritual of the second Temple and Ezra's legislation.

the house which I build is great: for great is our God
above all gods. But who is able to build him an house, 6
seeing the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot
contain him? who am I then, that I should build him an
house, save only to burn incense before him? Now there- 7
fore send me a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver,
and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and
blue, and that can skill to grave *all manner of* gravings, *to
be* with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in
Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide. Send 8
me also cedar trees, fir trees, and algum trees, out of
Lebanon: for I know that thy servants can skill to cut
timber in Lebanon; and, behold, my servants shall be
with thy servants, even to prepare me timber in abun- 9
dance: for the house which I am about to build shall be
wonderful great. And, behold, I will give to thy servants, 10

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5. great is our God: cf. Deut. x. 17.

6. the heaven of heavens cannot contain him: the chronicler is writing with the language of Solomon's dedicatory prayer in his mind; cf. 2 Chron. vi. 18.

only to burn incense: Solomon confesses his unworthiness to build the Temple, and declares that his only aim is to be able fitly to perform the acts of reverent worship of Jehovah.

7. a man cunning: Solomon asks for a skilled smith for the working of precious metals and stones to aid his own craftsmen and to take charge of the entire decorative work of the sanctuary.

8. fir trees: margin 'cypress trees,' but Robertson Smith argues in favour of 'fir.'

algum trees: another form of the word is 'almug'; it probably denotes the sandal-wood and it is said elsewhere to have been obtained from Ophir.

9. shall be wonderful great: the Hebrew expresses it by using the adverbial infinitive.

10. The narrative in 1 Kings makes it evident that the natural produce mentioned here was contributed yearly to serve both as payment and for the maintenance of the labourers. No mention is made of the yearly contribution to the Tyrian royal house of which 1 Kings gives details.

the hewers that cut timber, twenty thousand measures of
beaten wheat, and twenty thousand measures of barley,
and twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand
11 baths of oil. Then Huram the king of Tyre answered in
writing, which he sent to Solomon, Because the LORD
loveth his people, he hath made thee king over them.
12 Huram said moreover, Blessed be the LORD, the God of
Israel, that made heaven and earth, who hath given
to David the king a wise son, endued with discretion and
understanding, that should build an house for the LORD,
13 and an house for his kingdom. And now I have sent a
cunning man, endued with understanding, of Huram my
14 father's, the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and
his father was a man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold, and
in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in
purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to
grave any manner of graving, and to devise any device:
that there may be *a place* appointed unto him with thy
cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord
15 David thy father. Now therefore the wheat and the

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measures of beaten wheat: the word 'measure' is literally '*cor*'; the amount was about eleven bushels. The whole contribution was such as would probably be required to sustain the workmen employed. The expression 'beaten wheat' is obscure, and probably arose by an orthographical error for the word for 'food'—read 'wheat for food'—so LXX.

11, 12. The language of Huram is such as a worshipper of Jehovah might use, but it must not be taken to imply such an attitude in his case.

13. of Huram my father's: read 'namely Huram-abi.' The name of Huram's father was Abibaal. Hence it is evident that *abi* (='my father') must here be taken as a termination of the craftsman's name precisely as it is often found as the first syllable of a name, e. g. Abi-melech.

14. Huram-abi is described in terms which recall the artificer of the Tabernacle, Bezalel; cf. Exod. xxxi. 2.

15, 16. Huram ratifies the agreement which Solomon proposed.

barley, the oil and the wine, which my lord hath spoken
of, let him send unto his servants: and we will cut wood 16
out of Lebanon, as much as thou shalt need: and we will
bring it to thee in floats by sea to Joppa; and thou shalt
carry it up to Jerusalem. And Solomon numbered 17
all the strangers that were in the land of Israel, after the
numbering wherewith David his father had numbered
them; and they were found an hundred and fifty
thousand and three thousand and six hundred. And he 18
set threescore and ten thousand of them to bear burdens,
and fourscore thousand that were hewers in the mountains, and three thousand and six hundred overseers to
set the people awork.

Then Solomon began to build the house of the LORD 3

The floats of timber were to be navigated as far as Joppa (i. e. Jaffa), the port of Jerusalem.

17, 18. *Solomon's Levy of Aliens.* Solomon ordered an enumeration of all the descendants of the Canaanites who remained in the land (cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 2). Thus we learn that the levy mentioned in verse 2 was limited to the alien population.

(3) iii—v. 1. *The Building of the Temple.*

The description of the Temple buildings is derived from 1 Kings vi. 1–3, 5–35, vii. 15–21, 23–26, 38–51, and leads up to certain critical problems. Yet it is scarcely necessary to concern ourselves here with the corruptions existing in the text of the Book of Kings. We are merely concerned to know what the chronicler himself wrote. His originals were undoubtedly corrupt, and in many cases they certainly differed from what the author of 1 Kings originally wrote; yet they appear to have been generally identical with the present inaccurate text of 1 Kings. In working over these originals our writer has taken special care to use all facts referring to the Temple and its ritual.

At the outset the site of the Temple and the dates of the building are determined. Then the Temple buildings are described, commencing with the outer buildings and concluding with the interior. The description falls into six sections, viz. (1) iii. 1–3, Preliminary Details; (2) iii. 4–7, The Porch and the Holy Place; (3) iii. 8–14, The

at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where *the Lord* appeared
unto David his father, which he made ready in the place
that David had appointed, in the threshing-floor of Ornan
2 the Jebusite. And he began to build in the second *day*
of the second month, in the fourth year of his reign.
3 Now these are the foundations which Solomon laid for

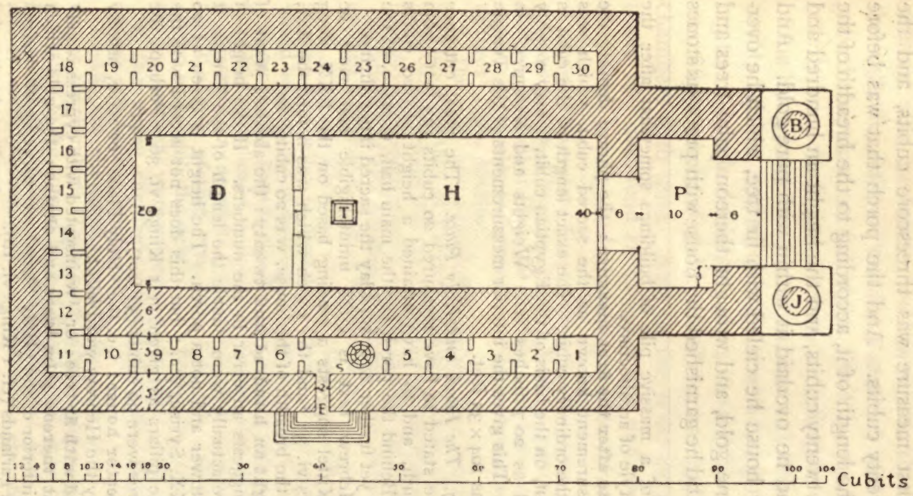
Inner Shrine; (4) iii. 15–17, The Brazen Pillars; (5) iv. 1–22, The Sacred Vessels and the Court; (6) v. 1, Completion of the Temple.

(1) iii. 1–3. *Preliminary Details.*

1. in mount Moriah: the account of the Temple buildings is prefaced by a description of the site. This is stated to be 'in mount Moriah'; but great obscurity hangs over the position indicated. Its only other mention is in Genesis xxii, and there it is used of the scene of Abraham's interrupted sacrifice of Isaac. Between the date of the composition of Genesis and the time of the chronicler the name does not occur again. But evidently the belief that the Temple stood upon the actual spot of Abraham's sacrifice, as also of Ornan's threshing-floor, had become so well established by the age of the chronicler that he is able to identify the one spot for both scenes without need of further explanation. The words 'mount Moriah' have been explained as a corruption of 'mountain of the Amorites' (so Syriac) or even as meaning 'mountain of the appearance of Jehovah,' but both these explanations are unsatisfactory. Moriah is the lofty hill which lies to the north-east of Jerusalem; it rises some 200 feet above the south-east hill on which stood the ancient fortress of Zion, and afforded a tolerably level surface of about 5,500 square yards. (Cf. 'Kings' by Skinner in *Century Bible* for a full discussion of the Temple site.)

where the LORD **appeared unto David:** the text is unintelligible as it stands in the Hebrew. Read, with LXX and Vulgate, as in the R. V. margin, 'in the place which David had prepared, in the threshing-floor.'

3. these are the foundations: the Temple building rose upon a rectangular foundation measuring 60 cubits from east to west and 20 cubits from north to south. From 1 Kings vi. 20, we gather that these were the internal measurements, and one may perhaps infer from the description of Ezekiel's ideal Temple that there was an inner wall of 6 cubits thickness and an outer wall of 5 cubits (Ezek. xli. 5, 9), between which were situated the three stories of cells. The completed Temple would present the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J
S
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50
60
70
80
90
100
Cubits

Ground Plan of Solomon's Temple.

B and J = Boaz and Jackin—the pillars. P = the porch. H = the *Hêkāl* or Holy Place. D = the *Debîr* or Most Holy Place. T = the table of shewbread. S = the stairway to the upper chambers. E = entrance to the chambers. 1, 2, &c., the chambers after Ezekiel's temple.

By permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark and the Rev. T. W. Davies, author of the article 'Temple' in *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible.*

the building of the house of God. The length by cubits after the first measure was threescore cubits, and the
4 breadth twenty cubits. And the porch that was before *the house*, the length of it, according to the breadth of the house, was twenty cubits, and the height an hundred and
5 twenty: and he overlaid it within with pure gold. And the greater house he cieled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and wrought thereon palm trees and
6 chains. And he garnished the house with precious stones

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appearance of a massive pile of buildings somewhat after the Phoenician style of architecture.

by cubits after the first measure: the phrase denotes the ancient measurement known as the sacred cubit, which was longer than the ordinary cubit. The exact length of the cubit is uncertain, but, on the basis of the Egyptian cubit, it may roughly be reckoned as 20·7 inches (cf. 'Weights and Measures' in *Ency. Bib.*). This gives the interior measurements of the Temple foundations as 104 × 35 feet.

(2) iii. 4–7. *The Porch and Holy Place.* The great entrance porch is here stated to have measured 20 cubits (35 feet) from north to south, and to have attained a height of 120 cubits (208 feet). Behind the porch lay the main hall, or nave, of the Temple, and yet further westward lay the sacred inner shrine.

4. The Hebrew text is quite unintelligible and must be emended. Kittel suggests a reading based on the LXX along with 1 Kings vi. 3: 'and the porch which was before the Ark, according to the breadth of the house, was 20 cubits,' &c.

the height an hundred and twenty: the absolute want of proportion suggests an error in the numbers. If the height of this structure actually were double the length of the Temple it would be a tower and not a porch. The height is given as 20 cubits in LXX, Syriac, &c.; but this does not accord with the height of the pillars as given in 1 Kings vi. 36. Perhaps the original figures were 30 cubits (53 feet).

5. the greater house: i. e. the 'Holy Place' or nave, usually designated by the Hebrew word *hêkāl.*

he cieled with fir tree: or, 'wainscoted with cypress wood.'

wrought thereon palm trees and chains: the gold which overlaid the interior of the 'Holy Place' was carved with designs of palms and garlands (cf. 1 Kings vi. 18).

6. with precious stones: such lavish decorations seem to be quite in keeping with Oriental custom.

for beauty: and the gold was gold of Parvaim. He 7
overlaid also the house, the beams, the thresholds, and
the walls thereof, and the doors thereof, with gold; and
graved cherubim on the walls. And he made the most 8
holy house; the length thereof, according to the breadth
of the house, was twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof
twenty cubits: and he overlaid it with fine gold, amounting to six hundred talents. And the weight of the nails 9
was fifty shekels of gold. And he overlaid the upper
chambers with gold. And in the most holy house he 10
made two cherubim of image work; and they overlaid
them with gold. And the wings of the cherubim were 11

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gold of Parvaim: Glaser[1] identifies the source of Solomon's gold with Sak-el-Farwain in the Yemen, mentioned by the Arabian geographer Hamdāni; but the text is in some confusion, and not improbably the original ran, 'he covered it with timber of fir trees' (Heb. *bĕrōšîm*).

7. The gold ornamentation described here bears a close resemblance to that of Ezekiel's Temple (Ezek. xli. 18); hence many critics believe that the chronicler is describing the work of later days as though it were actually carried out under Solomon. The interior of the building, however, was certainly lavishly adorned with gold in its very earliest days.

(3) iii. 8–14. *The Inner Shrine.* West of the 'Holy Place' was situated the smaller, or Most Holy Place. It had no windows, and would be shrouded in darkness, except for artificial light.

8. most holy house: the Hebrew literally means, 'the house, the Holy of holies,' i. e. the inner shrine, also called the *debîr.* It measured 20 × 20 cubits (35 × 35 feet), and the chronicler states that the gold plating was valued at 600 talents (or about £3,690,000), while the nails used to fasten the plates of metal to the wooden walls were valued at 50 shekels (£103).

9. the upper chambers: these were the small rooms or storage cells between the walls.

10–13. the cherubim: within the *debîr* stood two winged figures, the cherubim. These seem to have been a kind of Hebrew equivalent to the winged bulls of Assyria and, in an incomparably loftier manner, represented the presence of God. They were almost certainly of human form. Unlike the cherubim upon the lid of the Ark (Exod. xxv. 20), they both faced eastwards towards

[1] Eduard Glaser, Austrian traveller in Arabia.

twenty cubits long: the wing of the one *cherub* was five
cubits, reaching to the wall of the house; and the other
wing was *likewise* five cubits, reaching to the wing of the
12 other cherub. And the wing of the other cherub was
five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house: and the
other wing was five cubits *also*, joining to the wing of the
13 other cherub. The wings of these cherubim spread
themselves forth twenty cubits: and they stood on their
14 feet, and their faces were toward the house. And he
made the veil of blue, and purple, and crimson, and fine
15 linen, and wrought cherubim thereon. Also he made
before the house two pillars of thirty and five cubits high,
and the chapiter that was on the top of each of them was
16 five cubits. And he made chains in the oracle, and put

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the *hêkāl*. They stood 10 cubits (17½ feet) in height with wings extended so that the tip of the right wing of one touched the tip of the left wing of the other, while the outer wings touched the north and south walls respectively. Each wing was 5 cubits (8½ feet) in length, and the figures were overlaid with gold.

14. The veil, or curtain, dividing the *debîr* from the *hêkāl* was woven of the same material as the curtain of the Mosaic Tabernacle; cf. Exod. xxvi. 31.

(4) iii. 15-17. *The brazen pillars.* Before the porch of the Temple stood two great brazen pillars, adorned with chapiters. They are more fully described in 1 Kings vii. 15-22.

15. thirty and five cubits high: in 1 Kings vii. 15 they are said to be 18 cubits high and 12 cubits in circumference, with chapiters of 5 cubits height. If these dimensions be added together they give the chronicler's figure of 35, which may have been thus erroneously obtained. More probably it is a mere scribal error, as the Hebrew numerals, represented by letters of the alphabet, are easily mistaken. Thus יח (=18) was read as לה (= 35).

16. he made chains in the oracle: i. e ornamental chain-work for the chapiters. The word 'oracle' (*debîr*) is meaningless here, and has evidently arisen by a transposition of the consonants; we must read instead *rābid*, 'a necklace,' i. e. 'the lower border of the capital.' Comparing this passage with 1 Kings vii. 17-20, 41, 42, and 2 Chron. iv. 12, 13, we gather that the chapiters were in two parts. The first section was globular in shape, girded

them on the tops of the pillars; and he made an hundred
pomegranates, and put them on the chains. And he set 17
up the pillars before the temple, one on the right hand,

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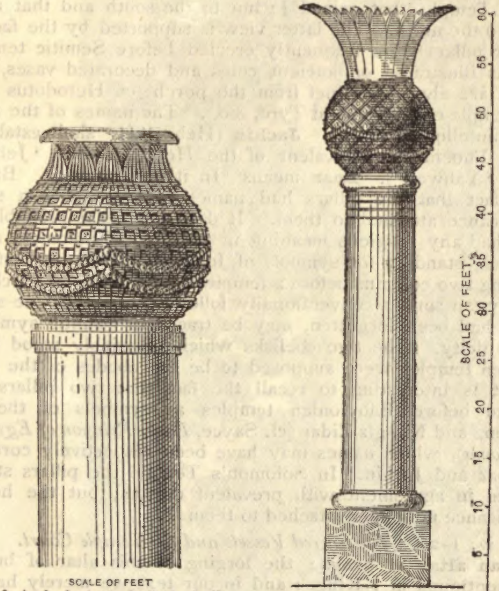
with a chain-like network one cubit high, with a row of carved pomegranates below and above the chain-work. Surmounting this was the upper section, which (according to the uncertain description in 1 Kings vii. 17) was shaped like an open lily, or constituted a border of lily work.



BRAZEN PILLARS.

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17. The meaning of the verse is uncertain. Possibly **the pillars** formed an integral part of the porch and sustained the

and the other on the left; and called the name of that on
the right hand Jachin, and the name of that on the left
Boaz. [H] Moreover he made an altar of brass, twenty
4 cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the breadth
thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof. Also he made
2 the molten sea of ten cubits from brim to brim, round in

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lintel, as in Ezekiel's Temple. More probably they stood clear of the Temple, that named Jachin to the south and that named Boaz to the north. The latter view is supported by the fact that similar pillars were frequently erected before Semitic temples; and, as illustrated on ancient coins and decorated vases, these pillars are always distinct from the porch (cf. Herodotus ii. 44, the Temple of Melkarth at Tyre, &c.). The names of the pillars are unintelligible to-day. **Jachin** (Heb. = 'He shall establish') is the Phoenician equivalent of the Hebrew name 'Jehovah' (Heb. 'Yahweh'). **Boaz** means 'In it is strength.' But the very fact that the pillars had names indicates that a special significance attached to them. It does not seem probable that they had any religious meaning in the time of Solomon, as, for instance, standing for symbols of Jehovah. But the custom of erecting two columns before a temple, which Solomon's architects and Tyrian smiths conventionally followed, although the significance had been forgotten, may be traced to Semitic symbolism of the deity. The two obelisks which invariably stood before heathen temples were supposed to be the abodes of the deity; and it is interesting to recall the fact that two pillars were erected before Babylonian temples as symbols of the gods Tammuz and Nin-giz-Zidar (cf. Sayce, *Early Religion of Egypt and Babylonia*), which names may have been respectively corrupted to Boaz and Jachin. In Solomon's Temple the pillars still remained in agreement with prevalent custom, but the heathen significance no longer attached to them.

(5) iv. 1–22. *The Sacred Vessels and the Temple Court.*

1. an altar of brass: the forging of this altar of brass is not mentioned in 1 Kings; and in our text we merely have the measurements, viz. 20 × 20 × 10 cubits (i. e. $34\frac{1}{2} \times 34\frac{1}{2} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ feet). It is probable that the altar rose in stages, each diminishing by two cubits as in Ezekiel's Temple (cf. Ezek. xliii. 13–17), so that the actual hearth which formed the third stage at the summit would measure $20\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

2. the molten sea: this stood in the south-east of the court of the Temple. It must have been a most elaborate specimen

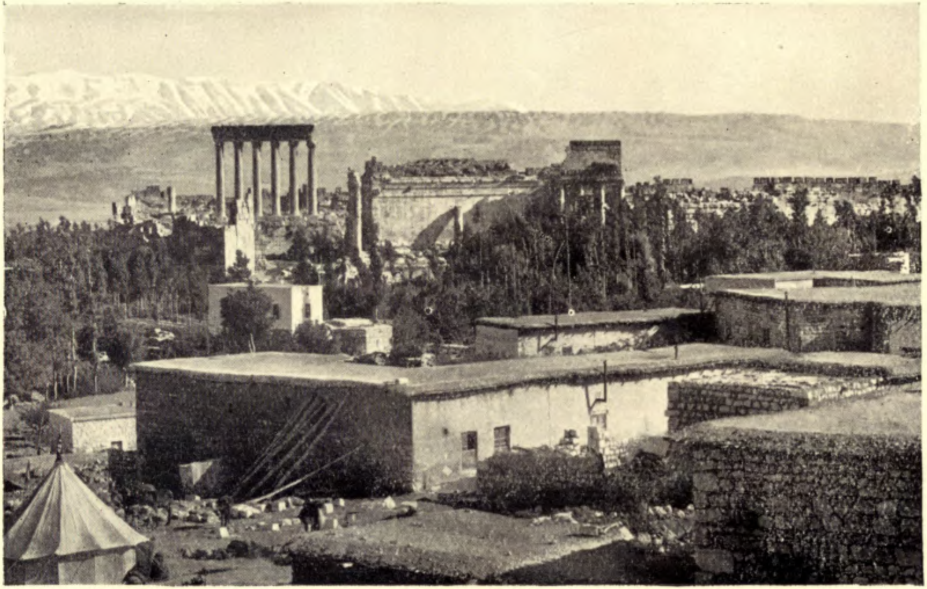

Photo: Photochrom Co.

BAALBEK AND MOUNT LEBANON

compass, and the height thereof was five cubits; and a
line of thirty cubits compassed it round about. And 3
under it was the similitude of oxen, which did compass it
round about, for ten cubits, compassing the sea round
about. The oxen were in two rows, cast when it was
cast. It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward 4
the north, and three looking toward the west, and three
looking toward the south, and three looking toward the
east: and the sea was set upon them above, and all their
hinder parts were inward. And it was an handbreadth 5
thick; and the brim thereof was wrought like the brim of
a cup, like the flower of a lily: it received and held three
thousand baths. [Ch^2] He made also ten lavers, and 6

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of the skilled work of the Tyrian founder. The shape is somewhat uncertain. Josephus describes it as a hemisphere (*Ant.* viii. 35), but the capacity named in the text makes it more probable that it was cylindrical. Its measurements are given as 10 cubits (17½ feet) in diameter and 5 cubits (8⅔ feet) in depth. It stood upon the backs of twelve brazen oxen, which were so placed that three faced towards each of the four quarters of the heavens.

3. similitude of oxen: read, with 1 Kings vii. 24, 'there were knops.' The scribe read *beqārim* instead of *pequ'im.* A knop was probably a gourd-shaped ornamentation. In each case where the word 'oxen' occurs in the verse we must read 'knops.'

cast when it was cast: i. e. they were in relief, not carved as undercut.

5. an handbreadth thick: about three inches.

like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lily: the ornamental brim opened out at the top of the sea.

three thousand baths: i. e. 24,015 gallons. 1 Kings vii. 36 reads 2,000 baths, i. e. 16,010 gallons. There must be a mistake in the figures. A bath is just over eight gallons. If the sea were hemispherical its capacity would have been exactly 6,376 gallons; if cylindrical, 10,798 gallons. Hence the sea cannot have held much more than, say, 7,000 gallons or 900 baths. Nothing is said as to how the sea was filled and the water drawn. Klostermann would emend 1 Kings vii. 23 so as to read 'there were thirty cocks around the sea,' and it has been

put five on the right hand, and five on the left, to wash in
them; such things as belonged to the burnt offering they
washed in them: but the sea was for the priests to wash
7 in. And he made the ten candlesticks of gold according
to the ordinance concerning them; and he set them in
the temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left.
8 He made also ten tables, and placed them in the temple,

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conjectured that the water would be drawn, fountain-like, through the mouths of the ocean.

6. ten lavers: these were provided for the washing of the sacrificial gifts. They were placed upon wheeled stands and were situated five on each side of the Temple building. They are described in detail in 1 Kings vii. 27–39.

the sea was for the priests to wash in: the manifest inconvenience of this, unless the conjecture that the water was drawn as stated above be correct, suggests that the 'sea,' like the brazen pillars, originally had a symbolical meaning. Not improbably the presence of such a 'sea' near a Semitic temple symbolized the subterranean ocean, known as *tehōm*, and has an historical connexion with the creation story of Babylonia, according to which the gods struggle for the mastery with the dragon (Tiāmat). Cf. Sayce, *Early Religions of Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 458, &c. Of course this does not imply that any such heathen ideas were connected with Solomon's 'sea,' although Hebrew worshippers might still read in its symbolism the power of Jehovah over the deep. It is noteworthy that in Ezekiel's ideal temple the 'sea' is replaced by a symbolical fountain (Ezek. xlvii. 1).

iv. 7–9. *The Temple Furniture and Courts.* Probably these verses originally stood in 1 Kings also, and have been omitted by an error. They are summarized in 1 Kings vii. 48, 49, as also in verses 19, 20 of our chapter.

7. ten candlesticks of gold: artificial lights were always employed, both of necessity and symbolically, in Semitic temples. Solomon's candlesticks stood on either side of the Holy Place.

according to the ordinance: the phrase refers to the Mosaic regulations (Exod. xxv. 31 ff.) and probably also to the patterns given by David.

8. ten tables: Keil explains that these were used for the shewbread (verse 14); but the reasons for such a belief are inadequate. Probably they were used for objects connected with the candelabra. 1 Kings knows nothing of these tables.

five on the right side, and five on the left. And he made
an hundred basons of gold. Furthermore he made 9
the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for
the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass.
[H] And he set the sea on the right side *of the house* 10
eastward, toward the south. And Huram made the pots, 11
and the shovels, and the basons. So Huram made an
end of doing the work that he wrought for king Solomon
in the house of God: the two pillars, and the bowls, and 12
the two chapiters which were on the top of the pillars;
and the two networks to cover the two bowls of the
chapiters that were on the top of the pillars; and the 13
four hundred pomegranates for the two networks; two
rows of pomegranates for each network, to cover the two
bowls of the chapiters that were upon the pillars. He 14
made also the bases, and the lavers made he upon the

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an hundred basons: possibly these were flagons for wine and libations (Amos vi. 6), or else they served for use in holding the blood for sprinkling.

9. We have no further description of these courts. What seems to be meant here is that the actual Temple buildings were surrounded by an inner wall which thus formed 'the court of the priests,' whereas another wall encircled the entire area of the Temple hill. The earliest reference to these courts occurs in Ezekiel, and the distinction between laity and ecclesiastic was somewhat late in securing prominence.

10. The statement of this verse refers us back to verse 2. The 'sea' was placed in the south-east corner of the inner court.

11. Huram made the pots: i. e. Huram-abi.

iv. 11ᵇ–22. *Inventory of the Temple Furniture.* As in 1 Kings vii. 40ᵇ–50, the work of Huram-abi is catalogued in such a way as to agree substantially with the preceding descriptions. There are only a few verbal differences between this inventory and the parallel passage in 1 Kings.

12. the bowls: the lower sections of the chapiters.

13. upon the pillars: read 'on the two pillars.' The scribe has read *penē* instead of *shenē*.

5, 16 bases; one sea, and the twelve oxen under it. The
pots also, and the shovels, and the fleshhooks, and
all the vessels thereof, did Huram his father make for
king Solomon for the house of the LORD of bright
17 brass. In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in
18 the clay ground between Succoth and Zeredah. Thus
Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance: for
19 the weight of the brass could not be found out. And
Solomon made all the vessels that were in the house
of God, the golden altar also, and the tables whereon was
20 the shewbread; and the candlesticks with their lamps,
that they should burn according to the ordinance before
21 the oracle, of pure gold; and the flowers, and the lamps,
22 and the tongs, of gold, and that perfect gold; and the
snuffers, and the basons, and the spoons, and the firepans,
of pure gold: and as for the entry of the house, the inner
doors thereof for the most holy place, and the doors of the

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16. fleshhooks: Heb. *miẓlāgôth*, by an error for 'basons,' Heb. *miẓrāgôth*. Cf. 1 Kings vii. 45.

Huram his father: read Huram-abi. Cf. note on 2 Chron. ii. 13.

17. In the plain of Jordan: here clay was to be found in sufficient quantities for Huram-abi's work. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 488.

in the clay ground: the text is suspicious, and perhaps Benzinger is correct in emending thus: 'at the ford of Admah.' **Succoth** was a town in Gadite territory which has been identified with the great mound known as Dēr ʿAlla. **Zeredah** has not been identified. The forge of Huram-abi was evidently placed with a view to the proximity of good clay and of good roads to the capital.

19. the golden altar: i. e. the altar of incense.

tables whereon was the shewbread: in 1 Kings vii. 48 there is mention of only one table for the 'bread of the presence,' so that it is probable that we should read the word in the singular number and that this table is distinct from those mentioned in verse 8.

20. candlesticks: in later, post-exilic, days there was only one such in use.

house, *to wit*, of the temple, were of gold. Thus all the 5
work that Solomon wrought for the house of the LORD
was finished. And Solomon brought in the things that
David his father had dedicated; even the silver, and the
gold, and all the vessels, and put them in the treasuries
of the house of God.

Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all 2
the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers' *houses*
of the children of Israel, unto Jerusalem, to bring up the

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(6) v. 1. *Completion of the Temple.* Having thus completed the entire work of the Temple, Solomon brought in the consecrated gifts of David and stored them in the treasuries.

(4) v. 2—vii. 22. *Dedication of the Temple.*

As soon as the labour of building and furnishing the national sanctuary was completed, Solomon convened another national assembly for the solemn dedication of the Temple to Jehovah. The narrative evidently falls into four sections:—

(*a*) v. 2—vi. 11. The Transport of the Ark.
(*b*) vi. 12–42. Solomon's Dedicatory Prayer.
(*c*) vii. 1–10. The Dedicatory Sacrifices.
(*d*) vii. 11–22. *The Divine Response.*

The material for the narrative occurs in 1 Kings viii and ix, but the chronicler has enlarged characteristically upon the part taken by the Levites in the proceedings, and has added considerable fresh matter in the closing sections. A careful examination of the sources proves that the prayer of Solomon is the composition of one who was imbued with the spirit of the Deuteronomistic legislation, and that, in its present literary form, it has been compiled at a later date than the actual dedication of the Temple.

(*a*) v. 2—vi. 11. *The Transport of the Ark.* The Ark is now borne by the Levites from its tent on Mount Zion to the sacred *debir* in the Temple, to the accompaniment of sacrifices and songs; and its successful transport is celebrated by the grateful monarch.

v. 2–14. *The Ark is carried from Mount Zion.* These verses correspond with 1 Kings viii. 1–11, with the exception of the insertion of 11^b–13^a.

2. the elders of Israel: i. e. the tribal princes; **the heads of the tribes** are further described as 'princes of the fathers' houses,' i. e. of the tribal clans.

ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David,
3 which is Zion. And all the men of Israel assembled
themselves unto the king at the feast, which was *in* the
4 seventh month. And all the elders of Israel came, and
5 the Levites took up the ark. And they brought up the
ark, and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels that
were in the Tent; these did the priests the Levites bring
6 up. And king Solomon and all the congregation of
Israel, that were assembled unto him, were before the ark,
sacrificing sheep and oxen, that could not be told nor
7 numbered for multitude. And the priests brought in the

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the city of David, which is Zion: i. e. the ancient Jebusite stronghold on the heights south of where the Temple now stood. As the Temple hill was actually loftier than the site of Zion, there is a perfect aptness in the phrase 'to bring up the ark.'

3. at the feast, which was in the seventh month: the chronicler probably omits the name of the month for the reason that 1 Kings gives its Babylonian name, not the Hebrew. The feast is that of the harvest or vintage, which seems to have been invariably held in the seventh month: cf. Num. xxiii. 24-36; Lev. xxix. 12-38. Solomon made this great religious festival the occasion for the dedication of the Temple. Seven, or possibly eight, years had elapsed since the laying of the foundations.

4. the Levites took up the ark: 1 Kings viii. 3, 'the priests took up the ark.' The alteration reflects the enhanced importance of the position of the Levites in the chronicler's day. Looking back from his own circumstances he felt compelled to recognize Levites in these bearers of the Ark. Hence also in verse 5 it may be intentionally that the phrase of 1 Kings—'the priests and the Levites'—has been changed into 'the priests, the Levites,' although the versions seem to indicate merely a scribal error here.

5. the tent of meeting: this can only mean the Mosaic Tabernacle: cf. note on 1 Chron. xvi. 39. The text implies that the Tabernacle had been packed together and stowed in the tent which David had erected for the Ark on Zion. Whether this is historically correct is scarcely a matter for our present consideration; we know that the chronicler found it stated and credited in his own day.

6. The king, the princes, and the people preceded the Ark and probably offered sacrifices at various spots *en route*.

7. The Ark was carried by the bearers into the darkness and solitude of the *debîr*.

ark of the covenant of the Lord unto its place, into the oracle of the house, to the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubim. For the cherubim 8 spread forth their wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubim covered the ark and the staves thereof above. And the staves were so long that the ends of the staves 9 were seen from the ark before the oracle; but they were not seen without: and there it is, unto this day. There 10 was nothing in the ark save the two tables which Moses put *there* at Horeb, when the Lord made a covenant with the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt. [Ch] And it came to pass, when the priests were come 11 out of the holy place, (for all the priests that were present had sanctified themselves, and did not keep their courses; also the Levites which were the singers, all of them, even 12 Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and their sons and their brethren, arrayed in fine linen, with cymbals and psalteries and

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8, 9. The Ark was so placed that the ends faced east and west. In accordance with Mosaic regulations (Exod. xxv. 15) the staves were not removed, but, in spite of their length, they were merely visible from the gloom of the *debîr* to any one in the *hêkāl*.

from the ark: read 'from the holy place,' with LXX and 1 Kings.

unto this day: not, of course, the chronicler's day.

10. Evidently the compiler of Kings had in his mind the tradition of days when other objects were kept within the Ark (cf. Heb. ix. 4). There is a close connexion between the Deuteronomic expression 'ark of the covenant of Jehovah' and the alleged contents of the Ark itself.

two tables: read 'the tables of the covenant which' with 1 Kings.

11^b–13^a. These verses are the chronicler's parenthesis explaining the action of the priests and choristers in the great ceremony of the transport of the Ark.

11. did not keep their courses: the whole body of priests took part in this unique festival.

12. The entire Levitic choirs were summoned to the ceremony, with the 120 priestly trumpeters. Cf. notes on 1 Chron. xv. 17–28 and xxv. 1–8.

harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them
an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets :)
13 it came even to pass, when the trumpeters and singers
were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising
and thanking the LORD ; and when they lifted up their
voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of
music, and praised the LORD, *saying*, For he is good : for
his mercy *endureth* for ever : that then the house was
14 filled with a cloud, even the house of the LORD, [H] so
that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the
cloud : for the glory of the LORD filled the house of God.
6 Then spake Solomon, The LORD hath said that he
2 would dwell in the thick darkness. But I have built
thee an house of habitation, and a place for thee to dwell

13ᵃ. This verse takes up the narrative of 11ᵃ and describes the burst of united song from the choirs as they chanted in unison the words quoted in 1 Chron. xvi. 34 ff. It is not possible to say whether the intervening verses 11ᵇ–13ᵃ are due to the chronicler himself or a later scribe.

13ᵇ, 14. The narrative of 1 Kings viii. 10ᵇ, 11 is here continued. The glory-cloud signified the presence of Jehovah : cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 9 ff.

vi. 1–11. This passage is taken almost verbally from 1 Kings viii. 12–21, and gives the words in which Solomon celebrates Jehovah's favour.

1, 2. We have here the concise words of the king, uttered when the glory-cloud filled the Temple. They constitute a unique specimen of Hebrew verse, and the precise form of the poetic original may be ascertained by the aid of the LXX and 1 Kings viii. 12, 13 (cf. 'Kings' by Skinner in *Century Bible, in loco*). The original, as restored by Cheyne, presents a perfect quatrain, and is thus rendered :—

> The sun has Jehovah set in the heavens ;
> He (Himself) has resolved to dwell in thick darkness :
> Built have I a lofty mansion for Thee,
> A place for Thee to dwell in for (all) ages.

The utterance is a pregnant expression of the king's realization of the mystery of the Being of Jehovah, the all-creative God, as well as the condescension displayed in His self-limitation to dwell

in for ever. And the king turned his face, and blessed 3
all the congregation of Israel: and all the congregation
of Israel stood. And he said, Blessed be the LORD, the 4
God of Israel, which spake with his mouth unto David
my father, and hath with his hands fulfilled it, saying, Since 5
the day that I brought forth my people out of the land of
Egypt, I chose no city out of all the tribes of Israel to
build an house in, that my name might be there; neither
chose I any man to be prince over my people Israel: but 6
I have chosen Jerusalem, that my name might be there;
and have chosen David to be over my people Israel. Now 7
it was in the heart of David my father to build an house for

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amongst men. The darkness of the oracle and the splendour of the cloud alike were symbolical of the Being of Jehovah—in whom mystery is illuminated with radiant glory.

vi. 3-11. *Solomon's Address to the People.* The king summarizes the steps which had led up to the building of the Temple. The address and the ensuing prayers are in perfect harmony with the Deuteronomic school of thought, as is evident from the style and language (cf. Driver, Introd. pp. 200-203). Hence it appears that the passage is not intended to give the actual words of Solomon, but rather to express facts under the form of speeches. This was the usual custom with early historians—e. g. Thucydides, Xenophon, &c. Consequently, the addresses put into the mouths of early characters not infrequently reflect the circumstances of the historian's own age. This is what seems to have occurred when the chronicler re-edited 1 Kings. He has added phrases and omitted passages in accordance with the special aim of his work, and has thus taken his stand in line with other ancient historians.

5, 6. The text here is more correct than in 1 Kings viii. 16, as the LXX version of the latter proves; but the writers' idea in these works differs from that of 2 Sam. vii, which they paraphrase. The thought of Nathan is that God had chosen to reveal His presence in a movable tent rather than in a house: here the thought is that God had terminated a transition age by choosing the city of Jerusalem for His dwelling and the house of David for the monarchy.

7-9. The words of Nathan are still the original of the statements

8 the name of the LORD, the God of Israel. But the LORD
said unto David my father, Whereas it was in thine heart
to build an house for my name, thou didst well that it
9 was in thine heart: nevertheless thou shalt not build the
house; but thy son that shall come forth out of thy loins,
10 he shall build the house for my name. And the LORD
hath performed his word that he spake; for I am risen
up in the room of David my father, and sit on the throne
of Israel, as the LORD promised, and have built the house
11 for the name of the LORD, the God of Israel. And there
have I set the ark, wherein is the covenant of the LORD,
which he made with the children of Israel.

12 And he stood before the altar of the LORD in the
presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread
13 forth his hands: [**Ch²**] (for Solomon had made a brasen
scaffold, of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and
three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the
court; and upon it he stood, and kneeled down upon his
knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread

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made here, but they are interpreted in the light of the subsequent building of the Temple under divine sanction.

11. Cf. note on v. 10.

(*b*) vi. 14–42. *Solomon's Dedicatory Prayer.* The passage is again a close reproduction of the parallel passage in 1 Kings viii. 22–53, except at the close; verses 40–42, however, differ entirely from the earlier record. Solomon stands before the altar with hands outstretched; he proclaims Jehovah's fulfilment of His promise to David, pleads for continued blessing, and entreats God to ever turn a listening ear to prayers that rise in the Temple.

12. he stood: the usual, though not invariable, attitude of prayer: cf. Exod. ix. 29, and 2 Chron. vi. 13.

spread forth his hands: a common ancient accompaniment of prayer.

13. The whole verse is peculiar to our narrative. It describes the king's attitude in delivering the official dedicatory prayer from the brazen scaffold in the sight of the worshipping multitudes.

forth his hands toward heaven :) [H] and he said, O 14
Lord, the God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in the
heaven, or in the earth ; who keepest covenant and mercy
with thy servants, that walk before thee with all their
heart : who hast kept with thy servant David my father 15
that which thou didst promise him : yea, thou spakest
with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled it with thine hand, as it
is this day. Now therefore, O Lord, the God of Israel, 16
keep with thy servant David my father that which thou
hast promised him, saying, There shall not fail thee a
man in my sight to sit on the throne of Israel ; if only
thy children take heed to their way, to walk in my law as
thou hast walked before me. Now therefore, O Lord, 17
the God of Israel, let thy word be verified, which thou
spakest unto thy servant David. But will God in very 18
deed dwell with men on the earth ? behold, heaven and
the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee ; how much
less this house which I have builded ! Yet have thou 19

14-17. Solomon acknowledges the fulfilment of the unconditioned portion of the divine promise, and prays that the conditional part may also be fulfilled. The kingdom has been established and the Temple built, but the blessing of God is essential for the future of the dynasty.

14. who keepest covenant : the attribute of a personal deity.

that walk before thee with all their heart : the phrase denotes utter sincerity.

16. in my law : a slight, but significant, variation from the original.

vi. 18-21. The king asks that the intercourse of prayer may be a genuine experience to his people.

18. dwell with men on the earth : Solomon gives utterance to the thought of the transcendence of the divine Being ; God is recognized as the omnipresent, personal Spirit ; and awe and wonder surround the fact that the Temple should be the trysting-place between the Deity and man.

heaven and the heaven of heavens : a phrase expressive of the immensity of God's dwelling-place.

respect unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his
supplication, O LORD my God, to hearken unto the cry
and to the prayer which thy servant prayeth before thee:
20 that thine eyes may be open toward this house day and
night, even toward the place whereof thou hast said that
thou wouldest put thy name there; to hearken unto the
prayer which thy servant shall pray toward this place.
21 And hearken thou to the supplications of thy servant,
and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward
this place: yea, hear thou from thy dwelling place, even
22 from heaven; and when thou hearest, forgive. If a man
sin against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him to
cause him to swear, and he come *and* swear before thine
23 altar in this house: then hear thou from heaven, and do,
and judge thy servants, requiting the wicked, to bring
his way upon his own head; and justifying the righteous,
24 to give him according to his righteousness. And if thy
people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because
they have sinned against thee; and shall turn again and

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20. put thy name there. In Semitic usage the name stood for far more than a mere appellative; indeed the expressions 'name,' 'face,' 'presence,' 'glory,' are interchangeable terms and practically denote Jehovah Himself. The term 'the Name' came, however, to be specially connected with the worship of Jehovah and with the Temple.

pray toward this place: i. e. in view of the reality of prayer, of which the Temple is the reminder and the pledge.

21. thy dwelling place, even . . . heaven: echoes the thought of verse 18.

when thou hearest, forgive: the two actions are rightly regarded as inseparable.

vi. 22–42. Solomon proceeds to plead for the divine response to particular cases of supplication.

22, 23. The first case is one of an *appeal to Jehovah* where no ordinary proof of innocence is obtainable: cf. Num. v. 5, &c.

24, 25. The next case is that of *military disaster* due to national sin. The reference to the Exile is only apparent, not real.

confess thy name, and pray and make supplication before
thee in this house: then hear thou from heaven, and forgive 25
the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again
unto the land which thou gavest to them and to their
fathers. When the heaven is shut up, and there is no 26
rain, because they have sinned against thee; if they pray
toward this place, and confess thy name, and turn from
their sin, when thou dost afflict them: then hear thou in 27
heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people
Israel, when thou teachest them the good way wherein they
should walk; and send rain upon thy land, which thou
hast given to thy people for an inheritance. If there be 28
in the land famine, if there be pestilence, if there be
blasting or mildew, locust or caterpiller; if their enemies
besiege them in the land of their cities; whatsoever plague
or whatsoever sickness there be; what prayer and sup- 29
plication soever be made by any man, or by all thy people
Israel, which shall know every man his own plague and
his own sorrow, and shall spread forth his hands toward
this house: then hear thou from heaven thy dwelling 30
place, and forgive, and render unto every man according
to all his ways, whose heart thou knowest: (for thou, even
thou only, knowest the hearts of the children of men;)
that they may fear thee, to walk in thy ways, so long as 31
they live in the land which thou gavest unto our fathers.

26, 27. The third case is that of *drought*.

when thou dost afflict: the text should be emended with LXX and 1 Kings, to read thus rather than 'because thou answerest them,' as R. V. marg.

vi. 28-31. *Further Cases of Trouble.*

28. in the land of their cities: Heb. 'gates'; LXX gives 'the enemy before their cities.' The true reading occurs in 1 Kings viii. 37.

29. every man his own plague: the phrase is meant to cover all calamities not yet specified.

32 Moreover concerning the stranger, that is not of thy
people Israel, when he shall come from a far country for
thy great name's sake, and thy mighty hand, and thy
stretched out arm; when they shall come and pray
33 toward this house: then hear thou from heaven, even
from thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the
stranger calleth to thee for; that all the peoples of the
earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as doth thy
people Israel, and that they may know that this house
34 which I have built is called by thy name. If thy people
go out to battle against their enemies, by whatsoever way
thou shalt send them, and they pray unto thee toward
this city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I
35 have built for thy name: then hear thou from heaven
their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their
36 cause. If they sin against thee, (for there is no man that
sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver
them to the enemy, so that they carry them away captive
37 unto a land far off or near; yet if they shall bethink
themselves in the land whither they are carried captive,
and turn again, and make supplication unto thee in the
land of their captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have
38 done perversely, and have dealt wickedly; if they return
unto thee with all their heart and with all their soul in the

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vi. 32, 33. *The Case of the Naturalized Alien.*

33. called by thy name: literally 'thy name is called upon this house.'

vi. 34, 35. *Prayer for Military Triumph.* To discover here a reference to the post-exilic period is far-fetched. Solomon conceives the possible rather than reviews the actual.

34. toward this city: the custom of praying with the face towards Jerusalem was regarded by the chronicler as pre-exilic.

vi. 36-39. *Prayers of Captives.*

36. no man that sinneth not: the possibility of erring is recognized as inherently human.

land of their captivity, whither they have carried them
captive, and pray toward their land, which thou gavest
unto their fathers, and the city which thou hast chosen,
and toward the house which I have built for thy name:
then hear thou from heaven, even from thy dwelling place, 39
their prayer and their supplications, and maintain their
cause; and forgive thy people which have sinned against
thee. Now, O my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be 40
open, and let thine ears be attent, unto the prayer that is
made in this place. [Ch] Now therefore arise, O LORD 41
God, into thy resting place, thou, and the ark of thy
strength: let thy priests, O LORD God, be clothed with
salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness. O LORD 42
God, turn not away the face of thine anointed: remember
the mercies of David thy servant.

Now when Solomon had made an end of praying, the 7

40-43. The conclusion of Solomon's prayer differs entirely from that recorded in 1 Kings viii, where the prayer terminates with a reference to the close relation of the covenant people to Jehovah. This is appropriate enough; but the curious differences between the Hebrew text and the LXX, in this passage, point to early uncertainties in the text. The concluding petitions, as given by the chronicler, bear the marks of originality. No more fitting close is possible than to take up the opening thought and plead with Jehovah to make the shrine His dwelling-place while remembering the pious deeds of David.

Verses 41, 42 are really a mutilated rendering of Ps. cxxxii. 8-10; but this affords no indication of authenticity, for it is still uncertain whether the Psalm is the original or the recension of our passage, while no agreement has been reached as to whether the Psalm is pre-exilic or post-exilic. On the whole the balance of proof favours the assumption that the chronicler has the original reading.

(*c*) vii. 1-10. *The Dedicatory Sacrifices.*

vii. 1-3. Immediately on the conclusion of Solomon's prayer Jehovah gave a visible proof of His favour. Fire descended from heaven and consumed the sacrifices, while the glory of the Lord filled the Temple. The priests were unable to enter the Temple,

fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt
offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the LORD
2 filled the house. And the priests could not enter into the
house of the LORD, because the glory of the LORD filled
3 the LORD's house. And all the children of Israel looked
on, when the fire came down, and the glory of the LORD
was upon the house; and they bowed themselves with
their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and
worshipped, and gave thanks unto the LORD, *saying*, For
4 he is good; for his mercy *endureth* for ever. [**H**] Then
the king and all the people offered sacrifice before the
5 LORD. And king Solomon offered a sacrifice of twenty
and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty
thousand sheep. So the king and all the people
6 dedicated the house of God. [**Ch**] And the priests stood,

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where the glory shone, but the multitudes without worshipped God in reverent act and in praise.

Attempts have been made to repudiate the genuineness of this passage on the grounds that it is not found in 1 Kings and that it contains certain inconsistencies. But whether the narrative be derived from the common source of Kings and Chronicles or only from tradition, it is in perfect harmony with the context, and may be credited. We hold, with Keil, that it was the dominantly prophetic interest of the author of Kings that led him to omit to mention this second confirmation of the divine acceptance of the Temple, while he gave prominence to the royal blessing that followed; whereas it was the eminently Levitic interest of the chronicler that led him to instance the renewed hallowing of the national sanctuary while passing over the blessing.

1. fire came down from heaven: fire was a common symbol of the divine presence. The presence of the cloud and the glory has already been mentioned in verses 13, 14; but we have here the fuller manifestation of Jehovah's favour.

vii. 4-10. After the descent of the fire from heaven, Solomon probably uttered the blessing upon the people given in 1 Kings viii. 54-61; and then the great festival terminated with sacrifices and worship.

5. dedicated the house of God: the rare word here used gives the title *Hănnukkāh*, which is applied to the Feast of Dedications, of which the observance dates from the time of Judas Maccabaeus.

according to their offices; the Levites also with instruments of music of the LORD, which David the king had made to give thanks unto the LORD, for his mercy *endureth* for ever, when David praised by their ministry: and the priests sounded trumpets before them; and all
Israel stood. [H] Moreover Solomon hallowed the 7
middle of the court that was before the house of the LORD; for there he offered the burnt offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings: because the brasen altar which Solomon had made was not able to receive the burnt
offering, and the meal offering, and the fat. So Solomon 8
held the feast at that time seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, from the entering in of
Hamath unto the brook of Egypt. And on the eighth 9
day they held a solemn assembly: for they kept the

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6. This verse is peculiar to the chronicler, and has been added in perfect harmony with his consuming interest in questions of Levitic ritual. It describes how the dedicatory sacrifices were followed by a service of song.

7. Solomon hallowed the middle of the court. The vastness of the offerings necessitated the temporary setting apart of a whole section of the court for the use of the sacrificing priests, seeing that the brazen altar was inadequate. Two kinds of sacrifices are singled out for mention—the **burnt offering,** which was the sacrifice of the entire animal, and the **peace offering,** which was limited to the burning of the fat. The meal offering is omitted: cf. 1 Kings viii. 64.

8. held the feast: cf. note on verse 3.

seven days: this is evidently correct. The author of Kings has so confused his narrative as to make it fourteen days.

the entering in of Hamath: cf. note on 1 Chron. xiii. 5.

the brook of Egypt: i.e. the Wady-el-Arīsh, about fifty miles south-west of Gaza; it formed the traditional southern limit of Hebrew territory.

9. on the eighth day. The duration of the dedication festival is in accord with the custom prevailing in the period reflected in Lev. xxiii. 36 (which is usually regarded as post-exilic), and departs from the regulations of Deut. xvi. 13-15 (which refer to

dedication of the altar seven days, and the feast seven
10 days. And on the three and twentieth day of the seventh
month he sent the people away unto their tents, joyful
and glad of heart for the goodness that the LORD had
shewed unto David, and to Solomon, and to Israel his
people.

11 Thus Solomon finished the house of the LORD, and
the king's house: and all that came into Solomon's heart
to make in the house of the LORD, and in his own house,
12 he prosperously effected. And the LORD appeared to
Solomon by night, and said unto him, I have heard thy
prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house
13 of sacrifice. [Ch] If I shut up heaven that there be no
rain, or if I command the locust to devour the land, or if
14 I send pestilence among my people; if my people, which
are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and

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the pre-exilic days). On the eighth day the people, instead of departing to their homes, hold a solemn festival.

10. on the three and twentieth day: in accordance with verse 9 the people only return home after the completion of the eight days' festival.

(*d*) vii. 11-22. *The Divine Response.* In the night following the conclusion of the festival Jehovah appeared a second time to Solomon in a dream, and assured him that his prayer should be answered. The chronicler found the material for this narrative in 1 Kings viii. 1-9, where it forms a sequel to the events which precede it. It is full of Deuteronomic expressions, and was, therefore, probably put into its present linguistic form by a post-exilic writer. To attribute the closing verses, however, to a later editor, who wished to explain the overthrow of Jerusalem, is unwarrantable, unless one is prepared to repudiate a divine guidance in history.

12. by night: presumably in a dream.

The section from verse 12^b, 'and have chosen this place,' to verse 16^a, is an insertion of the chronicler's. It summarizes the royal petitions of the prayer of dedication and promises an answer to them on the condition already mentioned to Solomon. The narrative of 1 Kings viii is resumed at verse 16.

pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways;
then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin,
and will heal their land. Now mine eyes shall be open, 15
and mine ears attent, unto the prayer that is made in this
place. [H] For now have I chosen and hallowed this house, 16
that my name may be there for ever: and mine eyes and
mine heart shall be there perpetually. And as for thee, 17
if thou wilt walk before me as David thy father walked,
and do according to all that I have commanded thee,
and wilt keep my statutes and my judgements; then I 18
will establish the throne of thy kingdom, according as I
covenanted with David thy father, saying, There shall not
fail thee a man to be ruler in Israel. But if ye turn away, 19
and forsake my statutes and my commandments which I
have set before you, and shall go and serve other gods, and
worship them: then will I pluck them up by the roots 20
out of my land which I have given them; and this house,
which I have hallowed for my name, will I cast out of my
sight, and I will make it a proverb and a byword among
all peoples. And this house, which is so high, every one 21
that passeth by it shall be astonished, and shall say, Why
hath the LORD done thus unto this land, and to this

17, 18. Jehovah renews His promise to establish the dynasty so long as it remains loyal to Him.

19, 20. The change from the singular 'thou' of the preceding verses to the plural 'you' and 'them' in these two verses is remarkable. A solemn warning is given as to the inevitable results of indulging the fatal tendency of the people to idolatry. It is not improbable that Solomon had already begun to manifest laxity in this respect through his marriage alliances.

21. this house, which is so high: this reading is preferable to the parallel reading in 1 Kings ix. 8.

shall be astonished: the inevitable results of disloyalty to Jehovah should cause amazement among the heathen. The thought of verses 21, 22 is closely parallel to Deut. xxix. 24-29, and is frequently found in the later prophets.

22 house? And they shall answer, Because they forsook the LORD, the God of their fathers, which brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.

8 And it came to pass at the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the house of the LORD, [**Ch**] and his
2 own house, that the cities which Huram had given to Solomon, Solomon built them, and caused the children of Israel to dwell there.

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(5) viii. *Imperial Organization.*

The outstanding achievement of Solomon's reign was undoubtedly the building of the Temple; hence the chronicler, even apart from his pronounced leaning to Levitical interests, would naturally devote his main space to the details of its construction and dedication. In the present chapter he follows the author of 1 Kings (cf. 1 Kings ix, x–xi, xvii–xxviii), grouping together various facts concerning matters of imperial organization. These facts were probably extracted by the earlier historian from the annals of Solomon, and have been edited by the author of Chronicles in a way which implies the accessibility of other sources of information.

viii. 1–6. *Fortification of Certain Cities.*

1. at the end of twenty years: the construction of the Temple occupied seven years, that of the royal palace thirteen years (cf. 1 Kings vi. 38, vii. 1).

2. the cities which Huram had given to Solomon: we have no record elsewhere of a gift of cities made by Huram (i.e. Hiram) to Solomon, although there is no reason why such a gift should not have been a part of the friendly relationship of these monarchs. But the remarkable fact to notice here is that the parallel passage in 1 Kings ix. 11 speaks of Solomon as giving 'twenty cities in the land of Galilee' to Hiram, and that the context, while describing Hiram's discontent with the ceded cities, states that Hiram sent to Solomon a sum of sixty talents of gold upon their receipt. Unless the chronicler's words refer to an instance of which we know nothing, he has mistaken and misrepresented a transaction in which Solomon parted with a tract of unimportant territory for a monetary consideration; and such a misrepresentation is readily explained by the chronicler's exaggerated estimate of the golden days of his country's history.

And Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and prevailed 3
against it. [H] And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, 4
and all the store cities, which he built in Hamath. Also 5
he built Beth-horon the upper, and Beth-horon the
nether, fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars; and 6
Baalath, and all the store cities that Solomon had, and
all the cities for his chariots, and the cities for his horsemen, and all that Solomon desired to build for his pleasure
in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his
dominion. As for all the people that were left of the 7
Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the

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3. Hamath-zobah: Zobah is a state of undiscovered site, but it probably lay in the neighbourhood of Emesa, between Damascus and Hamath. In Assyrian inscriptions the city is called Subutu: cf. note on 1 Chron. xviii. 4 and 9. There is reason to doubt the integrity of the text in this place, and considerable obscurity hangs over its reference to Solomon's campaign against Hamath-zobah (or Hamath-of-Zobah).

4. Tadmor in the wilderness: Tadmur is the modern name of the great city between Damascus and the Euphrates known to the Greeks as Palmyra, and this city existed in the days of the chronicler, but not in Solomon's time. Evidently the chronicler misread the text of his original and thought Tadmur was alluded to. But the whole context applies to cities of Judah (cf. verse 5), and a reference to 1 Kings ix. 18 shows that the original read 'Tamar in the wilderness,' i. e. a border town of Judah lying somewhere near the south-west extremity of the Dead Sea.

store cities, which he built in Hamath: the name of the northern Aramaean state has probably crept in owing to the error in verse 4, and should be corrected by 1 Kings ix. 19.

5. Beth-horon. Solomon fortified these twin cities on the great northern route from Jerusalem to its port of Joppa: cf. note on 1 Chron. vii. 24.

6. Baalath: an unknown city.

in Lebanon: we have no information of Solomon's possessions in Lebanon. They must have been connected with his timber-cutting or mining operations.

viii. 7-11. *Solomon's Forced Labour.* The statement of verse 7 is abruptly introduced. It declares that forced labour was exacted from the alien Canaanitish remnants, whereas the liberties of the

8 Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel; of their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not, of them did Solomon
9 raise a levy *of bondservants*, unto this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work; but they were men of war, and chief of his captains,
10 and rulers of his chariots and of his horsemen. And these were the chief officers of king Solomon, even two hundred and fifty, that bare rule over the people.
11 [Ch] And Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David unto the house that he had built for her: for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the LORD hath come.
12 [Ch^2] Then Solomon offered burnt offerings unto the

Hebrews were duly respected. The accuracy of this statement only holds good for a limited period, for we read in 1 Kings v. 13 and xii. 4 that forced labour was also demanded of Israelites.

8. whom the children of Israel consumed not: a quite characteristic softening of the phrase of the original, 'whom the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy.'

raise a levy: i. e. bands of compulsory labourers.

unto this day: the author was reading back from his own day, when forced labour was demanded of none but aliens, and is noting how such labour originated under Solomon.

9. chief of his captains: read, with LXX and 1 Kings, 'his princes and his captains.' The posts of honour, mainly military, were assigned to Israelites. The word used for 'captain' literally means 'the third man,' and seems to have come into use from the fact that the chariot carried a driver and a combatant in addition to the 'captain.'

10. two hundred and fifty: 1 Kings gives 550.

11. Solomon's preparation of a separate house for his Egyptian consort from a religious scruple as to the legitimacy of her residence in the precincts of the Temple mount, now hallowed by the Ark, is even more abruptly introduced than in 1 Kings, seeing that the chronicler has nowhere mentioned the king's Egyptian marriage.

viii. 12-16. *Annual Sacrifices.* Our author has largely amplified

LORD on the altar of the LORD, which he had built before
the porch, even as the duty of every day required, 13
offering according to the commandment of Moses, on the
sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the set feasts,
three times in the year, *even* in the feast of unleavened
bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of
tabernacles. [**Ch**] And he appointed, according to the 14
ordinance of David his father, the courses of the priests
to their service, and the Levites to their charges, to praise,
and to minister before the priests, as the duty of every day
required: the doorkeepers also by their courses at every
gate: for so had David the man of God commanded.
And they departed not from the commandment of the 15
king unto the priests and Levites concerning any matter,
or concerning the treasures. Now all the work of 16
Solomon was prepared unto the day of the foundation of
the house of the LORD, and until it was finished. *So* the
house of the LORD was perfected.

[**H**] Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth, 17

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the brief statement of 1 Kings ix. 25, giving such details of the royal sacrifices as display a close familiarity with the Deuteronomic requirements: cf. Lev. xxiii. 37.

viii. 12, 13. The great religious festivals and the daily sacrifices were all duly ordered.

12. the altar of the LORD: mentioned here for the first time as being built by Solomon.

viii. 14–16. The Temple service was established upon the lines already determined by David: cf. 1 Chron. xxiii–xxvi.

16. unto the day of the foundation: read 'from the day . . .' with LXX, Vulg., Syriac.

viii. 17–18. *The Expedition to Ophir.* The friendship of Solomon's Tyrian ally, Huram, was displayed on sea as well as on land. By the aid of his shipwrights and seamen Solomon was able to construct a fleet which traded with the land of Ophir and brought thence a vast sum of the famous gold.

17. Ezion-geber: a town of undetermined site. Probably it

18 on the sea shore in the land of Edom. And Huram
sent him by the hands of his servants ships, and servants
that had knowledge of the sea; and they came with the
servants of Solomon to Ophir, and fetched from thence
four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought them
to king Solomon.

9 And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame

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should be identified with 'Ain-el-Ghuḍyan, a spot now fifteen miles inland above the head of the Red Sea. The constant filling up of the coast-line by the alluvial river-deposits makes this position credible. In Solomon's day it was a port of some importance. Near by lay **Eloth,** the modern 'Akābā. It is situated at the head of the north-east arm of the Red Sea. These ports are said to have been situated **in the land of Edom,** which at that time was insecurely held by Solomon (cf. 1 Kings xi), although he evidently had a firm hold of the great trade-route between the capital and the southern ports.

18. Ophir: according to the most probable theory (that of Glaser) Ophir lay on the east coast of Arabia, where there was an ancient gold-producing district. The return voyage around the entire peninsula of Arabia undoubtedly would require the three years allotted thereto in 1 Kings.

four hundred and fifty talents: over two and a half millions sterling.

(6) ix. *The Queen of Sheba and Solomon's Wealth.*

(*a*) ix. 1–12. *Visit of the Queen of Sheba.* The chronicler observes a perfectly natural sequence, as does his earlier authority (1 Kings x. 1–13), in proceeding from the narrative of Solomon's power, his building achievements, and his imperial revenue, to an account of his magnificence and far-spread renown. Hence he introduces here a remarkable illustration of his fame. The queen of Sheba, doubtless bound to the Hebrew monarch by strong commercial interests, visits the king in his capital. Her express desire is to learn the truth of the reports concerning his wisdom, but we may surmise that political and commercial considerations were not absent. This is all the more probable if the connexion between Sheba and Ophir be such as it has been held to be (cf. note on verse 1).

1. the queen of Sheba. In his recent researches into the history and geography of Arabia, Glaser has made discoveries which seem to establish the belief that Sheba had very important connexions with the eastern Arabian goldfields of Ophir (cf. Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 357 ff.). To reach Ophir Solomon's fleet must

of Solomon, she came to prove Solomon with hard questions at Jerusalem, with a very great train, and camels that bare spices, and gold in abundance, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart.
And Solomon told her all her questions: and there was 2
not any thing hid from Solomon which he told her not.
And when the queen of Sheba had seen the wisdom of 3
Solomon, and the house that he had built, and the meat 4
of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his cupbearers also, and their apparel; and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD; there was no more spirit
in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report 5

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have sailed round the south-west of Arabia, where lay the great commercial power of Sheba. There are still extensive early ruins at Marib, the ancient capital, but excavations have hitherto been impossible owing to the unsettled nature of the interior. Of its early history little is known. It certainly flourished by 1000 B.C., and about 550 B.C. its priest-kings attained to the dominant power in Arabia by overthrowing the early Minean kingdom, which extended as far as Edom and Media (cf. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*).

with hard questions: i. e. problems and catch-questions—a display of Oriental quickness of thought and dialectic is meant.

with a very great train: her retinue was a fitting proof of the greatness of her empire, and all the natural products of south-west Arabia were brought in abundance.

2. there was not any thing hid from Solomon: the king proved able to meet all tests of his wisdom.

4. the sitting of his servants: probably refers to the mess of the royal household.

the attendance of his ministers: i. e. the ability of the court functionaries.

his ascent: the Hebrew text has 'his upper chambers,' but one must read 'his ascent' with 1 Kings, LXX, Vulg., and Syr.

there was no more spirit in her: i. e. she was overwhelmed with amazement and admiration.

5, 6. The queen of Sheba declares that Solomon's greatness and wisdom exceeded all that report had told.

that I heard in mine own land of thine acts, and of thy
6 wisdom. Howbeit I believed not their words, until I
came, and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the half
of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me: thou
7 exceedest the fame that I heard. Happy are thy men,
and happy are these thy servants, which stand continually
8 before thee, and hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the Lord
thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on his
throne, to be king for the Lord thy God: because thy
God loved Israel, to establish them for ever, therefore
made he thee king over them, to do judgement and
9 justice. And she gave the king an hundred and twenty
talents of gold, and spices in great abundance, and
precious stones: neither was there any such spice as the
10 queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon. And the servants
also of Huram, and the servants of Solomon, which
brought gold from Ophir, brought algum trees and
11 precious stones. And the king made of the algum
trees terraces for the house of the Lord, and for the
king's house, and harps and psalteries for the singers:
and there were none such seen before in the land of
12 Judah. And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba
all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that which
she had brought unto the king. So she turned, and
went to her own land, she and her servants.

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8. on his throne, to be king for the LORD thy God: an expansion due to the chronicler.

9. The queen's gifts were on a scale of Oriental magnificence, the gold alone being equal to seven and a half millions sterling.

ix. 10, 11. These verses occupy the same position as in 1 Kings, but they are evidently misplaced: a natural sequence would have placed them at the close of ch. viii.

10. algum trees: cf. note on 2 Chron. ii. 8.

11. terraces: 1 Kings x. 12 reads 'pillars.'

12. beside that which she had brought unto the king: this

Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one 13
year was six hundred and threescore and six talents of
gold; beside that which the chapmen and merchants 14
brought: and all the kings of Arabia and the governors
of the country brought gold and silver to Solomon. And 15
king Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold:
six hundred *shekels* of beaten gold went to one target.
And *he made* three hundred shields of beaten gold; three 16
hundred *shekels* of gold went to one shield: and the
king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon.

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can scarcely be correct; 1 Kings reads 'beside that which Solomon gave her.'

(*b*) ix. 13-21. *The Imperial Exchequer.* The narrative concerning the imperial revenue which closes ch. viii is now taken up again. It follows 1 Kings x. 14-22.

13. in one year: it can scarcely be implied that the enormous sum of £4,100,000, as an annual income in gold alone, represents the average maintained throughout Solomon's reign.

14. chapmen: the text is admittedly corrupt. The word rendered 'chapmen' literally means 'spies.' The rendering of the LXX, the 'overseers,' is evidently due to an attempt to make the best of an unintelligible phrase. Kittel would read 'cities' with the Syriac and render 'besides that which the cities and the merchants brought.'

all the kings of Arabia: after the example of the queen of Sheba—or possibly as the result of the suzerainty of Solomon.

governors: LXX renders 'satraps.'

ix. 15, 16. *The Golden Shields.* These were merely ornamental shields for use on occasions of royal display (cf. xii. 11).

The **target** was the full-length shield and was about four times the size of the small round **shield.** The amount of gold to a shield (300 shekels) is stated in 1 Kings to have been 'three pound,' i. e. 150 or 180 shekels, which is more likely to be correct.

16. the house of the forest of Lebanon: a great hall in the royal palace of Solomon. It was evidently used as an armoury. The number of pillars of cedar-wood used in its construction led to its popular designation. It is approximately described in 1 Kings vii. 2-5, where the dimensions are given as 175 × 88 × 53 feet. The roof seems to have rested upon three rows of fifteen pillars.

17 Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and
18 overlaid it with pure gold. And there were six steps to
the throne, with a footstool of gold, which were fastened
to the throne, and stays on either side by the place of
19 the seat, and two lions standing beside the stays. And
twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other
upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any
20 kingdom. And all king Solomon's drinking vessels were
of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of
Lebanon were of pure gold: silver was nothing accounted
21 of in the days of Solomon. For the king had ships that
went to Tarshish with the servants of Huram: once
every three years came the ships of Tarshish, bringing

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ix. 17-19. *The Ivory Throne.* The ivory and gold were probably used for veneering and plating the throne; they do not necessarily represent the solid substance of the structure.

18. a footstool of gold, . . . fastened to the throne: the Hebrew word for 'footstool' (כבשׁ, *kebĕsh*) was almost certainly in the original 'lamb' (כבשׂ, *kĕbĕs*). This original, 'lamb,' seems to have been a scribe's substitute for an earlier reading, 'calf' (עגל, *'ēgel*), which he altered through a dislike to the heathen symbolism of the calf. Probably 'calf' originally stood in the parallel passage in 1 Kings x. 19, as it, indeed, still does in the LXX of that passage; but through a similar dislike some early scribe changed it to 'round' (עגול, *'āgōl*), giving the reading 'the top of the throne was round behind.' When the word 'calf' had passed through this series of changes into 'footstool,' then other words had to be changed to suit the context.

stays: the form was that of an armchair.

ix. 20, 21. *Further Imperial Commerce.*

20. silver was nothing accounted of: the abundance of gold led to the depreciation of silver.

21. ships that went to Tarshish: the apparent meaning is that this fleet made a triennial voyage to Tartessus, an ancient Spanish town on the Guadalquiver. This meaning cannot be got out of 1 Kings x. 22, which simply speaks of 'Tarshish ships,' i.e. a sea-going fleet such as the Phoenicians used for their voyages to Tarshish. The narrative of 1 Kings has reference to the expeditions to Ophir, and the chronicler may have mistaken the meaning. The merchandise brought by the fleet, 'gold, and silver,

gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks. So king 22
Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth in riches
and wisdom. And all the kings of the earth sought the 23
presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God
had put in his heart. And they brought every man his 24
present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment,
armour, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by
year. [Ch²] And Solomon had four thousand stalls for 25
horses and chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen,
which he bestowed in the chariot cities, and with the
king at Jerusalem. And he ruled over all the kings 26
from the River even unto the land of the Philistines, and
to the border of Egypt. [H] And the king made silver 27
to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be
as the sycomore trees that are in the lowland, for abundance. And they brought horses for Solomon out of 28
Egypt, and out of all lands.

[Ch²] Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and 29

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ivory, and apes, and peacocks,' is the produce of Arabia, not Africa, and would be the natural freight of the Ophir fleet, and quite as unnatural a freight from Spain. For 'ivory' the LXX reads 'ivory teeth.'

(*c*) ix. 22-28. *Imperial Magnificence.* The empire of Solomon's reign of peace is here stated to have been world-wide. All rulers bring tribute to the Hebrew monarch, whose majesty and wisdom are famed throughout all lands and whose reign was one of ceaseless progress, unbroken by the clash of arms.

25. four thousand stalls for horses and chariots: the divergence from 1 Kings x. 26 should be noted. Moreover, we seem to have here a doublet to 2 Chron. i. 14 ff., although due to a later source.

26. from the River: i. e. the Euphrates.

27. in the lowland: i. e. the Shephēlah : cf. note on 1 Chron. xxvii. 28.

28. out of Egypt: cf. notes on 2 Chron. i. 16, 17.

(*d*) ix. 29-31. *Summary of Solomon's Reign.*

29. For the sources referred to cf. Introd. § iv.

last, are they not written in the history of Nathan th
prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite
and in the visions of Iddo the seer concerning Jeroboan
30 the son of Nebat? [H] And Solomon reigned in Jeru
31 salem over all Israel forty years. And Solomon slep
with his fathers, and he was buried in the city of Davi
his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead
10 And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel wer

30–31. The passage is taken from 1 Kings xi. 42, 43. Th chronicler omits the account of Solomon's idolatries and politica upheavals which occupies 1 Kings xi, and represents the reign a one of undimmed splendour ending in a blaze of glory. This i in perfect harmony with his eclectic aims.

FOURTH PART

x–xxxvi. History of Judah from Solomon to the Captivity.

The fourth section of the Book of the Chronicles comprise 2 Chron. x–xxxvi. It is concerned with the history of th southern kingdom from the death of Solomon to the Captivity The annals of the kings of Judah are given with much greate fullness than in the Book of Kings, where the history of bot kingdoms is narrated. Of the events which transpired under th earlier kings, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, th narrative of the Chronicles is specially full. And, throughout the chronicler is at pains to show how the exigencies of th national fortunes were connected with the national attitud towards Jehovah. Fidelity to the law of God leads to prosperit and victory, whereas a lapse into apostasy leads to failure an defeat. As the narrative proceeds we see the people given ove so utterly to idolatry under Ahaz and Manasseh that pious effort such as those of Hezekiah and Josiah fail to recall them to thei earlier fidelity to Jehovah, and the inevitable results follow in th great Exile. The curtain falls on Judah's national independence with the triumph of Chaldaea.

(1) x. *The Revolt of the Northern Tribes.*

The narrative of the disruption of the kingdom has been taken, with very little alteration, from the same source as 1 Kings xii. 1–19. It is cast in vivid and dramatic language. A national assembly has been convened to confirm the title of Solomon's successor. During the proceedings spokesmen of the people are put forward to ask for the abolition of forced labour. The heir

come to Shechem to make him king. And it came to 2
pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard of it, (for he was in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of king Solomon,) that Jeroboam returned out of Egypt.

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to the throne promises to reply in three days. When he again meets the popular representatives, it is to answer them according to the mad counsel of his young companions, in direct opposition to the advice of the elder statesmen. This autocratic contempt of the popular demand is followed by the immediate revolt of the northern tribes. The official taskmaster is stoned, the king compelled to save his life in flight, and Jeroboam elected to the kingship of the northern confederacy. It is the house of Judah alone that remains loyal to David's line.

It is at this point that the chronicler and the author of 1 Kings diverge. The earlier historian displays a certain sympathy with the northern tribesmen. or at least expresses no strong disapproval of the schism. But the chronicler. himself a Levite, and living centuries after the obliteration of Israel as a nation, views the revolt from the standpoint of its final issues. To him the northern tribesmen were apostates from the will and from the worship of Jehovah, rejected and destroyed for that apostasy. The historic purpose of God had, nevertheless, not fallen to the ground ; it had worked itself out through the southern tribesmen with a persistency which not even the Exile could withstand. Hence an historian to whom the divine purpose in history was the permanent consideration must limit his writings to the record of the experiences of loyal Judah and the vicissitudes of its history. This is why the northern kings are ignored after Jeroboam has been contemptuously dismissed, and all interest henceforth centres in the Davidic monarchy.

1. **Rehoboam:** his reign should be dated 932–916 B. C. The new monarch was arrogant and headstrong, but at the same time he lacked energy and was fundamentally weak.

Shechem: the modern Nāblous, on the north-east slopes of Mount Gerizim. From early days it was regarded as a sanctuary and was of great political importance. Lying at the junction of several great trade-routes, it is to-day a busy town of 20,000 inhabitants. As the chief sanctuary of the northern tribes it was thither that the national assembly, 'all Israel,' was summoned for the coronation of Rehoboam.

2. **Jeroboam the son of Nebat:** Jeroboam is described as an Ephraimite of the house of Nebat. He early gave proof of his unique ability and rose to an important position in Solomon's civil administration. But resenting, probably, the royal despotism, and

3 And they sent and called him; and Jeroboam and all
4 Israel came, and they spake to Rehoboam, saying, Thy
father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou
the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke
which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee.
5 And he said unto them, Come again unto me after three
6 days. And the people departed. And king Rehoboam
took counsel with the old men, that had stood before
Solomon his father while he yet lived, saying, What
counsel give ye me to return answer to this people?
7 And they spake unto him, saying, If thou be kind to
this people, and please them, and speak good words to
8 them, then they will be thy servants for ever. But he
forsook the counsel of the old men which they had given
him, and took counsel with the young men that were
9 grown up with him, that stood before him. And he said
unto them, What counsel give ye, that we may return
answer to this people, who have spoken to me, saying,

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desirous of personal advancement, he had incurred Solomon's displeasure and had fled for asylum to Shishak, king of Egypt. Already his ambitions had been kindled by an interview with the prophet Ahijah; and on Solomon's death, seeing his chance, he returned to champion the people in their demand for freedom from forced labour.

4. the grievous service of thy father: evidently Solomon's ambitious architectural schemes had weighed heavily on the people of Israel as well as upon the alien population. The deputation merely requested that their obligations should be lightened instead of the nation being ground down in the interests of an inflated imperialism.

5. three days: Rehoboam asked for time to consider a matter of such national importance.

6. counsel with the old men: Solomon's tried councillors advised a diplomatic answer which should appease the popular agitation and secure the royal power.

8. the young men: i. e. companions of his own age, younger princes, who were of an overweening and imperious spirit, and who advised him to treat the people with scorn.

Make the yoke that thy father did put upon us lighter?
And the young men that were grown up with him spake 10
unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou say unto the people
that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke
heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou
say unto them, My little finger is thicker than my father's
loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a 11
heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father chastised
you with whips, but I *will chastise you* with scorpions.
So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam the 12
third day, as the king bade, saying, Come to me again
the third day. And the king answered them roughly; 13
and king Rehoboam forsook the counsel of the old men,
and spake to them after the counsel of the young men, 14
saying, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add
thereto: my father chastised you with whips, but I *will
chastise you* with scorpions. So the king hearkened not 15
unto the people; for it was brought about of God, that
the LORD might establish his word, which he spake by
the hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the son
of Nebat. And when all Israel saw that the king 16
hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king,
saying, What portion have we in David? neither have

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11. I will chastise you **with scorpions:** a symbol for the severest discipline; the word suggests an instrument of flagellation.

12–14. Rehoboam answers the deputation according to the haughty advice of the younger councillors.

15. it was brought about of God: by the Hebrew mind there was little account taken of second causes. The guiding hand of God was seen in all things and the problem of the origin of evil was tacitly ignored.

Ahijah the Shilonite: Ahijah, a native of Shiloh (the modern Seilun, near Bethel), appeared before Jeroboam in the capacity of a prophet and foretold his future eminence. The incident is not recorded by the chronicler, but cf. 1 Kings xi. 26–40.

16. What portion have we in David? The popular response

we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to
your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David.
17 So all Israel departed unto their tents. But as for the
children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah,
18 Rehoboam reigned over them. Then king Rehoboam
sent Hadoram, who was over the levy; and the children
of Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. And
king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot,
19 to flee to Jerusalem. So Israel rebelled against the house
of David, unto this day.

11 And when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, he

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was a defiance of the authority of Rehoboam; yet, coupled with it, there was the determination to effect a peaceful revolution.

to your tents, O Israel: i.e. 'break up the national assembly.' The cry of dismissal is in poetic form and displays the invariable parallelism of Hebrew metre:—

'What have we of portion in David!
Yea, no inheritance in the son of Jesse!
To thy tents, O Israel!
Now, see to thine house, O David!'

18. Hadoram, who was over the levy: the folly of sending an official so naturally unpopular is manifest. The people are infuriated by his arrival and stone him to death. The king himself with difficulty escapes.

19. unto this day: here the phrase is not an anachronism. The revolt was final and absolute, little less than a catastrophe for the royal line of David.

(2) xi–xii. *Rehoboam's Reign.*

The chronicler makes no attempt to give a chronological account of the reign of Rehoboam. He merely groups the incidents of the period, arranging them primarily with a view to their religious significance. The material is in the main distinct from that of 1 Kings, from which he merely borrows xii. 22–24 and xiv. 25–31, adding much original matter. He relates the preparation of Rehoboam to recover control of the revolted tribes by force of arms and the abandonment of the attempt at the bidding of the prophet Shemaiah. He shows us that the rule of Jeroboam was by no means unanimously accepted by the northern tribesmen, of whom many migrated to Judah. He also describes Rehoboam's settle-

assembled the house of Judah and Benjamin, an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against Israel, to bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam. But the word of the LORD came to She- 2
maiah the man of God, saying, Speak unto Rehoboam 3
the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in
Judah and Benjamin, saying, Thus saith the LORD, Ye 4
shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren: return every man to his house; for this thing is of me. So they hearkened unto the words of the LORD, and returned
from going against Jeroboam. [Ch] And Rehoboam 5
dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah.

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ment of the affairs of the kingdom, his lapse into idolatry, and his punishment by means of the Egyptian invasion.

xi. 1–4. *A Prophet averts Civil War.* Rehoboam immediately musters the full fighting force of the southern kingdom to reduce Jeroboam; but civil war is temporarily averted by the message of Shemaiah. There was, however, only a brief period of peace, as we gather from the statement of xii. 15 that 'there were wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually.'

1. Judah and Benjamin: at the moment of disruption only Judah stood loyal to Rehoboam (cf. 1 Kings xii. 20); but either Benjamin threw in its lot with the southern kingdom very soon or else we have here a post-exilic record of the ultimate fusion of Benjamin with Judah.

2. Shemaiah: a prophet who performed his ministrations throughout the reign of Rehoboam. Here we find him preventing civil war. In xii. 5–7 he delivers Jehovah's message regarding the invasion of Shishak. And in xii. 15 he is named as the royal historian or annalist.

4. this thing is of me: i. e. as a chastisement for the apostasy of Solomon and the arrogance of Rehoboam.

xi. 5–12. *National Fortifications.* In view of the unsettled state of the southern kingdom and of the threatening attitude which Egypt seems to have adopted throughout his reign, Rehoboam built fifteen fortress cities for the defence of his country. As these cities lay either on the main roads from Jerusalem to Egypt or on the western hills of the Judean Shephēlah, and none of them upon the northern frontier of Judah, they were evidently fortified in view of the dangers from Egypt and not against northern Israel.

6, 7 He built even Beth-lehem, and Etam, and Tekoa, and
8 Beth-zur, and Soco, and Adullam, and Gath, and Mare-
9 shah, and Ziph, and Adoraim, and Lachish, and Azekah,
10 and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron, which are in Judah

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6. **Beth-lehem:** a small town in the Judean uplands five miles south-west of Jerusalem, now called Beit-laḥm. Rehoboam added its fortifications.

Etam: a town which seems to have been situated near Solomon's famous gardens, about one hour south of Beth-lehem; it is probably the modern 'Ain 'Aṭān.

Tekoa: on a lofty hill, two hours south of Beth-lehem, bordering on the wilderness.

7. **Beth-zur:** the modern Bēt-Ṣūr, four and a half miles north of Hebron, occupies an important strategic position on the high road from Hebron to Jerusalem.

Soco: in the Shephēlah, now represented by certain ruins known as esh-Shuweikeh.

Adullam: probably the modern 'Id-el-Mā in the east Shephēlah, three miles south-east of Soco. Extensive ancient ruins occupy the hillside, and caves exist near the summit.

8. **Gath:** the site of the ancient Philistine city of this name has not yet been identified. Probably the chronicler does not actually allude to this city, or if he does so it may be by error, for the Philistine Gath had its own Philistine king under Solomon (1 Kings ii. 39), and it was still Philistine in the days of Uzziah.

Mareshah: the Marissa of Josephus, in the Shephēlah of Judah, not far from Eleutheropolis (Beit-Jibrīn). It was the birthplace of the prophet Micah.

Ziph: identified with Tell-Zif, eight miles south-east of Hebron, in the Judean Shephēlah.

9. **Adoraim:** the modern Dūra, five miles south-west of Hebron.

Lachish: on a site now called Tell-el-Ḥesy, where excavations, commenced by Flinders Petrie in 1890, reveal an ancient and extensive city of Amorite origin. It is twelve miles from Eleutheropolis in the Shephēlah and is the furthest city in the direction of Egypt fortified by Rehoboam.

Azekah: another town in the Shephēlah, possibly represented by Bīr-ez-Zāġ, north of Soco.

10. **Zorah:** if the town in the Shephēlah be meant, it is the modern Ṣar'a, near Beth-shemesh, fourteen miles west of Jerusalem; but some site in the Negeb may possibly be intended, as no southern fortresses have yet been named.

Aijalon: the modern Yālō, on the edge of the valley, the

and in Benjamin, fenced cities. And he fortified the 11
strong holds, and put captains in them, and store of
victual, and oil and wine. And in every several city 12
he put shields and spears, and made them exceeding
strong. And Judah and Benjamin belonged to him.
And the priests and the Levites that were in all Israel 13
resorted to him out of all their border. For the Levites 14
left their suburbs and their possession, and came to
Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam and his sons cast
them off, that they should not execute the priest's office
unto the LORD: and he appointed him priests for the 15
high places, and for the he-goats, and for the calves
which he had made. And after them, out of all the 16

Merj-Ibn-'Umar, five miles from the lower Beth-horon and fourteen from Jerusalem.

Hebron: the modern el-Ḥalîl, on the uplands midway between Jerusalem and Beer-sheba.

xi. 13–17. *Immigrants from Northern Israel.*

13. the priests and the Levites: the chronicler naturally emphasizes the loyalty of his own order to Jehovah and the Temple.

14. for Jeroboam and his sons cast them off: Jeroboam had erected his own sanctuaries for northern Israel, fearing for their loyalty in case they should visit the legitimate sanctuary at Jerusalem, and had placed the emblematic calves in Beth-el and Dan as symbols of Jehovah. At these shrines he appointed non-Levitic priests; hence the priestly migration to Jerusalem followed. The northern kingdom never recovered from this apostasy.

15. the high places: the illegitimate shrines erected on the hills according to Canaanitish custom.

for the he-goats: A. V. 'for the devils'; cf. Lev. xvii. 7. This significance of the word is due to contact with Egypt, where the worship of the sacred goat was prevalent.

for the calves: these were intended to be symbolic of Jehovah; cf. Exod. xxxii. 4.

16. after them: following the example of the Levites, numbers of the northern clansmen migrated to the southern kingdom owing to religious causes.

tribes of Israel, such as set their hearts to seek the LORD,
the God of Israel, came to Jerusalem to sacrifice unto
17 the LORD, the God of their fathers. So they strengthened
the kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam the son of
Solomon strong, three years: for they walked three years
18 in the way of David and Solomon. And Rehoboam
took him a wife, Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth the
son of David, *and of* Abihail the daughter of Eliab the
19 son of Jesse; and she bare him sons; Jeush, and She-
20 mariah, and Zaham. And after her he took Maacah
the daughter of Absalom; and she bare him Abijah, and
21 Attai, and Ziza, and Shelomith. And Rehoboam loved
Maacah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives
and his concubines: (for he took eighteen wives, and
threescore concubines, and begat twenty and eight sons
22 and threescore daughters.) And Rehoboam appointed
Abijah the son of Maacah to be chief, *even* the prince
among his brethren: for *he was minded* to make him
23 king. And he dealt wisely, and dispersed of all his

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17. they strengthened the kingdom . . . three years: the indignation of the immigrants against Jeroboam's innovations only lasted for three years, and then their own loyalty to Jehovah failed.

xi. 18–23. *The Royal Family.*

18. the daughter of Jerimoth: so LXX, Vulg., &c., correctly. But the Hebrew text has 'son of Jerimoth.' Probably we have here another form of the name Ithream; otherwise Jerimoth must be a son of one of David's concubines. With LXX and Vulg. we must insert the conjunction before 'Abihail' and read the name as that of the mother of Mahalath.

20. Maacah the daughter of Absalom: i. e. the granddaughter; cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 27. She must have been a daughter of Tamar, who married Uriel of Gibeah. Cf. 1 Kings xv. 2 and 2 Chron. xiii. 2. Her eldest son, Abijah, who succeeded to the throne, is always called Abijam in 1 Kings.

21. Rehoboam did his best to rival his father in the size of his harem, and strove to lead his sons in the same way.

23. dispersed of all his sons: by this means not only was sons throughout all the lands of Judah and Benjamin, unto every fenced city: and he gave them victual in abundance. And he sought *for them* many wives.

And it came to pass, when the kingdom of Rehoboam **12**
was established, and he was strong, that he forsook the
law of the LORD, and all Israel with him. [**H**] And it 2
came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem,
because they had trespassed against the LORD, [Ch] with 3
twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubim, the Sukkiim, and

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provision made for the royal princes and a firmer grasp kept upon the outlying districts, but also the danger of plots within the royal family, such as had blighted David's reign, was avoided.

xii. *Apostasy and Invasion.*

1. he forsook the law of the LORD: i.e. he lapsed into idolatry. In this verse the chronicler indicates the underlying cause of the subsequent invasion. It is a characteristic addition to the narrative of 1 Kings xiv which he is approaching, due to his religious reading of history. Only when we put ourselves in line with his special aims as an historian can we understand the principle of selection and the reason of the additions in his work.

2. Shishak: cf. 1 Kings xiv. 25. While the chronicler has pointed out the religious grounds for this national chastisement, the modern student will not fail to connect it also with the disruption. Jeroboam had been a refugee in Shishak's domains and would probably instigate his patron to attack Rehoboam. The invasion did not affect northern Israel, although it is probable that immunity was only secured by tribute. In the temple of Amon at Karnak there existed a list of towns which paid tribute to Shishak, clearly indicating that the Judean towns paid it as to a conqueror, whereas the Israelite cities paid it as to a suzerain. The date of this first serious invasion of the theocratic kingdom was 928 B.C. Shishak probably reigned over Egypt from 950 to 928 B.C.; he is known as the founder of the twenty-second dynasty.

3. Lubim: i.e. Libyans. Shishak (*Šošenk*) was himself a Libyan.

Sukkiim: LXX, 'Troglodytes'—some of the tribes bordering on Egypt, otherwise unknown.

4 the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced cities which
5 pertained to Judah, and came unto Jerusalem. Now
Shemaiah the prophet came to Rehoboam, and to the
princes of Judah, that were gathered together to Jerusalem
because of Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the
LORD, Ye have forsaken me, therefore have I also left
6 you in the hand of Shishak. Then the princes of Israel
and the king humbled themselves; and they said, The
7 LORD is righteous. And when the LORD saw that they
humbled themselves, the word of the LORD came to
Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; I will
not destroy them: but I will grant them some deliverance,
and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by
8 the hand of Shishak. Nevertheless they shall be his
servants; that they may know my service, and the service
9 of the kingdoms of the countries. [H] So Shishak king
of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the
treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of
the king's house; he took all away: he took away also

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4. the fenced cities: probably including many of those mentioned in xi. 6-10. After reducing the provincial fortresses, he marched on the capital.

5. Shemaiah: cf. note on xi. 2. He is here called 'the prophet'; but in xi. 2 he is designated by the simple, earlier style 'the man of God.' His message proclaims defeat as a punishment for apostasy.

6. humbled themselves: i. e. they repented and returned to their loyalty to Jehovah. They admitted the justice of the chastisement in the words 'Jehovah is righteous.'

7. some deliverance: better, as in the margin, 'deliverance within a little while.'

my wrath shall not be poured out: an expression implying that the chastisement should stop short of utter destruction.

8. that they may know my service: through bitter experience they are to learn the hardness of forsaking Jehovah and falling under foreign yoke.

9. against Jerusalem: evidently Shishak captured and sacked Jerusalem.

the shields of gold which Solomon had made. And king 10
Rehoboam made in their stead shields of brass, and
committed them to the hands of the captains of the guard,
that kept the door of the king's house. [**Ch^2**] And it was 11
so, that as oft as the king entered into the house of the
LORD, the guard came and bare them, and brought them
back into the guard chamber. And when he humbled 12
himself, the wrath of the LORD turned from him, that he
would not destroy him altogether: and moreover in
Judah there were good things *found*. So king Rehoboam 13
strengthened himself in Jerusalem, and reigned: for
[**H**] Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he
began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in
Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen out of
all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there: and his
mother's name was Naamah the Ammonitess. And he 14
did that which was evil, because he set not his heart to
seek the LORD. [**Ch^2**] Now the acts of Rehoboam, first 15
and last, are they not written in the histories of Shemaiah
the prophet and of Iddo the seer, after the manner of
genealogies? And there were wars between Rehoboam
and Jeroboam [**H**] continually. And Rehoboam slept 16

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10. captains of the guard: literally 'of the runners'; they were the king's personal body-guard.

11. Here we have light upon the use to which the golden shields of Solomon were put; but we learn that the brazen shields were not kept in the house of the forest of Lebanon.

12. in Judah there were good things found: Judah was still at heart loyal to Jehovah.

13. strengthened himself: regained the power which Shishak's invasion had crippled.

his mother's name: the constant mention of the name of the queen-mothers of Judean kings implies that their influence at court was large.

15. in the histories . . . of Iddo: cf. Introd. § iv.

with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David: and
Abijah his son reigned in his stead.

13 In the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam began Abijah
2 to reign over Judah. Three years reigned he in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Micaiah the daughter of Uriel
of Gibeah. And there was war between Abijah and
3 Jeroboam. [**Ch**] And Abijah joined battle with an army
of valiant men of war, even four hundred thousand chosen
men: and Jeroboam set the battle in array against him
with eight hundred thousand chosen men, who were
4 mighty men of valour. And Abijah stood up upon mount

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(3) xiii. *Abijah's Reign.*

Abijah's reign of three years (916-914 B. C.) is described very summarily by the author of 1 Kings xv. 1-8. The chronicler adds a vivid and detailed account of the war against Jeroboam, in which Abijah, by the help of Jehovah, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the northern army. Evidently there were other sources of information than canonical Kings at his disposal.

1. Abijah: 1 Kings xv. 1, &c., reads 'Abijam'; both forms of the name were probably current.

2. his mother's name was Micaiah: in LXX, 2 Chron. xi. 20 and 1 Kings xv. 2, it is given as Maacah, which must be read here also.

there was war: the chronicler omits to transcribe 1 Kings xv. 3-6, which verses seem to have been the original work of the compiler of Kings, and merely inserts the closing sentence of verse 7. He then proceeds to give an original version of the great campaign between north and south.

xiii. 3-21. *War with Jeroboam.* In this campaign the chronicler found precisely the material he desired as an illustration of his philosophy of history. All the facts seemed to point the right moral for his late readers. The size of Jeroboam's army was double that of Abijah's, and the northern king marched to the battle with all the confidence of overwhelming numbers. But Abijah, though hopelessly outnumbered, was quite as confident as his foe. His confidence, however, rose from the consciousness of fidelity to Jehovah and of loyalty to the law and the Temple ritual. And in the issue, after a temporary uncertainty, the tide of battle was turned by Jehovah and a complete victory fell to the southern arms.

4. mount Zemaraim: evidently a mountain camping ground

Zemaraim, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, and
said, Hear me, O Jeroboam and all Israel; ought ye 5
not to know that the LORD, the God of Israel, gave
the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, even to
him and to his sons by a covenant of salt? Yet Jero- 6
boam the son of Nebat, the servant of Solomon the
son of David, rose up, and rebelled against his lord.
And there were gathered unto him vain men, sons of 7
Belial, which strengthened themselves against Rehoboam
the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young and
tenderhearted, and could not withstand them. And now 8
ye think to withstand the kingdom of the LORD in the
hand of the sons of David; and ye be a great multitude,
and there are with you the golden calves which Jeroboam

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somewhere near the borders of the two kingdoms; verse 19 implies that it was not far from Beth-el; and it may have lain somewhere in the south of Ephraim.

Hear me, O Jeroboam: the address of Abijah to the attacking army on the eve of battle is absolutely unique in its lofty appeal to principle. In it he treats the foe as conscious rebels against Jehovah and the divinely elected house of David. He reminds them of their illegitimate cultus of the calves and of their irregular priesthood; whereas Judah is both loyal to Jehovah and to the ancient priesthood which performed the daily service in the national sanctuary. And he concludes by the reminder that Jehovah is the God of battles.

5. for ever: Abijah ignores the conditions of 2 Sam. vii. 14, which conditions had been violated by both Solomon and Rehoboam.

by a covenant of salt: when a guest had sat at the board of an Arab chieftain and partaken of his salt, the obligation of the host towards the stranger was one of inviolable sanctity. Jehovah's covenant with the Davidic dynasty is regarded as equally inviolable.

6. Jeroboam . . . rose up, and rebelled: Abijah places the entire blame upon Jeroboam; but cf. 2 Chron. xi. 4.

7. when Rehoboam was young and tenderhearted: cf. xii. 13. The phrase implies the king's inexperience of men and that he was the weak victim of autocratic councillors. Abijah scarcely does justice to the facts of Rehoboam's headstrong conduct.

9 made you for gods. Have ye not driven out the priests of the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you priests after the manner of the peoples of *other* lands? so that whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, the same
10 may be a priest of *them that are* no gods. But as for us, the LORD is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and *we have* priests ministering unto the LORD, the sons of
11 Aaron, and the Levites in their work: and they burn unto the LORD every morning and every evening burnt offerings and sweet incense: the shewbread also *set they* in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the LORD our God; but ye have forsaken
12 him. And, behold, God is with us at our head, and his priests with the trumpets of alarm to sound an alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the LORD, the God of your fathers; for ye shall not
13 prosper. But Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come

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8. there are with you the golden calves: this does not necessarily imply that the calves were brought into battle with the host; though such was very probably the case. In earlier ages the Ark was carried to battle; and the Philistines carried their gods with them when attacking David.

9. to consecrate himself: the offering here mentioned is that prescribed by the law, cf. Exod. xxix; but the offence lay in that nothing more than a property qualification was demanded of the applicant for the priesthood.

12. the trumpets of alarm: cf. Num. x. 9.

children of Israel: the term had come to denote the northern kingdom long before the time of the chronicler's originals.

xiii. 13-20. *The Battle of Mount Zemaraim.* Jeroboam made a frontal attack and at the same time caught the southern clansmen in the rear. At that moment, however, the battle-charge was sounded and, by the help of Jehovah, Judah prevailed. The

about behind them: so they were before Judah, and
the ambushment was behind them. And when Judah 14
looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind
them: and they cried unto the LORD, and the priests
sounded with the trumpets. Then the men of Judah 15
gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came
to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before
Abijah and Judah. And the children of Israel fled 16
before Judah: and God delivered them into their hand.
And Abijah and his people slew them with a great 17
slaughter: so there fell down slain of Israel five hundred
thousand chosen men. Thus the children of Israel were 18
brought under at that time, and the children of Judah
prevailed, because they relied upon the LORD, the God
of their fathers. And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam, 19
and took cities from him, Beth-el with the towns thereof,
and Jeshanah with the towns thereof, and Ephron with
the towns thereof. Neither did Jeroboam recover strength 20
again in the days of Abijah: and the LORD smote him,
and he died. But Abijah waxed mighty, and took unto 21

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number of slain is enormous, but there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the figures in view of the conditions of early warfare.

18, 19. the children of Israel were brought under: i. e. they did not recover from the defeat during the reign of Jeroboam, cf. verse 20. Abijah did not recover the territory which his father had lost; he was merely able to take certain cities from the northern kingdom. He captured **Beth-el**, the modern Beitīn, ten miles north of Jerusalem; **Jeshanah**, the modern 'Ain Sīnia, three and a half miles north of Beth-el; and **Ephron**, possibly the modern eṭ-Taiyibeh, four miles north-east of Beth-el; and he subdued the surrounding territory.

xiii. 21–23. Abijah reaped the fruits of victory in the growing prosperity of his kingdom. Like every Oriental monarch, he increased the size of his harem as an index of his power, although some of the wives alluded to must have entered the harem before the victory over Jeroboam, seeing that Abijah's entire reign only lasted three years.

himself fourteen wives, and begat twenty and two sons,
22 and sixteen daughters. [H] And the rest of the acts of
Abijah, and his ways, and his sayings, are written in the
commentary of the prophet Iddo.

14 So Abijah slept with his fathers, and they buried him
in the city of David, and Asa his son reigned in his
2 stead: in his days the land was quiet ten years. And
Asa did that which was good and right in the eyes of the
3 LORD his God: for he took away the strange altars, and
the high places, and brake down the pillars, and hewed
4 down the Asherim; [Ch] and commanded Judah to seek

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22. the commentary of the prophet Iddo: literally 'the midrash,' i. e. a didactic exposition of history, either written by the prophet Iddo, or else giving a prominent place to him. It may possibly have been a part of the 'midrash of the Book of the Kings' (1 Chron. xxiv. 27). Cf. Introd. § iv.

(4) xiv–xvi. *Reign of Asa.*

The material which forms the foundation for the narrative is identical with 1 Kings xv. 8–24, but this has been expanded by new material and vivid details. The chronicler regards Asa as the pious son of a godly father, one who vigorously suppressed idolatry and cared for the fortification of his kingdom. He describes the Ethiopian campaign, wherein Asa gained a victory paralleled by that of Abijah at Mount Zemaraim, and tells us that the victory was turned to good account by the prophet Azariah. Asa then renews his zeal for Jehovah, enriches the Temple, and holds a national religious festival. Subsequently he is attacked by Baasha of Israel and uses the Temple treasures to buy the aid of Ben-hadad of Syria; for this he is censured by another prophet, Hanani. After further fortifying his northern frontier, Asa's long reign of forty-one years draws to a close, and he dies amid national lamentations.

xiv. 1–8. *Reformation and Consolidation.*

3. the strange altars: i. e. altars dedicated to foreign deities.

the pillars: Heb. *Maṣṣēbāh* denotes a stele, or upright stone, regarded as the symbol of a deity; these pillars formed an essential part of the heathen cultus of Syria and were frequently dedicated to the sun-god, Ba'al.

the Asherim: A. V. 'groves'; the Asherah was an upright pole or mast which stood beside the altar in front of Canaanitish sanctuaries, and was regarded as a symbol of the goddess Astarte.

the Lord, the God of their fathers, and to do the law and
the commandment. Also he took away out of all the 5
cities of Judah the high places and the sun-images: and
the kingdom was quiet before him. And he built fenced 6
cities in Judah: for the land was quiet, and he had no
war in those years; because the Lord had given him
rest. For he said unto Judah, Let us build these cities, 7
and make about them walls, and towers, gates, and bars;
the land is yet before us, because we have sought the
Lord our God; we have sought him, and he hath given
us rest on every side. So they built and prospered.
And Asa had an army that bare bucklers and spears, out 8
of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of Benjamin,
that bare shields and drew bows, two hundred and
fourscore thousand: all these were mighty men of valour.
[H^2] And there came out against them Zerah the Ethio- 9

To the worshippers of Jehovah the worship of a female deity was especially repugnant.

4. commanded Judah to seek the LORD: his reforming zeal had a positive as well as a negative side.

5. the high places: cf. note on 1 Chron. xvi. 39. In 1 Kings xv. 14 we are informed that Asa did not take away the high places, although it is distinctly implied that his failure in this respect was due to the inveterate tendencies of the people for their use rather than to his own delinquencies.

the sun-images: Heb. *ḥammānīm*. These were sacred stones or steles used in connexion with the '*bāmāh*,' and may possibly have belonged to the cult of the god Ba'al-ḥammān, so prevalent in Carthaginia.

6. the land was quiet: the first ten years of Asa's reign were free from war and were devoted wholly to religious reform and to consolidation of the kingdom.

7. So they built and prospered: we are not informed of the names of these new fortresses.

8. out of Benjamin . . . two hundred and fourscore thousand: the figures are so large in connexion with a little tribe like Benjamin that they create suspicion of their genuineness.

xiv. 9-15. *The Ethiopian Invasion.*

9. Zerah the Ethiopian: it is exceedingly difficult to determine

pian with an army of a thousand thousand, and three
10 hundred chariots; and he came unto Mareshah. Then
Asa went out to meet him, and they set the battle in
11 array in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah. [**Ch**] And
Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, there
is none beside thee to help, between the mighty and
him that hath no strength: help us, O LORD our God;
for we rely on thee, and in thy name are we come against
this multitude. O LORD, thou art our God; let not man
12 prevail against thee. [**H^2**] So the LORD smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians
13 fled. And Asa and the people that were with him
pursued them unto Gerar: [**Ch**] and there fell of the
Ethiopians so many that they could not recover themselves; for they were destroyed before the LORD, and
before his host; and they carried away very much booty.
14 And they smote all the cities round about Gerar; for the
fear of the LORD came upon them: and they spoiled all

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who this invader was. Usually he is identified with Osorkon I of Egypt, a ruler of the twenty-second, or Bubastic dynasty (so Ewald); but Osorkon was not an Ethiopian. Others adopt the methods of a negative criticism and reject the entire narrative, thus certainly escaping its problems (so Kuenen and Wellhausen). Perhaps the best positive solution is that which regards Zerah as a ruler of south Arabia (so Kittel). His troops are roughly estimated at one million foot.

Mareshah: i. e. Marissa. Cf. note on xi. 8.

10. in the valley of Zephathah: Asa drew up his battle-line on level ground near Mareshah.

11, 12. The Jewish king makes his appeal to Jehovah against his overwhelming odds, and Jehovah answers, giving a complete victory to the pious king.

13. The rout of the bedouin hordes is absolute. The flying hosts are pursued as far as **Gerar,** now identified with el-Jērār, five miles south of Gaza. The very size of the defeated host caused confusion, and enormous booty fell to Asa.

14. all the cities round about Gazar: as these were all Philistine cities, they were probably confederate with Zerah.

Photo: Photochrom Co.

SAMARIA

the cities; for there was much spoil in them. They 15
smote also the tents of cattle, and carried away sheep
in abundance and camels, and returned to Jerusalem.

And the spirit of God came upon Azariah the son of **15**
Oded: and he went out to meet Asa, and said unto him, 2
Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: the LORD
is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he
will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will
forsake you. Now for long seasons Israel hath been 3
without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and
without law: but when in their distress they turned unto 4
the LORD, the God of Israel, and sought him, he was
found of them. And in those times there was no peace 5
to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great
vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the lands.
And they were broken in pieces, nation against nation, 6

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xv. 1–7. *The Prophecy of Azariah.*

1. Azariah the son of Oded: we have no mention elsewhere of the prophet Azariah-ben-Oded. His only recorded appearance seems to have been this encounter with the victorious Asa. The phrase 'the spirit of God came upon Azariah' is in harmony with the belief that all prophets were directly controlled by a supernatural spirit. The Hebrew word for 'spirit' (רוּחַ *ruaḥ*) denotes 'wind' or 'breath,' and is used in conjunction with Jehovah or Elohim as the Quickener of nature (e. g. Job xxxii. 8), as the Giver of intelligence (e.g. 1 Sam. xvi. 13), as the Creator (e.g. Ps. civ. 30), and as the Inspirer of prophecy (e.g. Num. xi. 29). In the O.T. the personality of the Spirit of God had not yet clearly emerged, although it is certainly implicit; the Spirit is, then, rather a power subject to God's free will and closely connected with His word.

2–7. The prophet opens his address to king and army with a general statement that God's attitude to the people invariably depends upon their attitude to Him. Interpreters of the words of Azariah have been at pains to determine a definite reference to historical circumstances, indicating sometimes the past experience of Israel under the Judges, sometimes the contemporary condition of the northern tribes, and sometimes the future ages under Roman

and city against city: for God did vex them with all
7 adversity. But be ye strong, and let not your hands be
8 slack: for your work shall be rewarded. And when Asa
heard these words, and the prophecy of Oded the
prophet, he took courage, and put away the abominations
out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin, and out of
the cities which he had taken from the hill country of
Ephraim; and he renewed the altar of the LORD, that
9 was before the porch of the LORD. And he gathered all
Judah and Benjamin, and them that sojourned with them
out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon: for
they fell to him out of Israel in abundance, when they
10 saw that the LORD his God was with him. So they
gathered themselves together at Jerusalem in the third
11 month, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa. And

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rule. Such interpretations are, at the best, precarious. The only satisfactory way is to regard the statements as made in a general sense, capable of illustration from all ages yet limited to no one occasion. In vivid language Azariah depicts the results of apostasy and turns his address into an earnest exhortation for courage in the service of Jehovah.

xv. 8-18. *Religious Reform.*

8. the prophecy of Oded the prophet: the text is corrupt. The prophet's name was 'Azariah-ben-Oded.' Either, then, several words have dropped out; or else the words 'of Oded the prophet' have been inserted from a marginal gloss and should be omitted. The latter explanation is the more probable as the Hebrew words stand in an impossible construction at present.

abominations: a general term for idolatrous worship.

renewed the altar of the LORD: i. e. the altar of burnt offering, which might well need repair after having stood for sixty years, even if it did not need cleansing from idolatrous defilement.

9. out of Simeon: as this tribe lay south of Judah it cannot be implied here that it had actually joined the revolted tribes of the north. Probably Simeon had largely lapsed into idolatry after elevating Beer-sheba to the dignity of a shrine (cf. Amos v. 5, viii. 14). Under Asa's revival numerous devout Simeonites flocked to the great festival at Jerusalem along with the worshippers from the north.

10. in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa: we learn from

they sacrificed unto the LORD in that day, of the spoil
which they had brought, seven hundred oxen and seven
thousand sheep. And they entered into the covenant to 12
seek the LORD, the God of their fathers, with all their
heart and with all their soul; and that whosoever would 13
not seek the LORD, the God of Israel, should be put to
death, whether small or great, whether man or woman.
And they sware unto the LORD with a loud voice, and 14
with shouting, and with trumpets, and with cornets.
And all Judah rejoiced at the oath: for they had sworn 15
with all their heart, and sought him with their whole
desire; and he was found of them: and the LORD gave
them rest round about. [H] And also Maacah the 16
mother of Asa the king, he removed her from being
queen, because she had made an abominable image for
an Asherah; and Asa cut down her image, and made
dust of it, and burnt it at the brook Kidron. But the 17

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xiv. 1 that the first ten years of Asa's reign were uninterrupted by war. Hence the campaign of Zerah occurred some time within the next five years; and the invasion can scarcely have been crushed until well on towards the fifteenth year, seeing that the booty formed the sacrifice at the great festival. This festival was unconnected with any of the great Deuteronomic festivals. The third month corresponds to our June.

11. of the spoil: presumably the result of the victory over Zerah.

12. entered into the covenant: i. e. renewed the covenant vows of loyalty to Jehovah.

13. should be put to death: in accordance with Deut. xvii. 2-6. The grounds for this were both religious and political, in that worship of foreign gods implied disloyalty to the state as well as to Jehovah.

16. From this point to xvi. 6, the narrative corresponds with 1 Kings xv. 13-22.

from being queen: read 'queen-mother' as in margin.

an abominable image: it is impossible to decide what kind of abomination is here meant; possibly an image of the goddess Astarte.

17. the high places were not taken away: the intense religious

high places were not taken away out of Israel: neverthe-
18 less the heart of Asa was perfect all his days. And he
brought into the house of God the things that his father
had dedicated, and that he himself had dedicated, silver,
19 and gold, and vessels. And there was no more war unto
the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa.

16 In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa,
Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah, and built
Ramah, that he might not suffer any to go out or come

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objection to local shrines can hardly be regarded as fully felt in the time of Asa. In earlier days it was considered quite legitimate to worship at the '*bāmāh*,' as we see from the case of Samuel; but the custom, so open to abuse, had come to be regarded as essentially idolatrous by the Deuteronomists long before the chronicler's day.

19. The apparent discrepancy between this statement and 1 Kings xv. 16 may be explained by the assumption that a hostile attitude between the two kingdoms existed continually, but that actual war only broke out in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign. But cf. note on xvi. 1, where it is shown that there is an error in the dates.

xvi. *Asa's Reign ends in War and Weakness.*

Towards the close of Asa's reign, according to the chronicler's narrative (cf. verse 1), the latent hostility of Israel burst out anew into open war, and Asa sought a defensive alliance with Damascus at the price of the Temple treasures. This sign of distrust of Jehovah called forth a stinging rebuke from the prophet Hanani. The monarch's latter days were marked by oppression, disease, and defection; yet he was followed to the grave with every sign of national lamentation.

xvi. 1–6. *War with Baasha* (cf. 1 Kings xv. 16–22).

1. In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa: evidently the date is incorrect. In 1 Kings xvi. 8–10 we learn that Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign and that his successor Elah died in the twenty-seventh. Clearly there has been a confusion between the letters representing the numerals. (In Hebrew, thirty was represented by ל and ten by י). Hence we should possibly change the dates in xv. 19 and xvi. 1 to 15th and 16th respectively.

built Ramah: a border town between the two kingdoms, represented by the modern er-Rām, five miles north of Jerusalem.

in to Asa king of Judah. Then Asa brought out silver 2
and gold out of the treasures of the house of the
Lord and of the king's house, and sent to Ben-hadad
king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, *There is* a 3
league between me and thee, as *there was* between my
father and thy father: behold, I have sent thee silver
and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha king of
Israel, that he may depart from me. And Ben-hadad 4
hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the captains of his
armies against the cities of Israel; and they smote
Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-maim, and all the store cities of
Naphtali. And it came to pass, when Baasha heard 5
thereof, that he left off building of Ramah, and let his
work cease. Then Asa the king took all Judah; and 6
they carried away the stones of Ramah, and the timber
thereof, wherewith Baasha had builded; and he built
therewith Geba and Mizpah. [**Ch**] And at that time 7
Hanani the seer came to Asa king of Judah, and said

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2. Ben-hadad: the original form of the name of this energetic and warlike ally of Asa seems to have been Bir-'idri.

3. a league between me and thee: the Syrian kings were always open to ally themselves with one or other of the Hebrew kingdoms so as to keep the power of both in check.

4. Ijon: the name still survives in the Merj-'Ayūn, a rich plain at the foot of the hills of Naphtali. **Dan** is the modern Tell-el-Kādī; it was the most northerly city of Israel. **Abel-maim,** or 'Abel-in-the-water,' now called Ābil, was situated high on a hill overlooking the Jordan valley, not far from Dan. **All the store cities** is another way of indicating what 1 Kings calls 'all Chinnereth,' a fertile district west of Gennesaret.

6. Geba: the modern Jeba, a little north-east of Ramah. By fortifying Geba, Asa pushed his frontier further north. **Mizpah:** on a lofty point not far from Jerusalem and south-west of Ramah.

xvi. 7–10. *Hanani's Rebuke.*

7. Hanani: the otherwise unknown prophet implies that Ben-hadad was indeed confederate with Baasha, yet Jehovah would have given victory to Asa over the combined forces. Like all the great prophets, he protested against the policy of foreign

unto him, Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and hast not relied on the LORD thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thine hand.
8 Were not the Ethiopians and the Lubim a huge host, with chariots and horsemen exceeding many? yet, because thou didst rely on the LORD, he delivered them into thine
9 hand. For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to shew himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him. Herein thou hast done foolishly; for from henceforth thou shalt have
10 wars. Then Asa was wroth with the seer, and put him in the prison house; for he was in a rage with him because of this thing. And Asa oppressed some of the
11 people the same time. [**Ch²**] And, behold, the acts of Asa, first and last, lo, they are written in the book of the kings
12 of Judah and Israel. [**Ch**] And in the thirty and ninth year of his reign Asa was diseased in his feet; his disease was exceeding great: yet in his disease he sought not to
13 the LORD, but to the physicians. And Asa slept with his fathers, and died in the one and fortieth year of his reign.
14 And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had hewn out for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and

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alliances. Asa's conduct was responsible for the first Syrian invasion of the northern kingdom.

9. thou shalt have wars: of these we have no record, but Hanani foresaw the result of Asa's timidity and his Syrian alliances.

10. Asa oppressed some of the people: the phrase implies that there had been a strong protest against the king's treatment of Hanani and that he used repressive measures in return.

xvi. 11-14. *Asa's Decline and Death* (cf. 1 Kings xv. 23, 24).

11. the book of the kings of Judah and Israel: cf. Introd. § iv.

12. the physicians: probably magicians are referred to. The practice of medicine was in all likelihood really confined to the priests, as in Egypt.

divers kinds *of spices* prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him.

[**H**] And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead, 17
[**Ch**] and strengthened himself against Israel. And he 2
placed forces in all the fenced cities of Judah, and set garrisons in the land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his father had taken. And the 3
LORD was with Jehoshaphat, because he walked in the first ways of his father David, and sought not unto the

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14. a very great burning: not a cremation of the king, which would have been contrary to all Hebrew custom, but the burning of enormous quantities of incense and spices.

(5) xvii–xx. *Reign of Jehoshaphat.*

To our historian the age of Jehoshaphat was an era of dazzling splendour almost unsurpassed in the annals of Judah. His narrative runs closely parallel to that of 1 Kings (xv. 24^b, xxii. $1–35^a$, $41–43^a$, 48, 49), but it has been enriched by large additions as well as qualified by significant omissions. The chronicler paints the picture of a pious monarch walking in the steps of David, removing the high-places and the Asherim, and organizing a Levitical commission to instruct the people in the laws of Jehovah. Under such a *régime* the kingdom becomes powerful and enjoys the blessings of peace. The one event which is unworthy of such a monarch is shown to be the alliance with Ahab against Ramoth-gilead; but Jehoshaphat is allowed to escape from the resultant disaster because of his piety. This deliverance is followed by greater devotion to Jehovah, and when, later on, an invasion of the land is made by a triple army, the victory is secured to Judah by the direct response of Jehovah to His people's faith without their striking a single blow. The victory leads up to a solemn religious festival of praise at Jerusalem—a fitting climax to a reign in the eyes of a Levitical historian.

xvii. *Jehoshaphat's Early Kingship.*

xvii. 1–5. *Fortifying the Kingdom.*

1. strengthened himself against Israel: Jehoshaphat sought to secure his kingdom by looking to the garrison towns rather than by means of foreign alliances, as Asa had done.

2. cities of Ephraim: cf. xv. 8.

3. the first ways of his father David: the reference is to the years before David fell into the crime of the Bath-sheba incident, &c.

4 Baalim; but sought to the God of his father, and walked
in his commandments, and not after the doings of Israel.
5 Therefore the LORD stablished the kingdom in his hand;
and all Judah brought to Jehoshaphat presents; and he
6 had riches and honour in abundance. And his heart
was lifted up in the ways of the LORD: and furthermore
he took away the high places and the Asherim out of
7 Judah. Also in the third year of his reign he sent his
princes, even Ben-hail, and Obadiah, and Zechariah, and
Nethanel, and Micaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah;
8 and with them the Levites, even Shemaiah, and Nethaniah,
and Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan, and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tob-adonijah,
the Levites; and with them [H^2] Elishama and Jehoram,
9 the priests. And they taught in Judah, having the book
of the law of the LORD with them; and they went about
throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught among the
10 people. [Ch] And the fear of the LORD fell upon all

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5. brought . . . presents: these were voluntary gifts, not tribute, given to a monarch whom they respected and loved.

xvii. 6–11. *Religious Reform.* Encouraged by three years of temporal prosperity, Jehoshaphat next purged the land of idolatrous worship and organized a system of religious instruction for the people at the hands of a commission of princes, Levites, and priests. The Book of Kings knows nothing of this commission, but we are not therefore justified in denying its historicity.

6. the high places and the Asherim: i. e. lingering signs of heathen cults.

7, 8. The commission consisted of five princes, nine Levites, and two priests; nothing is known of the individual members.

9. the book of the law of the LORD: probably this was the Deuteronomic code, the books of Moses, although it is almost certain that it was not in its present form.

10. the fear of the LORD fell: the strength of a land and the power of the national deity were held to be inseparable; hence the security of the kingdom produced an impression of the greatness of Jehovah.

the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah,
so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat. And 11
some of the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat presents,
and silver for tribute; the Arabians also brought him
flocks, seven thousand and seven hundred rams, and
seven thousand and seven hundred he-goats. And 12
Jehoshaphat waxed great exceedingly; and he built in
Judah castles and cities of store. And he had many 13
works in the cities of Judah; and men of war, mighty
men of valour, in Jerusalem. And this was the number- 14
ing of them according to their fathers' houses: of Judah,
the captains of thousands; Adnah the captain, and with
him mighty men of valour three hundred thousand:
and next to him Jehohanan the captain, and with him 15
two hundred and fourscore thousand; and next to him 16
Amasiah the son of Zichri, who willingly offered himself
unto the LORD; and with him two hundred thousand
mighty men of valour: and of Benjamin; Eliada a mighty 17
man of valour, and with him two hundred thousand armed
with bow and shield: and next to him Jehozabad, and 18
with him an hundred and fourscore thousand ready
prepared for war. These were they that waited on the 19
king, beside those whom the king put in the fenced cities
throughout all Judah.

[Ch²] Now Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in **18**

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xvii. 12–19. *Jehoshaphat's Power.* The military organization and the works for national defence were pushed on continually as a result of growing power and prestige. The three captains of Judah and the two of Benjamin commanded between them 1,160,000 men. The numbers seem to be excessive, especially when we recall the fact that David's census only gave 500,000 to all Judah; but we have no means of correcting the figures.

xviii. *Jehoshaphat and the Northern Kingdom.*

The incident of Jehoshaphat's marriage alliance with Ahab's

2 abundance; and he joined affinity with Ahab. And after certain years he went down to Ahab to Samaria. And Ahab killed sheep and oxen for him in abundance, and for the people that were with him, and moved him to
3 go up *with him* to Ramoth-gilead. [H] And Ahab king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of Judah, Wilt thou go with me to Ramoth-gilead? And he answered him, I am as thou art, and my people as thy people; and
4 *we will be* with thee in the war. And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Inquire, I pray thee, at the word
5 of the LORD to-day. Then the king of Israel gathered

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house and the united campaign of the two kings against Ramoth-gilead is found also in 1 Kings xxii. 1–35ᵃ. It is one of the few instances in which the chronicler alludes to the history of northern Israel, but is probably introduced as serving to show Jehovah's care for the pious king of Judah.

xviii. 1–4. *The Alliance with Israel.*

1. Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance: a statement which cuts at the root of the idea that he was virtually a vassal of Ahab, although this has actually been held by some students of the narrative.

joined affinity with Ahab: Jehoshaphat's son Joram married Ahab's daughter Athaliah (cf. xxi. 6). The chronicler shows by the sequel how disastrous such an alliance was. It led Jehoshaphat to risk his own life (xviii. 31), it paved the way to the introduction of Phoenician idolatry into Judah (xxii. 3 ff.), and it eventually resulted in the almost extirpation of the royal house (xxii. 10–12).

2. after certain years: in 1 Kings xxii. 1 we learn that three years of peace had followed Ahab's earlier Syrian campaign.

moved him to go up: Jehoshaphat seems to have been won over, perhaps against his own judgement, by Ahab's hospitality and entreaty.

Ramoth-gilead: a Gadite fortress of disputed site. G. A. Smith conjectures the modern er-Ramthè to be its representative. Others favour Salḥad. In any case it was an important stronghold over which Israel and Syria long waged war.

xviii. 5–27. *Consultation of the Prophets.*

5. the king of Israel gathered the prophets: here we have an instructive insight into the religious conditions of northern Israel. The worship of Jehovah lingered and was largely practised,

the prophets together, four hundred men, and said unto
them, Shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall
I forbear? And they said, Go up; for God shall deliver it
into the hand of the king. But Jehoshaphat said, Is 6
there not here besides a prophet of the LORD, that we
might inquire of him? And the king of Israel said unto 7
Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man by whom we may
inquire of the LORD: but I hate him; for he never
prophesieth good concerning me, but always evil: the
same is Micaiah the son of Imla. And Jehoshaphat said,
Let not the king say so. Then the king of Israel called 8
an officer, and said, Fetch quickly Micaiah the son of
Imla. Now the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king 9
of Judah sat each on his throne, arrayed in their robes,
and they sat in an open place at the entrance of the gate
of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before
them. And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made him 10
horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the LORD, With
these shalt thou push the Syrians, until they be consumed.
And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to 11
Ramoth-gilead, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver
it into the hand of the king. And the messenger that 12
went to call Micaiah spake to him, saying, Behold, the
words of the prophets *declare* good to the king with one

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though it must have been mingled with heterodox elements. Indeed this was the very period of Elijah's greatest activity. Yet the reluctance of Jehoshaphat to accept the verdict of the 400 prophets implies that they stood in a false relationship to Jehovah, probably compromising with the cults of Phoenicia.

7. Micaiah the son of Imla: the sole man among the professional prophets who was known as a fearless and discriminating prophet of Jehovah.

9. The two kings sat in state at the city gate while the assembled prophets urged them to proceed against Ramoth. The most zealous of these enthusiasts was one Zedekiah, who made use of the symbolical horns of iron to drive home his opinions.

mouth: let thy word therefore, I pray thee, be like one of
13 theirs, and speak thou good. And Micaiah said, As the
14 LORD liveth, what my God saith, that will I speak. And
when he was come to the king, the king said unto him,
Micaiah, shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I
forbear? And he said, Go ye up, and prosper; and they
15 shall be delivered into your hand. And the king said to
him, How many times shall I adjure thee that thou speak
unto me nothing but the truth in the name of the LORD?
16 And he said, I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD
said, These have no master; let them return every man
17 to his house in peace. And the king of Israel said to
Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not
18 prophesy good concerning me, but evil? And he said,
Therefore hear ye the word of the LORD: I saw the
LORD sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven
19 standing on his right hand and on his left. And the
LORD said, Who shall entice Ahab king of Israel, that he
may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one spake
saying after this manner, and another saying after that

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12. speak thou good: an official endeavour to influence Micaiah to fall in with the verdict of the royal prophets.

14. Go ye up, and prosper. Micaiah's first response is so evidently a mocking echo of the professional prophets that Ahab refuses to receive it as his genuine message.

16. Micaiah relates the first of two visions. He pictures Israel as a scattered flock, thereby clearly indicating that the campaign should cost Ahab his life. The use of the word 'shepherd' for an eastern king was quite common.

xviii. 18–22. Micaiah's second vision is related to account for the words of the 'false' prophets. They were inspired by a spirit of falsehood, whose activity was permitted by Jehovah as a means of carrying out the divine purpose towards Ahab.

18. the LORD sitting upon his throne: Micaiah depicts the royal council of the heavens.

manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood 20
before the LORD, and said, I will entice him. And the
LORD said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go 21
forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all
his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt entice him,
and shalt prevail also: go forth, and do so. Now there- 22
fore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the
mouth of these thy prophets; and the LORD hath spoken
evil concerning thee. Then Zedekiah the son of Che- 23
naanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon the cheek,
and said, Which way went the spirit of the LORD from me
to speak unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold, thou 24
shalt see on that day, when thou shalt go into an inner
chamber to hide thyself. And the king of Israel said, 25
Take ye Micaiah, and carry him back unto Amon the
governor of the city, and to Joash the king's son; and 26
say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and
feed him with bread of affliction and with water of
affliction, until I return in peace. And Micaiah said, 27
If thou return at all in peace, the LORD hath not spoken
by me. And he said, Hear, ye peoples, all of you.

So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of 28
Judah went up to Ramoth-gilead. And the king of 29

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23. the spirit of the LORD: even Zedekiah regards the Spirit of Jehovah as the author of his message.

24. Micaiah's answer is a vivid picture of the false prophet fleeing after the military disaster. The sign given was definite and personal.

27. Hear, ye peoples, all of you: as these words form the opening sentences of the prophecy of Micah (cf. Mic. i. 2) they have probably entered the text of 1 Kings (where the LXX omits them) by way of a marginal gloss.

xviii. 28–34. *Battle of Ramoth.* Ahab enters the battle in disguise. He is sought out by the Syrian captains, who mistake Jehoshaphat for him, and the Judean king narrowly escapes.

Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and go into the battle; but put thou on thy robes. So the king of Israel disguised himself; and they went into
30 the battle. Now the king of Syria had commanded the captains of his chariots, saying, Fight neither with
31 small nor great, save only with the king of Israel. And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, It is the king of Israel. Therefore they turned about to fight against him: but Jehoshaphat cried out, and the LORD helped him; and
32 God moved them *to depart* from him. And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw that it was not the king of Israel, that they turned back from
33 pursuing him. And a certain man drew his bow at a venture, and smote the king of Israel between the joints of the harness: wherefore he said to the driver of the chariot, Turn thine hand, and carry me out of the
34 host; for I am sore wounded. And the battle increased that day: howbeit the king of Israel stayed himself up in his chariot against the Syrians until the even: and about the time of the going down of the sun he died.

19 [Ch] And Jehoshaphat the king of Judah returned

Ahab, however, receives a mortal wound from a random arrow and dies at sunset.

29. I will disguise myself: Ahab thought thus to defeat the evil prognostications of Micaiah.

31. turned about: better 'surrounded him.' The Syrian captains beset Jehoshaphat on all sides. Seeing his danger he called out to rally his men and Jehovah turned the Syrian onset back.

33. the joints of the harness: Ahab received the fatal wound between the plates of his armour. His death occurred at sunset.

out of the host: LXX, 'out of the battle.'

xix. *Prophetic Rebuke leads to Reforms.*

This chapter appears to be the independent work of the chronicler. It records the rebuke of Jehoshaphat by the prophet

to his house in peace to Jerusalem. And Jehu the 2
son of Hanani the seer went out to meet him, and said to
king Jehoshaphat, Shouldest thou help the wicked, and
love them that hate the LORD? for this thing wrath
is upon thee from before the LORD. Nevertheless there 3
are good things found in thee, in that thou hast put away
the Asheroth out of the land, and hast set thine heart to
seek God.

And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem: and he went out 4
again among the people from Beer-sheba to the hill
country of Ephraim, and brought them back unto the
LORD, the God of their fathers. And he set judges 5
in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah,
city by city, and said to the judges, Consider what ye do: 6
for ye judge not for man, but for the LORD; and *he is* with

Jehu for his alliance with Ahab and describes the effect of that rebuke as a new zeal for the glory of Jehovah. Jehoshaphat proceeds from good to better and proves an apt learner in the school of divine discipline.

xix. 1–3. *Jehu's Rebuke.*

2. Jehu, the son of Hanani: a prophet of eminence in the times of Baasha and of Jehoshaphat: he opposed the sin of Baasha (1 Kings xvi. 1–12); he condemned Asa's alliance with Syria (2 Chron. xvi. 7 ff.); and he now appears to rebuke the unhallowed alliance of Jehoshaphat. He is also named in 2 Chron. xx. 34 as an historian. His rebuke of Jehoshaphat is marked by its reasonable tone and its evident admiration of the monarch who has temporarily erred.

xix. 4–11. *Revival of Religion and Justice.* Possibly we have here a reflection of the post-exilic system, according to which each town had its own synagogue and its own Sanhedrin for the administration of justice. So Kittel surmises.

4. he went out again: cf. xvii. 7 ff. Jehoshaphat once more inaugurated a revival of religion and justice throughout his dominions.

5. the fenced cities: would be chosen for the residence of the official judge as centres of districts.

6. he is with you in the judgement: one notes the same idea here as in our early trial by ordeal.

7 you in the judgement. Now therefore let the fear of the
Lord be upon you; take heed and do it: for there is no
iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons,
8 nor taking of gifts. Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehosha-
phat set of the Levites and the priests, and of the heads
of the fathers' *houses* of Israel, for the judgement of
the Lord, and for controversies. And they returned
9 to Jerusalem. And he charged them, saying, Thus shall
ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully, and with a
10 perfect heart. And whensoever any controversy shall
come to you from your brethren that dwell in their cities,
between blood and blood, between law and command-
ment, statutes and judgements, ye shall warn them, that
they be not guilty towards the Lord, and so wrath come
upon you and upon your brethren: this do, and ye shall
11 not be guilty. And, behold, Amariah the chief priest
is over you in all matters of the Lord; and Zebadiah
the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, in
all the king's matters: also the Levites shall be officers
before you. Deal courageously, and the Lord be with
the good.

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8. in Jerusalem: the supreme court of justice had its station at the capital, where the legal duties were entrusted to a mixed commission of Levites, priests, and lay-princes.

And they returned to Jerusalem: the phrase as it stands is disconnected and ambiguous. It is better to follow the Syriac and connect it with verse 9, reading 'When they returned to Jerusalem he charged them.'

10. between blood and blood: i. e. criminal cases of murder, &c.

11. The high court of justice was fully organized. The high-priest, Amariah, was supreme judge in all ecclesiastical cases, and Zebadiah, a prince of Judah, in all civil cases; all lesser offices fell to the Levites. Amariah must not be confounded with the high-priest of the same name in 1 Chron. v. 37; but, on the other hand, Zebadiah may be identical with the Levite so named in 2 Chron. xvii. 8.

And it came to pass after this, that the children of **20**
Moab, and the children of Ammon, and with them some
of the Ammonites, came against Jehoshaphat to battle.
Then there came some that told Jehoshaphat, saying, 2
There cometh a great multitude against thee from beyond
the sea from Syria; and, behold, they be in Hazazon-tamar
(the same is En-gedi). And Jehoshaphat feared, and 3
set himself to seek unto the LORD; and he proclaimed a

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xx. *Jehoshaphat's Victory over the Triple Alliance.*

The entire chapter is a remarkable illustration of what is known as midrash, or the religious reading of history.

xx. 1, 2. *News of Coming Invasion.*

1. after this: a general expression locating the incident in the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign. The invaders formed a triple alliance, but considerable obscurity surrounds the name of the third member of the league. The R. V. reads 'some of the Ammonites,' a reading secured by reversing the order of two letters in the Hebrew name (מעונים *m*$^{e\text{'}}$*unīm* has become עמונים '*Amōnīm*), and which is simply nonsense in connexion with the two powers already named, Moab and Ammon. In the marg. of the R. V., however, we read, with the LXX, 'Meunim'; and we are compelled to thus take the word as the name of a distinct tribe. The *Meunim* are mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 41 as playing a part in the exploits of the Simeonites during Hezekiah's reign, and they are again mentioned in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7 during Uzziah's reign. From the references in the present chapter they evidently occupied a district of Mount Seir and may be regarded as bedouin hordes of Arabian extraction.

2. from beyond the sea: i. e. the Dead Sea.

from Syria: probably we should read 'from Edom,' by the change of a single consonant (ארם becoming אדם).

En-gedi: now '*Ain Jidē*, above the western shore of the Dead Sea, fifteen miles from Jerusalem. The Wādy Ḥaṣāṣeh runs thence into the interior of the Judean hills, and gives rise to the alternative name.

xx. 3–13. *Panic in Jerusalem.*

3. proclaimed a fast: the suddenness of the inroad and the magnitude of the invading forces paralysed king and people with fear. It was evidently an occasion when military force was useless and only the divine interposition could avail. Hence

4 fast throughout all Judah. And Judah gathered themselves together, to seek *help* of the LORD: even out of all
5 the cities of Judah they came to seek the LORD. And Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the LORD, before the new
6 court; and he said, O LORD, the God of our fathers, art not thou God in heaven? and art not thou ruler over all the kingdoms of the nations? and in thine hand is power
7 and might, so that none is able to withstand thee. Didst not thou, O our God, drive out the inhabitants of this land before thy people Israel, and gavest it to the seed of
8 Abraham thy friend for ever? And they dwelt therein, and have built thee a sanctuary therein for thy name, saying,
9 If evil come upon us, the sword, judgement, or pestilence, or famine, we will stand before this house, and before thee, (for thy name is in this house,) and cry unto thee
10 in our affliction, and thou wilt hear and save. And now, behold, the children of Ammon and Moab and mount Seir, whom thou wouldest not let Israel invade, when they came out of the land of Egypt, but they turned
11 aside from them, and destroyed them not; behold, how they reward us, to come to cast us out of thy possession,
12 which thou hast given us to inherit. O our God, wilt thou not judge them? for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we

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from all the cities of the kingdom the people hasten to the capital to the national fast.

5. before the new court: we have no account of any additional buildings to the Temple, so that we conclude that the chronicler is indicating the spot occupied in his own day by 'the new court' and representing the 'great court' of Solomon's Temple (2 Chron. iv. 9).

6–12. Jehoshaphat's prayer is a narrative of the providence of God in the nation's past and a statement of present circumstances, closing with an appeal for divine help.

what to do: but our eyes are upon thee. And all Judah 13
stood before the LORD, with their little ones, their wives,
and their children. Then upon Jahaziel the son of 14
Zechariah, the son of Benaiah, the son of Jeiel, the son
of Mattaniah, the Levite, of the sons of Asaph, came
the spirit of the LORD in the midst of the congregation:
and he said, Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants 15
of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat: thus saith the
LORD unto you, Fear not ye, neither be dismayed by
reason of this great multitude; for the battle is not yours,
but God's. To-morrow go ye down against them: behold, 16
they come up by the ascent of Ziz; and ye shall find them
at the end of the valley, before the wilderness of Jeruel.
Ye shall not need to fight in this *battle*: set yourselves, 17
stand ye still, and see the salvation of the LORD with you,
O Judah and Jerusalem: fear not, nor be dismayed:
to-morrow go out against them; for the LORD is with
you. And Jehoshaphat bowed his head with his face to 18
the ground: and all Judah and the inhabitants of
Jerusalem fell down before the LORD, worshipping the
LORD. And the Levites, of the children of the Kohath- 19

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13. all Judah stood before the LORD: i. e. in the attitude of supplication.

XX. 14-19. *The Response of Jehovah.*

14. Then upon Jahaziel . . . came the spirit of the LORD: God answered, not by fire as in the case of Solomon's prayer, but by the living voice of prophecy. From the assembled multitude stepped forth a Levite, a member of the guild of musicians, who delivered the promise of divine help. Jahaziel must have been a specially interesting character to the chronicler, to whose own class he belonged.

16. the ascent of Ziz: read 'the ascent of Hazziz.' It is not possible to absolutely identify either the ascent of Hazziz (although this is usually considered to be the Wādy Huṣaṣa) or the wilderness of Jeruel. The direction indicated seems to be the north end of the Dead Sea, towards Tekoa.

19. The worship of the people, following the promise of

ites and of the children of the Korahites, stood up to
praise the LORD, the God of Israel, with an exceeding
20 loud voice. And they rose early in the morning, and
went forth into the wilderness of Tekoa : and as they
went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O
Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; believe in the
LORD your God, so shall ye be established; believe his
21 prophets, so shall ye prosper. And when he had taken
counsel with the people, he appointed them that should
sing unto the LORD, and praise the beauty of holiness,
as they went out before the army, and say, Give thanks
22 unto the LORD; for his mercy *endureth* for ever. And
when they began to sing and to praise, the LORD set liers
in wait against the children of Ammon, Moab, and mount

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deliverance, expresses itself in the music of the Levitic psalms. The chronicler's hand is evident in this.

xx. 20-30. *Jehovah's Deliverance.* While Judah was turning to prayer the power of Jehovah was working for their deliverance. The allied forces fall upon one another and work a mutual destruction. Judah subsequently arrives on the scene only to behold the results of the carnage and to collect the spoil.

20. The king exhorted the procession of the people to show a strong faith in Jehovah's promised deliverance. He probably stood at the city gate reviewing the march past.

21. The great procession is marshalled, with Levitic singers at its head, to advance with praise to the spot indicated by the prophet Jahaziel.

praise the beauty of holiness: read as R.V. margin, 'praise *in* the beauty of holiness,' as referring to the gorgeous robes of the singers.

and say, Give thanks, &c. : although the words occur only in Psalms usually reckoned as post-exilic (cvi, cvii, cxviii, and cxxxvi) they were probably found in earlier Hebrew psalmody.

22. liers in wait: who these were it is impossible to ascertain. The most probable conjecture regards them as some of the inhabitants of Mount Seir itself, who, greedy of spoil, set an ambush and by a sudden onset terrorized the armies. We see (verse 23) that the first result was that Ammon and Moab turned their arms against Seir (i. e. the Meunim) and then slaughtered one another.

Seir, which were come against Judah; and they were
smitten. For the children of Ammon and Moab stood 23
up against the inhabitants of mount Seir, utterly to slay
and destroy them: and when they had made an end of
the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to destroy
another. And when Judah came to the watch-tower of the 24
wilderness, they looked upon the multitude; and, behold,
they were dead bodies fallen to the earth, and there were
none that escaped. And when Jehoshaphat and his 25
people came to take the spoil of them, they found among
them in abundance both riches and dead bodies, and
precious jewels, which they stripped off for themselves,
more than they could carry away: and they were three
days in taking of the spoil, it was so much. And on the 26
fourth day they assembled themselves in the valley of
Beracah; for there they blessed the LORD: therefore the
name of that place was called The valley of Beracah,
unto this day. Then they returned, every man of Judah 27
and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat in the forefront of them,
to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the LORD had
made them to rejoice over their enemies. And they 28
came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and trumpets
unto the house of the LORD. And the fear of God was 29

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24. the watch-tower of the wilderness: probably the summit of the hills around Tekoa overlooking the plain of Jeruel, about ten miles south of Jerusalem. Below lay the scene of carnage.

25. riches and dead bodies: read with R. V. margin, 'riches and raiment.'

26. in the valley of Beracah: between Gedor and Tekoa, where a wady and a ruin still bear the name 'Bereikut.' Here the men of Judah regathered to praise Jehovah after three days spent in collecting the spoil; from this incident the spot received its name 'the valley of blessing,' and retained it until the time of the chronicler.

27. The people return to Jerusalem with songs of praise.

29. This remarkable deliverance so impressed the surrounding

on all the kingdoms of the countries, when they heard
30 that the LORD fought against the enemies of Israel. So
the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet: for his God gave
him rest round about.

31 [**H**] And Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah: he was
thirty and five years old when he began to reign; and
he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem: and his
32 mother's name was Azubah the daughter of Shilhi. And
he walked in the way of Asa his father, and turned not
aside from it, doing that which was right in the eyes of
33 the LORD. Howbeit the high places were not taken
away; neither as yet had the people set their hearts unto
34 the God of their fathers. [**Ch²**] Now the rest of the acts
of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in
the history of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted
in the book of the kings of Israel.

35 [**Ch**] And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah
join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel; the same did

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nations that none dared to make war on Judah during the remainder of Jehoshaphat's reign.

XX. 31–34. *Close of the Reign.* With this summary of the ideal reign of Jehoshaphat we may compare 1 Kings xxii. 41–43, 45–49.

33. the high places were not taken away: this seems to be a direct contradiction of the foregoing narratives of reform. Divergence of sources is very evident; and perhaps the chronicler never meant to harmonize the estimates, but merely to leave both accounts on record.

34. in the history of Jehu: cf. Introd. § iv.

XX. 35–37. *Mercantile Alliance with Ahaziah.* The account of the attempt to reopen the trade with Ophir is given here somewhat differently from 1 Kings, although the so-called contradictions are perfectly explicable on the ground of incompleteness in both narratives. In 1 Kings Jehoshaphat first set himself to build ships independently, and when these were wrecked he refused to join Ahaziah in a second attempt. The chronicler represents the first attempt as being made in alliance with Ahaziah

very wickedly: [**Ch²**] and he joined himself with him to 36
make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships
in Ezion-geber. [**Ch**] Then Eliezer the son of Dodavahu 37
of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying,
Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD
hath destroyed thy works. And the ships were broken,
that they were not able to go to Tarshish.

[**H**] And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was **21**
buried with his fathers in the city of David: and Jehoram
his son reigned in his stead. [**Ch**] And he had brethren 2
the sons of Jehoshaphat, Azariah, and Jehiel, and
Zechariah, and Azariah, and Michael, and Shephatiah:
all these were the sons of Jehoshaphat king of Israel.
And their father gave them great gifts, of silver, and of gold, 3
and of precious things, with fenced cities in Judah: but
the kingdom gave he to Jehoram, because he was the
firstborn. Now when Jehoram was risen up over the 4
kingdom of his father, and had strengthened himself, he
slew all his brethren with the sword, and divers also of

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and traces the disaster to the sin of that alliance. The changed view-point fully accords with the chronicler's ideas of retribution.

36. to go to Tarshish: cf. note on ix. 21.

37. Eliezer: an otherwise unknown prophet.

(6) xxi. *Reign of Jehoram.*

Almost the entire material of this chapter is new to us; but a few verses are paralleled by Kings (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 50, 2 Kings viii. 17–22, 24). Jehoram is conspicuously a bad king, as one would expect of a son-in-law of Ahab. His reign opens with the massacre of his brothers, and is a record of misdeeds, idolatry, and revolution.

xxi. 1–4. *Opening of Jehoram's Reign.*

2. Jehoshaphat king of Israel: an unusual designation of a king of Judah. Either we must read 'Judah,' or else trace the title to the chronicler's habit of ignoring the northern kingdom.

4. he slew all his brethren: in this Jehoram acted in perfect

5 the princes of Israel. [**H**] Jehoram was thirty and two
years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eight
6 years in Jerusalem. And he walked in the way of the
kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab: for he had
the daughter of Ahab to wife: and he did that which
7 was evil in the sight of the LORD. Howbeit the LORD
would not destroy the house of David, because of the
covenant that he had made with David, and as he
promised to give a lamp to him and to his children
8 alway. In his days Edom revolted from under the hand
9 of Judah, and made a king over themselves. Then
Jehoram passed over with his captains, and all his
chariots with him: and he rose up by night, and smote
the Edomites which compassed him about, and the cap-
10 tains of the chariots. So Edom revolted from under the
hand of Judah, unto this day: then did Libnah revolt at
the same time from under his hand: because he had
11 forsaken the LORD, the God of his fathers. [**Ch**] More-
over he made high places in the mountains of Judah,
and made the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring,

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harmony with the Oriental custom of removing possible claimants to the throne; moreover, he had the precedent of Solomon.

xxi. 5-11. *Character of Jehoram's Reign.* The passage is parallel to 2 Kings viii. 17-22, with few alterations.

6. the daughter of Ahab: i. e. Athaliah; cf. xxii. 2.

8. The revolt of Edom is a clear indication of Judah's declining power.

9. Jehoram attempted to reduce Edom by a night attack, but was himself surrounded. The disaster is implied rather than described.

10. Libnah: the site of this lowland fortress has not yet been identified. It must have been near Lachish, close to the Philistine borders.

because he had forsaken the LORD: the chronicler adds this comment to the narrative of 1 Kings.

11. The idolatrous proclivities of Jehoram led to an actual revival of the worship at the illicit high-places.

and led Judah astray. And there came a writing to him 12
from Elijah the prophet, saying, Thus saith the LORD,
the God of David thy father, Because thou hast not
walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat thy father, nor in the
ways of Asa king of Judah; but hast walked in the way 13
of the kings of Israel, and hast made Judah and the
inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring, like as the
house of Ahab did; and also hast slain thy brethren of
thy father's house, which were better than thyself: behold, 14
the LORD will smite with a great plague thy people, and
thy children, and thy wives, and all thy substance: and 15
thou shalt have great sickness by disease of thy bowels,
until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness, day by
day. And the LORD stirred up against Jehoram the 16
spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians which are
beside the Ethiopians: and they came up against Judah, 17
and brake into it, and carried away all the substance
that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and

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xxi. 12-19. *Elijah's Letter.* There is considerable difficulty in connexion with this letter of Elijah to Jehoram. If the narrative of 2 Kings is in chronological order, Elijah had been dead some time, for the account of his translation is given between the reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah of Israel, i. e. at least four years before the accession of Jehoram of Judah. But no date is mentioned, and it would be far from wise to insist upon the chronological accuracy of the author of Kings. Hence, if we accept the chronicler's narrative, we must assume that Elijah lived some years beyond the period which seems to be indicated for his translation by the author of Kings. There is, therefore, no need to change the name to Elisha or to regard the narrative as a late invention.

12. Elijah the prophet: with the exception of this incident, the chronicler entirely ignores the existence of the great prophets of the northern kingdom. The letter here referred to pointed out Jehoram's sins and threatened punishment upon his realm and himself.

17. in the king's house: this does not necessarily imply the sack of Jerusalem, for, had that occurred, it would surely have been specially mentioned.

his wives; so that there was never a son left him, save
18 Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons. And after all this
the LORD smote him in his bowels with an incurable
19 disease. And it came to pass, in process of time, at the
end of two years, that his bowels fell out by reason of his
sickness, and he died of sore diseases. And his people
made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.
20 Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign,
and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years: and he departed
without being desired; and they buried him in the city
of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

22 And the inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah his
youngest son king in his stead: for the band of men that
came with the Arabians to the camp had slain all the
eldest. So Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah
2 reigned. [H] Forty and two years old was Ahaziah
when he began to reign; and he reigned one year in
Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Athaliah the

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19. Whatever the disease was, it was incurable and was regarded as a retribution on a wicked reign.

20. departed without being desired: a very obscure phrase which may be rendered 'he behaved so as to please no one' (Bennett). The character of his reign is well shown by the refusal of the people to bury him in the royal tombs.

(7) xxii–xxiii. *Ahaziah and Athaliah.*

xxii. 1–9. *Reign of Ahaziah.* The narrative of Ahaziah's uneventful reign finds its parallel in 2 Kings viii. 26–29. The main differences lie in the characteristic comments made by the chronicler and in the abbreviation of the account of the king's death.

1. Ahaziah: 843 B.C. In xxi. 17 he is called Jehoahaz.

slain all the eldest: the meaning seems to be that a scouting party of the invaders described in xxi. 16, 17 had surprised the camp of Judah and slain the royal princes.

2. Forty and two years old: an evident orthographical error for 'twenty and two.' Cf. 2 Kings viii. 26.

Athaliah the daughter of Omri: i.e. 'grand-daughter,' as in R. V. margin.

daughter of Omri. He also walked in the ways of the 3
house of Ahab: for his mother was his counsellor to do
wickedly. And he did that which was evil in the sight 4
of the LORD, as did the house of Ahab: for they were
his counsellors after the death of his father, to his
destruction. He walked also after their counsel, and 5
went with Jehoram the son of Ahab king of Israel to war
against Hazael king of Syria at Ramoth-gilead: and the
Syrians wounded Joram. And he returned to be healed 6
in Jezreel of the wounds which they had given him at
Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Syria.
And Azariah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went
down to see Jehoram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because
he was sick. [**Ch**] Now the destruction of Ahaziah was 7
of God, in that he went unto Joram: for when he was
come, he went out with Jehoram against Jehu the son of
Nimshi, whom the LORD had anointed to cut off the
house of Ahab. And it came to pass, when Jehu was 8
executing judgement upon the house of Ahab, that he
found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren
of Ahaziah, ministering to Ahaziah, and slew them.
And he sought Ahaziah, and they caught him, (now he 9
was hiding in Samaria,) and they brought him to Jehu,
and slew him; and they buried him, for they said, He is
the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the LORD with all

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6. Jezreel: the modern Zer'în on the high ground near Gilboa. **Azariah:** read Ahaziah.

7-9. The death of Ahaziah is much more concisely narrated than in 2 Kings ix, where the conspiracy of Jehu is given in detail. The chronicler contents himself with indicating the fact that divine retribution was displayed in the tragedy which Jehu enacted.

8. the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah: this is a more exact expression of the relationship than that of 2 Kings x. 12-14.

his heart. And the house of Ahaziah had no power to
hold the kingdom.
10 [**H**] Now when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw
that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the
11 seed royal of the house of Judah. But Jehoshabeath, the
daughter of the king, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and
stole him away from among the king's sons that were
slain, and put him and his nurse in the bedchamber.
[**Ch^2**] So Jehoshabeath, the daughter of king Jehoram,
the wife of Jehoiada the priest, (for she was the sister of
Ahaziah,) hid him from Athaliah, so that she slew him
12 not. [**H**] And he was with them hid in the house of
God six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.

23 [**Ch^2**] And in the seventh year Jehoiada strengthened
himself, and took the captains of hundreds, Azariah the

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xxii. 10–12. *Athaliah's Usurpation.* Cf. 2 Kings xi. 1–3. The queen-mother, on hearing of Ahaziah's death, made good her own position by extirpating all the royal princes. The one aim of this strong and determined princess was to perpetuate in the southern kingdom the supremacy of northern Israel and the policy of Omri's house, reducing Judah to a kind of southern dependency. She reigned from 843 to 837 B. C.

11. Jehoshabeath: a royal princess and also the wife of the high-priest.

xxiii. *Overthrow of Athaliah's Tyranny.*

The high-priest kept Joash, the sole survivor of the royal princes, in hiding for six years, carefully watching for his opportunity of overthrowing the despotism of the queen-mother. Athaliah had been the evil genius of her son Ahaziah, and her regency was of such a nature as to promote revolutionary tendencies. Hence, on the given signal, the coronation of Joash, the death of Athaliah, and the overthrow of the worship of Baal were successfully accomplished. The whole chapter should be carefully compared with 2 Kings xi. 4–20 as an illustration of the chronicler's different reading of history as compared with that of the author of Kings.

1. the captains: the fact that the chronicler gives the names of five of the captains implies that other sources of information than 2 Kings xi were accessible to him.

son of Jeroham, and Ishmael the son of Jehohanan, and Azariah the son of Obed, and Maaseiah the son of Adaiah, and Elishaphat the son of Zichri, into covenant with
him. And they went about in Judah, and gathered the 2
Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the heads of fathers' *houses* of Israel, and they came to Jerusalem.
And all the congregation made a covenant with the king 3
in the house of God. And he said unto them, Behold, the king's son shall reign, as the LORD hath spoken
concerning the sons of David. This is the thing that ye 4
shall do: a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites, shall be porters of the
doors; and a third part shall be at the king's house; and 5
a third part at the gate of the foundation: and all the people shall be in the courts of the house of the
LORD. But let none come into the house of the LORD, 6
save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites;

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2. gathered the Levites: the chronicler characteristically omits all mention of 'the Carites' (2 Kings xi. 4) and lays stress on the part played by the Levites in the revolution. But, as Keil observes, the discrepancies which seem thus to be introduced disappear if it be assumed that the authors of Kings and Chronicles are both making selections from a fuller common source. Their narratives are mutually complementary rather than contradictory.

4, 5. It is impossible, with our present knowledge, to solve with certainty the question of the location of the guards and equally difficult to harmonize the terminology of 2 Kings and our narrative. The moment chosen for action was the time of the changing of the guard. The guard was to be so disposed as to secure the young king within the Temple enclosure. As to the difficulties of reconciling the narratives of Kings and Chronicles, the best solution seems to be that of Keil: 'Both accounts mention merely the main points of the proceedings:—the author of the Book of Kings emphasizes the part played in the affair by the royal body-guard; the author of the Chronicles, on the other hand, emphasizes that played by the Levites: so that both accounts mutually supplement each other, and only when taken together give a full account of the circumstances.'

they shall come in, for they are holy: but all the people
7 shall keep the watch of the LORD. [H] And the Levites
shall compass the king round about, every man with his
weapons in his hand; and whosoever cometh into the
house, let him be slain: and be ye with the king when
8 he cometh in, and when he goeth out. So the Levites
and all Judah did according to all that Jehoiada the
priest commanded: and they took every man his men,
those that were to come in on the sabbath, with those
that were to go out on the sabbath; for Jehoiada the
9 priest dismissed not the courses. And Jehoiada the
priest delivered to the captains of hundreds the spears,
and bucklers, and shields, that had been king David's,
10 which were in the house of God. And he set all the
people, every man with his weapon in his hand, from the
right side of the house to the left side of the house, along
by the altar and the house, by the king round about.
11 Then they brought out the king's son, and put the crown
upon him, and *gave him* the testimony, and made him
king: and Jehoiada and his sons anointed him; and
12 they said, God save the king. And when Athaliah heard
the noise of the people running and praising the king, she
13 came to the people into the house of the LORD: and she
looked, and, behold, the king stood by his pillar at the
entrance, and the captains and the trumpets by the
king; and all the people of the land rejoiced, and blew
with trumpets; the singers also *played* on instruments of

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6. the people shall keep the watch of the LORD: i.e. perform the appointed acts of worship in the court reserved for them.

11. the testimony: the roll of the Law was put into the young king's hand as part of the regalia.

God save the king: literally 'let the king live.'

13. by his pillar at the entrance: this seems to indicate the porch of the Temple, where stood the pillars Jachin and Boaz.

music, and led the singing of praise. Then Athaliah rent
her clothes, and said, Treason, treason. And Jehoiada 14
the priest brought out the captains of hundreds that were
set over the host, and said unto them, Have her forth
between the ranks; and whoso followeth her, let him be
slain with the sword: for the priest said, Slay her not in
the house of the LORD. So they made way for her; and 15
she went to the entry of the horse gate to the king's
house: and they slew her there.

And Jehoiada made a covenant between himself, and 16
all the people, and the king, that they should be the
LORD's people. And all the people went to the house of 17
Baal, and brake it down, and brake his altars and his
images in pieces, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal before
the altars. [Ch^2] And Jehoiada appointed the offices of 18
the house of the LORD under the hand of the priests the
Levites, whom David had distributed in the house of
the LORD, to offer the burnt offerings of the LORD, as it is
written in the law of Moses, with rejoicing and with
singing, according to the order of David. And he set 19
the porters at the gates of the house of the LORD, that
none which was unclean in any thing should enter in.
And he took the captains of hundreds, and the nobles, 20

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15. the horse gate: the queen-regent met her death at that gate of the palace which was used by the mounted guard.

16. between himself, and all the people: i. e. as the priestly representative of Jehovah. The mention of the political covenant (2 Kings xi. 17) is omitted; it is only the religious compact with Jehovah that is stressed by the chronicler.

17. went to the house of Baal: after the slaughter of Athaliah the natural course was the overthrow of the illicit rites she had introduced from northern Israel.

18, 19. The reorganization of the Temple services receives much fuller attention than in 2 Kings.

20, 21. A military and civic procession escorts the young king

and the governors of the people, and all the people of
the land, and brought down the king from the house of
the LORD: and they came through the upper gate unto
the king's house, and set the king upon the throne of the
21 kingdom. So all the people of the land rejoiced, and
the city was quiet: and they slew Athaliah with the sword.

24 [H] Joash was seven years old when he began to
reign; and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem: and his
2 mother's name was Zibiah of Beer-sheba. And Joash
did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD all the
3 days of Jehoiada the priest. [Ch] And Jehoiada took
for him two wives; and he begat sons and daughters.
4 And it came to pass after this, that Joash was minded
5 to restore the house of the LORD. And he gathered
together the priests and the Levites, and said to them,
Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of all Israel
money to repair the house of your God from year to
year, and see that ye hasten the matter. Howbeit the

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to the palace to complete the act of enthronement. National rejoicing follows the complete success of the revolution.

(8) xxiv. *Reign of Joash.*

The reign of Joash covered a period of over forty years, 837 to 798 B. C.; yet we have here merely the narrative of the repair of the Temple and the campaign against Syria. The facts narrated are paralleled by 2 Kings xi. 21—xii. 14 and xii. 17-21 with additions of detail and also with considerable omissions.

xxiv. 1-3. *Introductory.*

2. The chronicler is stating the fact that Joash persevered in a path of loyalty to Jehovah only so long as Jehoiada was high-priest. The king had learned to assert his independence, however, by his thirtieth year: cf. verse 6 and 2 Kings xii. 6.

xxiv. 4-14. *Repair of the Temple.* The fabric of the Temple had somehow been allowed to fall into disrepair. Consequently the king instituted a new system for the collection and outlay of the dues and the voluntary offerings. This incident should be compared with Josiah's action narrated in 2 Kings xxii. 3 ff.

Levites hastened it not. [Ch^2] And the king called for 6
Jehoiada the chief, and said unto him, Why hast thou
not required of the Levites to bring in out of Judah and
out of Jerusalem the tax of Moses the servant of the
Lord, and of the congregation of Israel, for the tent of
the testimony? For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked 7
woman, had broken up the house of God; and also all
the dedicated things of the house of the Lord did they
bestow upon the Baalim. So the king commanded, and 8
they made a chest, and set it without at the gate of the
house of the Lord. And they made a proclamation 9
through Judah and Jerusalem, to bring in for the Lord
the tax that Moses the servant of God laid upon Israel in
the wilderness. And all the princes and all the people 10
rejoiced, and brought in, and cast into the chest, until
they had made an end. And it was so, that at what time 11
the chest was brought unto the king's office by the hand

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5. **the Levites hastened it not:** i.e. the royal commands were not carried out.

6. **the tax of Moses:** the chronicler, desirous of guarding against the misconception that the priestly dues were being wrongly applied, omits the ambiguous phrase of 2 Kings, and insists that there had been a neglect to raise the poll-tax which Moses had originally instituted for the repair of the Tabernacle (cf. Exod. xxx. 11-16).

7. **the sons of Athaliah:** all the sons of Jehoram had been massacred when the king was some thirty-seven years of age; hence they must have been quite youths when they raided the Temple in favour of the Baals.

8. **set it without at the gate:** in 2 Kings xii. 9 it is said to have been placed beside the altar. The probability is that the chronicler has not only felt the incongruity of this, but has also preserved the correct reading. In fact, Klostermann would emend 2 Kings to read 'near the southern doorpost.'

9. **made a proclamation:** the income for the renovation of the Temple was henceforth to consist solely of voluntary gifts.

11. **unto the king's office:** the meaning is brought out in the margin, viz. a Levitic commission had the oversight of all the moneys.

of the Levites, and when they saw that there was much
money, the king's scribe and the chief priest's officer
came and emptied the chest, and took it, and carried it
to its place again. Thus they did day by day, and
12 gathered money in abundance. And the king and
Jehoiada gave it to such as did the work of the service
of the house of the LORD; and they hired masons and
carpenters to restore the house of the LORD, and also
such as wrought iron and brass to repair the house of the
13 LORD. So the workmen wrought, and the work was
perfected by them, and they set up the house of God in
14 its state, and strengthened it. And when they had made
an end, they brought the rest of the money before the
king and Jehoiada, whereof were made vessels for the
house of the LORD, even vessels to minister, and to offer
withal, and spoons, and vessels of gold and silver. And
they offered burnt offerings in the house of the LORD
15 continually all the days of Jehoiada. [Ch] But Jehoiada
waxed old and was full of days, and he died; an hundred
16 and thirty years old was he when he died. And they
buried him in the city of David among the kings, because
he had done good in Israel, and toward God and his

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12. they hired masons and carpenters: this throws light upon the extent to which the Temple fabric had decayed.

14. all the days of Jehoiada: the phrase is evidence that the high-priest's influence alone determined the ecclesiastical policy of the king and kept him loyal to Jehovah.

xxiv. 15-22. *Religious Decline.* This section is peculiar to Chronicles. Its substance is such as to explain the national decay. Jehoiada dies, the people apostatize, the disapproval of Jehovah is made known.

16. buried him . . . among the kings: as became a priest allied by marriage to royalty, the prime mover in a national revolution, and, thereafter, the lifelong director of the royal polity. While he is so prominent in this narrative, it is specially note-

house. Now after the death of Jehoiada came the 17
princes of Judah, and made obeisance to the king.
Then the king hearkened unto them. And they forsook 18
the house of the LORD, the God of their fathers, and
served the Asherim and the idols: and wrath came upon
Judah and Jerusalem for this their guiltiness. Yet he 19
sent prophets to them, to bring them again unto the
LORD; and they testified against them: but they would
not give ear. And the spirit of God came upon Zechariah 20
the son of Jehoiada the priest; and he stood above the
people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why
transgress ye the commandments of the LORD, that ye
cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the LORD, he
hath also forsaken you. And they conspired against him, 21
and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the
king in the court of the house of the LORD. Thus Joash 22
the king remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada
his father had done to him, but slew his son. And when
he died, he said, The LORD look upon it, and require it.

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worthy that his name does not occur in the list of high-priests given in 1 Chron. vi. 1-15.

17. the king hearkened: like a later Rehoboam he allowed himself to be swayed by evil councillors. What the princes sought and obtained appears from verse 18.

19. Yet he sent prophets: Jehovah's anger with apostasy did not prevent His grace. As always, He was 'a just God *and* a Saviour.'

20. the spirit of God came upon: literally, 'clothed himself with.'

Zechariah: the royal favour should have been extended towards the son of the man to whom the king owed his throne.

above the people: the inner court, whence he addressed the crowds (cf. verse 21), was raised above the level of the outer court.

22. The LORD . . . require it: Zechariah-ben-Jehoiada became one of the martyr-prophets: but his last prayer was for vengeance. This is the man named in Matt. xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51.

23 And it came to pass at the end of the year, that the army
of the Syrians came up against him: and they came to
Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed all the princes of
the people from among the people, and sent all the spoil
24 of them unto the king of Damascus. For the army of
the Syrians came with a small company of men; and the
LORD delivered a very great host into their hand, because
they had forsaken the LORD, the God of their fathers. So
25 they executed judgement upon Joash. [**Ch^2**] And when
they were departed from him, (for they left him in great
diseases,) his own servants conspired against him for the
blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew him
on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the
city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres
26 of the kings. And these are they that conspired against
him; Zabad the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and
27 Jehozabad the son of Shimrith the Moabitess. Now
concerning his sons, and the greatness of the burdens
laid upon him, and the rebuilding of the house of God,
behold, they are written in the commentary of the book
of the kings. And Amaziah his son reigned in his
stead.

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xxiv. 23–26. *The Syrian Campaign.* The result of apostasy was seen in the defeat of Joash by the Syrian invader, Hazael. Cf. 2 Kings xii. 17 ff., where Joash buys off the invader with the Temple treasures, whereas here the capital is represented as being plundered.

23, 24. the army of the Syrians: the invader was Hazael, who had previously reduced Gath (cf. 2 Kings). The chronicler points out that the Syrian army was small in numbers, but successful as a Heaven-sent scourge.

25. they left him in great diseases: i. e. the king was badly wounded.

sons of Jehoiada: read 'son' with LXX.

27. the commentary of the book of the kings: i. e. the midrash; cf. Introd. § iv.

[H] Amaziah was twenty and five years old when he 25
began to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in
Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jehoaddan of
Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes 2
of the LORD, but not with a perfect heart. Now it came 3
to pass, when the kingdom was established unto him,
that he slew his servants which had killed the king his
father. But he put not their children to death, but did 4
according to that which is written in the law in the book
of Moses, as the LORD commanded, saying, The fathers
shall not die for the children, neither shall the children
die for the fathers; but every man shall die for his own
sin. [Ch] Moreover Amaziah gathered Judah together, 5
and ordered them according to their fathers' houses, under
captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, even all
Judah and Benjamin: and he numbered them from

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(9) XXV. *Reign of Amaziah.*

The reign of Amaziah (798–790 B. C.) is one more illustration of a fair beginning, rewarded with power and success, giving place to religious declension and its inevitable sequel of disaster. The facts narrated are found also in 2 Kings xiv, but the narrative of the Edomite campaign is found solely in Chronicles.

XXV. 1–4. *Introductory.*

1. Amaziah. For a full discussion of the chronology of the Hebrew kings we must refer the student to the *Century Bible* on 'Kings' (by Skinner), pp. 38–47. Suffice it to say that it is only possible to harmonize the statements in Kings by radical emendation. Among the changes necessitated is the reduction of the length of Amaziah's reign by twenty years.

2. not with a perfect heart: the author of Kings says that he allowed the worship at the high-places to continue.

4. in the law in the book of Moses: cf. Deut. xxiv. 10.

XXV. 5–13. *Edomite Campaign.* Edom had revolted under Jehoram, and had maintained its independence in spite of that monarch's efforts to reduce it (cf. 2 Kings viii. 20–22). How far Amaziah succeeded in achieving the same object is not stated.

twenty years old and upward, and found them three
hundred thousand chosen men, able to go forth to war,
6 that could handle spear and shield. He hired also an
hundred thousand mighty men of valour out of Israel for
7 an hundred talents of silver. But there came a man of
God to him, saying, O king, let not the army of Israel go
with thee; for the LORD is not with Israel, *to wit*, with all
8 the children of Ephraim. But if thou wilt go, do *valiantly*,
be strong for the battle: God shall cast thee down before
the enemy; for God hath power to help, and to cast
9 down. And Amaziah said to the man of God, But what
shall we do for the hundred talents which I have given to
the army of Israel? And the man of God answered, The
10 LORD is able to give thee much more than this. Then
Amaziah separated them, *to wit*, the army that was come
to him out of Ephraim, to go home again: wherefore
11 their anger was greatly kindled against Judah, and they
returned home in fierce anger. And Amaziah took
courage, and led forth his people, and went to the Valley
of Salt, and smote of the children of Seir ten thousand.
12 And *other* ten thousand did the children of Judah carry
away alive, and brought them unto the top of the rock,
and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they
13 all were broken in pieces. But the men of the army

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5. three hundred thousand chosen men: Joash had 1,160,000 warriors in his day; the shrinkage is remarkable if the former figures be correct.

6. hired . . . men of valour out of Israel: this use of mercenaries, and the making of alliances with unhallowed powers, were invariably condemned by the prophets as signs of a want of faith in Jehovah.

8. God shall cast thee down: i. e. if he persisted in relying upon the northern mercenaries.

11. the Valley of Salt: south of the Dead Sea; cf. note on 1 Chron. xviii. 12.

which Amaziah sent back, that they should not go with him to battle, fell upon the cities of Judah, from Samaria even unto Beth-horon, and smote of them three thousand, and took much spoil.

14 Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them. 15 Wherefore the anger of the LORD was kindled against Amaziah, and he sent unto him a prophet, which said unto him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which have not delivered their own people out of thine hand? 16 And it came to pass, as he talked with him, that *the king* said unto him, Have we made thee of the king's counsel? forbear; why shouldest thou be smitten? Then the prophet forbare, and said, I know that God hath determined to destroy thee, because thou hast done this, and hast not hearkened unto my counsel.

17 [H] Then Amaziah king of Judah took advice, and

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13. from Samaria even unto Beth-horon: probably the chronicler employs the words according to the usage of his own day, so that Samaria refers to the northern kingdom, not to the city. The irate Israelite mercenaries, angered by the loss of the chance of plundering Edom, took advantage of Amaziah's absence and plundered Judah instead.

xxv. 14–16. *Apostasy.* The victory over Edom proved a religious disaster to Amaziah in that he became a devotee of the gods of Edom.

15. The folly as well as the sin of this apostasy is what the prophet insists upon. Jehovah had given Amaziah the victory; yet the king transferred his allegiance to the gods who had proved useless to Edom. The chronicler is writing midrash here.

xxv. 17–24. *War with Joash of Israel.* Amaziah is elated with his victory over Edom, and probably stung by the action of the dismissed mercenaries. He, consequently, challenges Joash to battle, but receives a contemptuous parabolic response. Eventually,

sent to Joash, the son of Jehoahaz the son of Jehu, king
of Israel, saying, Come, let us look one another in the
18 face. And Joash king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of
Judah, saying, The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to
the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter
to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that
19 was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle. Thou
sayest, Lo, thou hast smitten Edom; and thine heart
lifteth thee up to boast: abide now at home; why
shouldest thou meddle to *thy* hurt, that thou shouldest
20 fall, even thou, and Judah with thee? But Amaziah
would not hear; for it was of God, that he might deliver
them into the hand *of their enemies*, because they had
21 sought after the gods of Edom. So Joash king of Israel
went up; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one
another in the face at Beth-shemesh, which belongeth to
22 Judah. And Judah was put to the worse before Israel;
23 and they fled every man to his tent. And Joash king of
Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Joash the
son of Jehoahaz, at Beth-shemesh, and brought him to
Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from
the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred
24 cubits. And *he took* all the gold and silver, and all the

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Amaziah meets with a severe defeat at Beth-shemesh, is taken prisoner, and suffers the dismantling of the fortifications of his capital. The narrative agrees almost verbally with 2 Kings xiv. 8–14.

17. look one another in the face: an ambiguous challenge to battle.

18. The parable of Joash is a rebuke of Amaziah's insolence.

19. meddle to thy **hurt:** margin, 'provoke calamity.'

20. for it was of God: this is the chronicler's original comment on the facts which he borrows from 2 Kings.

23. Jehoahaz: i. e. Ahaziah; cf. note on xxi. 17.

the gate of Ephraim: probably in the north wall.

vessels that were found in the house of God with Obed-edom, and the treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and returned to Samaria.

And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived 25
after the death of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel
fifteen years. Now the rest of the acts of Amaziah, first 26
and last, behold, are they not written in the book of the
kings of Judah and Israel? Now from the time that 27
Amaziah did turn away from following the LORD they
made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled
to Lachish: but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew
him there. And they brought him upon horses, and 28
buried him with his fathers in the city of Judah.

And all the people of Judah took Uzziah, who was **26**
sixteen years old, and made him king in the room of his
father Amaziah. He built Eloth, and restored it to 2
Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers. Sixteen 3

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24. Obed-edom: the guardian of the sacred vessels.

xxv. 25–28. *Conclusion of the Reign.* Amaziah retained his throne, in spite of his defeat by Joash, until the results of his evil rule led to a conspiracy which resulted in his assassination.

25. fifteen years: cf. note on verse 1.

26. in the book of the kings: cf. Introd. § iv.

27. Lachish: the modern Tell-el-Ḥasi in the Shephēlah.

(10) xxvi. *Reign of Uzziah.*

Of the material used in the account of Uzziah's reign, verses 1–4 and 21–23 are found in 2 Kings xiv. 21 ff. and xv. 2–7; but verses 5–20 are peculiar to the chronicler. The reign was a long one, and the new matter of our chapter shows that it was marked by a wise policy of development at home and by successful military undertakings. During part of Uzziah's reign the prophet Isaiah performed his ministry in Jerusalem; and he bears testimony to the monarch's greatness (cf. Isa. ii–iv).

xxvi. 1–5. *Introductory.*

1. Uzziah: called Azariah in 2 Kings.

2. he built Eloth: evidently Uzziah rebuilt the sea-port which his father had captured but had been unable to fortify.

years old was Uzziah when he began to reign; and
he reigned fifty and two years in Jerusalem: and his
4 mother's name was Jechiliah of Jerusalem. And he did
that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, according
5 to all that his father Amaziah had done. [**Ch**] And he
set himself to seek God in the days of Zechariah, who had
understanding in the vision of God: and as long as he
6 sought the LORD, God made him to prosper. [**H^2**] And
he went forth and warred against the Philistines, and
brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and
the wall of Ashdod; and he built cities in *the country*
7 *of* Ashdod, and among the Philistines. [**Ch**] And God
helped him against the Philistines, and against the Ara-
8 bians that dwelt in Gur-baal, and the Meunim. [**H^2**] And
the Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah: [**Ch**] and his name
spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt; for
9 he waxed exceeding strong. [**H^2**] Moreover Uzziah
built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the
valley gate, and at the turning *of the wall*, and fortified
10 them. And he built towers in the wilderness, and hewed

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3. The reign should be dated 790–749 B. C.

5. Zechariah, who had understanding in the vision of God: read with R. V. margin, 'who gave instruction in the seeing of God'; this is borne out by LXX, Syr., Arab., Targum, &c. Zechariah, otherwise unknown, must have been a prophet of importance; he held a position of influence analogous to that of Jehoiada under Joash.

xxvi. 6–10. *Military and Civil Activities.* The result of Uzziah's fidelity to Jehovah is traced by the chronicler in successful campaigns, growing power, and national prosperity.

6. The Philistines were brought under the suzerainty of Judah and their land colonized. **Jabneh** is the modern Jebneh, south of Joppa. The material is clearly historic and trustworthy.

7. Gur-baal: otherwise unknown.

Meunim: cf. note on xx. 1.

9. Jerusalem was fortified by towers at the north-west corner of the wall and at the spot where the Jaffa gate now stands.

out many cisterns, for he had much cattle; in the lowland
also, and in the plain: *and he had* husbandmen and
vinedressers in the mountains and in the fruitful fields;
for he loved husbandry. [Ch] Moreover Uzziah had an 11
army of fighting men, that went out to war by bands,
according to the number of their reckoning made by Jeiel
the scribe and Maaseiah the officer, under the hand of
Hananiah, one of the king's captains. The whole number 12
of the heads of fathers' *houses*, even the mighty men
of valour, was two thousand and six hundred. And under 13
their hand was a trained army, three hundred thousand
and seven thousand and five hundred, that made war with
mighty power, to help the king against the enemy. And 14
Uzziah prepared for them, even for all the host, shields,
and spears, and helmets, and coats of mail, and bows, and
stones for slinging. And he made in Jerusalem engines, 15
invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon
the battlements, to shoot arrows and great stones withal.
And his name spread far abroad; for he was marvellously
helped, till he was strong.

But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up so that 16
he did corruptly, and he trespassed against the LORD his

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10. in the lowland: i. e. the Shephēlah.

in the plain: i. e. the district east of the Dead Sea.

he loved husbandry: this explains the national development.

xxvi. 11–15. National progress was equally marked in military matters, and, for the first time in Hebrew history, we find the king possessing elaborate, if primitive, artillery.

15. to shoot arrows and great stones: artillery resembling the Roman catapulta and ballista.

xxvi. 16–23. *Period of Decay.* Uzziah's reign closes with a conflict with the priests, in which the ecclesiastical power prevails. Royal apostasy is, as usual, followed by declining power.

16. he trespassed: Uzziah's sin was a defiance of the law and a usurpation of the rights of the priesthood.

God; for he went into the temple of the LORD to
17 burn incense upon the altar of incense. And Azariah the
priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of
18 the LORD, that were valiant men: and they withstood
Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It pertaineth not
unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the LORD, but to
the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to
burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast
trespassed; neither shall it be for thine honour from the
19 LORD God. Then Uzziah was wroth; and he had a
censer in his hand to burn incense; and while he was
wroth with the priests, the leprosy brake forth in his
forehead before the priests in the house of the LORD,
20 beside the altar of incense. And Azariah the chief priest,
and all the priests, looked upon him, and, behold, he was
leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out quickly
from thence; yea, himself hasted also to go out, because
21 the LORD had smitten him. [H] And Uzziah the king
was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a
several house, being a leper; for he was cut off from the
house of the LORD: and Jotham his son was over
22 the king's house, judging the people of the land. Now
the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the
23 prophet, the son of Amoz, write. So Uzziah slept with
his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the
field of burial which belonged to the kings; for they

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17. Azariah: the high-priest had the courage to beard the king. Probably this Azariah is the same as the high-priest named in 1 Chron. vi. 36.

21. dwelt in a several house: he was isolated and possibly also deposed from the throne. It seems probable that Jotham exercised a regency during the last eleven years of his father's life (cf. Skinner on 'Kings,' *Century Bible*, § 8).

22. Isaiah the prophet: cf. Isa. ii–iv.

said, He is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

Jotham was twenty and five years old when he began 27
to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Jerushah the daughter of
Zadok. And he did that which was right in the eyes of 2
the LORD, according to all that his father Uzziah had
done: howbeit he entered not into the temple of the
LORD. And the people did yet corruptly. He built the 3
upper gate of the house of the LORD, and on the wall
of Ophel he built much. [H²] Moreover he built cities 4
in the hill country of Judah, and in the forests he built
castles and towers. He fought also with the king of the 5
children of Ammon, and prevailed against them. And
the children of Ammon gave him the same year an

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(11) xxvii. *Reign of Jotham.*

Another pious king occupied the Jewish throne in the person of Jotham. He is represented as zealous for the Temple and for the strength of his cities; he was loyal to Jehovah and successful in war, continuing the policy of his father. The chronicler has found his material partly in 2 Kings xv. 33-35 and 38 and partly in records now non-extant.

xxvii. 1-4. *Introductory.*

1. Jotham: we may date his reign at 739-736 B. C., remembering, however, that he had already exercised the regency during eleven years of his father's lifetime. During this reign Isaiah and Micah continued their prophetic careers.

2. the people did yet corruptly: the phrase seems to indicate the prevalence of impiety and impurity.

3. the upper gate: so little is known of the gates of Solomon's Temple that it is impossible with confidence to locate this work of Jotham. The probability is that it was identical with the 'upper gate of Benjamin' mentioned in Jer. xx. 2, and was situated in the north wall of the inner court.

on the wall of Ophel: the chronicler alone informs us of Jotham's work on this wall. Ophel is the name of the southern spur of Mount Moriah (cf. Neh. iii. 26, 27).

5, 6. *Jotham's Wars.* Jotham subdued Ammon, which seems

hundred talents of silver, and ten thousand measures
of wheat, and ten thousand of barley. So much did the
children of Ammon render unto him, in the second year
6 also, and in the third. [Ch] So Jotham became mighty,
because he ordered his ways before the LORD his God.
7 [H] Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all his wars,
and his ways, behold, they are written in the book of the
8 kings of Israel and Judah. He was five and twenty years
old when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in
9 Jerusalem. And Jotham slept with his fathers, and they
buried him in the city of David: and Ahaz his son
reigned in his stead.

28 Ahaz was twenty years old when he began to reign;

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to have revolted on the death of Uzziah (cf. xxvi. 8), and held the territory during three years. Other military successes are hinted at in verse 7, 'all his wars.'

7. in the book of the kings: cf. Introd. § iv.

(12) xxviii. *Reign of Ahaz.*

Considerable new matter has been added here to the record of the reign found in 2 Kings xvi. 2–17, 20. Ahaz is an example of the wicked kings. Following three able and devout monarchs who had ruled with success amid great prosperity during seventy years, Ahaz wilfully apostatized and, for some unknown reasons, imitated the house of Israel. As a result there occurred great military disasters at the hands of invaders. First Syria defeated Judah and carried away numerous captives. Then Samaria played the part of the divine scourge, and a still greater captivity was averted only by the interposition of a prophet of Jehovah. This chastisement failed to change Ahaz, and therefore further disasters were suffered at the hands of the Edomites and of the Philistines. In these circumstances Ahaz robbed the Temple to purchase the help of Assyria, and the way was thus prepared for the great Captivity. The reign, however, closed in final apostasy and disaster. The whole chapter is rhetorical and its material is used with great effect to point the lessons which the chronicler desires to draw from history.

xxviii. 1–4. *Introductory.*

1. Ahaz: the reign should be dated 735–720 B.C. The LXX and Syriac give his age as twenty-five at the time of his accession.

and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and he did
not that which was right in the eyes of the LORD,
like David his father: but he walked in the ways of 2
the kings of Israel, and made also molten images for the
Baalim. Moreover he burnt incense in the valley of the 3
son of Hinnom, and burnt his children in the fire,
according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the
LORD cast out before the children of Israel. And he 4
sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and
on the hills, and under every green tree. [**Ch^2**] Where- 5
fore the LORD his God delivered him into the hand
of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried
away of his a great multitude of captives, and brought
them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the
hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great
slaughter. [**Ch**] For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in 6
Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, all of

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2. in the ways of the kings of Israel: no reason is assigned for this apostasy; possibly he may have had an idolatrous mother, as was the case with Ahaziah.

3. the valley of the son of Hinnom: this was some spot in the three valleys of Jerusalem, and probably received its name from religious reasons. Among the idolatrous rites practised there under Ahaz was that of passing the children through the fire—a rite somehow connected with child-sacrifice.

4. he sacrificed: the king set the practice of idolatry personally.

xxviii. 5–15. *Syro-Ephraimitic War.* This war is represented directly as a Heaven-sent chastisement. The paralysing fear which it occasioned is well described in Isaiah vii.

5. the king of Syria: from 2 Kings xvi. 5 we learn that this was Rezin, who had already become a tributary of Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. Through this war Judah lost the port of Elath (2 Kings xvi. 6).

6. Pekah: king of Israel from 735 to 732 B.C. In one decisive battle he slew 120,000 men of Judah, and among them three prominent officials of the palace, including Maaseiah, a relative of the king. The figures are very large, but are not incredible for the fierce tribal wars of their age. The bitterness of the conflict is described in verse 9 as 'a rage which reached to heaven.'

them valiant men; because they had forsaken the LORD,
7 the God of their fathers. And Zichri, a mighty man
of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam
the ruler of the house, and Elkanah that was next to the
8 king. And the children of Israel carried away captive of
their brethren two hundred thousand, women, sons, and
daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and
9 brought the spoil to Samaria. But a prophet of the
LORD was there, whose name was Oded: and he went out
to meet the host that came to Samaria, and said unto
them, Behold, because the LORD, the God of your fathers,
was wroth with Judah, he hath delivered them into your
hand, and ye have slain them in a rage which hath
10 reached up unto heaven. And now ye purpose to keep
under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen
and bondwomen unto you: *but* are there not even with
you trespasses of your own against the LORD your God?
11 Now hear me therefore, and send back the captives,
which ye have taken captive of your brethren: for the
12 fierce wrath of the LORD is upon you. Then certain
of the heads of the children of Ephraim, Azariah the son
of Johanan, Berechiah the son of Meshillemoth, and
Jehizkiah the son of Shallum, and Amasa the son of
Hadlai, stood up against them that came from the war,
13 and said unto them, Ye shall not bring in the captives
hither: for ye purpose that which will bring upon us
a trespass against the LORD, to add unto our sins and to

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9. Oded: it is interesting to find a genuine prophet of Jehovah in Samaria. Evidently the work of Elijah lingered still. The prophet reminds the victors that their cruelty calls for divine vengeance and bids them send the captives back to their homes.

12. Oded's appeal proved effective. Certain Ephraimite princes upheld his plea, with the result that the captives were clothed and sent back to Jericho.

our trespass: for our trespass is great, and there is fierce
wrath against Israel. So the armed men left the captives 14
and the spoil before the princes and all the congregation.
And the men which have been expressed by name rose 15
up, and took the captives, and with the spoil clothed all
that were naked among them, and arrayed them, and
shod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and
anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon
asses, and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees,
unto their brethren: then they returned to Samaria.

At that time did king Ahaz send unto the kings of 16
Assyria to help him. For again the Edomites had come 17
and smitten Judah, and carried away captives. The 18
Philistines also had invaded the cities of the lowland, and
of the South of Judah, and had taken Beth-shemesh, and
Aijalon, and Gederoth, and Soco with the towns thereof,
and Timnah with the towns thereof, Gimzo also and the
towns thereof: and they dwelt there. For the LORD 19
brought Judah low because of Ahaz king of Israel; for
he had dealt wantonly in Judah, and trespassed sore

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15. Jericho: a city of Benjamin, belonging to the southern kingdom.

xxviii. 16–25. *War and Decline.* The entire section is new matter, but should be compared with 2 Kings xvi. 7–18.

16. kings of Assyria: only one king is intended, as is made clear from verse 20 and the versions. Ahaz actually professed himself a vassal of Assyria. Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

17. For again the Edomites had come: the invasion of Rezin had enabled these hereditary foes of Judah to escape from subjection and make reprisals.

18. Beth-shemesh: now 'Ain Shems. **Aijalon:** the modern Yālo. **Gederoth:** now Ghedera. **Soco,** now known as esh-Shuweikeh. **Timnah:** the modern Tilneh. **Gimzo:** now called Jīmzā. These towns all lay near the Judean frontier in the Shephēlah.

19. Ahaz king of Israel: i.e. of Judah, in whom the chronicler sees the true 'Israel.'

20 against the LORD. And Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him
21 not. For Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the LORD, and out of the house of the king and of the princes, and gave it unto the king of Assyria: but it
22 helped him not. And in the time of his distress did he trespass yet more against the LORD, this same king Ahaz.
23 For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him: and he said, Because the gods of the kings of Syria helped them, *therefore* will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me. But they were the ruin of him,
24 and of all Israel. And Ahaz gathered together the vessels of the house of God, and cut in pieces the vessels of the house of God, and shut up the doors of the house of the LORD; and he made him altars in every corner of
25 Jerusalem. And in every several city of Judah he made high places to burn incense unto other gods, and provoked to anger the LORD, the God of his fathers.
26 [Ch²] Now the rest of his acts, and all his ways, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of

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20. Tilgath-pilneser. Cf. note on I Chron. v. 6 and 26. The professed vassalage to the Assyrian monarch proved only a further evil to the faithless king. The Assyrian, indeed, made the appeal of Ahaz a pretext for strengthening his grip upon the states of Syria. We are not aware of the date of this unfortunate alliance; but we learn from the monuments that Tiglath-pileser had subdued and depopulated Galilee in 733 B. C., had captured Damascus in 732 B. C., and had reduced Samaria by 722 B. C.

21. Ahaz plundered the Temple to secure Assyrian help.

23. the gods of Damascus: we learn from 2 Kings xvi. 10–16 that Ahaz went to Damascus to pay homage to the victorious Tiglath-pileser. When there, he adopted the Syrian cult.

24. The worship of Jehovah in the Temple was actually suppressed in favour of heathen rites. Jerusalem was given over to idolatry.

xxviii. 26, 27. *Conclusion.*

26. the book of the kings: cf. Introd. § iv.

Judah and Israel. And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and 27
they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem; for they
brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of
Israel: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

[H] Hezekiah began to reign when he was five and **29**
twenty years old; and he reigned nine and twenty years
in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Abijah the
daughter of Zechariah. And he did that which was right 2
in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his
father had done. [Ch] He in the first year of his reign, 3
in the first month, opened the doors of the house of the

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27. Ahaz stands out in the narratives of the chronicler as the most glaring illustration of an apostate king.

(13) xxix–xxxii. *Reign of Hezekiah.*

Ahaz was succeeded by Hezekiah, a devout and reforming monarch whose whole efforts were directed to rescuing his country from the ruin produced by his father's policy. Commencing with a moral and religious reformation, he purged the land of idolatry and set up anew the worship of Jehovah, enriching the musical service of the Temple and celebrating a great Passover. His prosperous reign closed with the remarkable deliverance from Sennacherib.

For his material the chronicler has used sources identical with 2 Kings xviii. 1–7, 13, 17–37, xix. 1–37, and xx. He has both abbreviated and amplified his originals, and has produced thereby a narrative which is virtually an independent one. During this reign Isaiah continued his ministry, and the student should not fail to compare the narrative of Chronicles with Isa. xxxvi to xxxix.

xxix. *Religious Reform.*

xxix. 1–2. *Introductory.*

1. Hezekiah: the reign should be dated 720–692 B. C.

xxix. 3–19. *The Temple purified.* The ensuing narratives have a strong Levitic tinge about them, and the whole subject touched upon is one over which the chronicler might linger with special pleasure; but there is no ground for reading into it any animosity towards the Aaronic priests as distinguished from the Levites.

3. in the first month: i. e. Nisan, the first month of the ecclesiastical year which followed Hezekiah's succession.

opened the doors of the house of the LORD: cf. xxviii. 24.

4 LORD, and repaired them. And he brought in the
priests and the Levites, and gathered them together into
5 the broad place on the east, and said unto them, Hear
me, ye Levites ; now sanctify yourselves, and sanctify the
house of the LORD, the God of your fathers, and carry
6 forth the filthiness out of the holy place. For our
fathers have trespassed, and done that which was evil in
the sight of the LORD our God, and have forsaken him,
and have turned away their faces from the habitation of
7 the LORD, and turned their backs. Also they have shut
up the doors of the porch, and put out the lamps, and
have not burned incense nor offered burnt offerings in
8 the holy place unto the God of Israel. Wherefore the
wrath of the LORD was upon Judah and Jerusalem, and
he hath delivered them to be tossed to and fro, to be an
astonishment, and an hissing, as ye see with your eyes.
9 For, lo, our fathers have fallen by the sword, and our
sons and our daughters and our wives are in captivity
10 for this. Now it is in mine heart to make a covenant with
the LORD, the God of Israel, that his fierce anger may
11 turn away from us. My sons, be not now negligent : for
the LORD hath chosen you to stand before him, to
minister unto him, and that ye should be his ministers,
and burn incense.

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4. the priests and the Levites: the reform was from the outset entrusted almost wholly to the Levites and there is little further mention of the priests. These reforms must have been sufficiently arduous after sixteen years of established idolatry, yet the unbroken record of disaster under Ahaz probably paved the way in the national sympathies.

the broad place on the east: i. e. the open space before the east front of the Temple.

5-11. Hezekiah's address to the Levites recalls the national desolation, the prevalence of idolatry, and the desertion of Jehovah, and it calls for zeal in religious reform.

Then the Levites arose, Mahath the son of Amasai, 12
and Joel the son of Azariah, of the sons of the Kohathites: and of the sons of Merari, Kish the son of Abdi, and Azariah the son of Jehallelel: and of the Gershonites, Joah the son of Zimmah, and Eden the son of Joah:
and of the sons of Elizaphan, Shimri and Jeuel: and of 13
the sons of Asaph, Zechariah and Mattaniah: and of the 14
sons of Heman, Jehuel and Shimei: and of the sons of
Jeduthun, Shemaiah and Uzziel. And they gathered 15
their brethren, and sanctified themselves, and went in, according to the commandment of the king by the words
of the LORD, to cleanse the house of the LORD. And 16
the priests went in unto the inner part of the house of the LORD, to cleanse it, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found in the temple of the LORD into the court of the house of the LORD. And the Levites took
it, to carry it out abroad to the brook Kidron. Now they 17
began on the first *day* of the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the month came they to the porch of the LORD; and they sanctified the house of the LORD in eight days: and on the sixteenth day of the first month
they made an end. Then they went in to Hezekiah the 18
king within *the palace*, and said, We have cleansed all the house of the LORD, and the altar of burnt offering, with

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12–14. The response of the Levites is made, not in words but in deeds. They are led in the work of purging the Temple by the representatives of the three great Levitic clans, Kohath, Merari, and Gershon, together with the leaders of the three musical guilds of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, to whom are added the clansmen of Elizaphan, a Kohathite chief.

15–16. The Levites are assembled and oncsecrated for the work, and at once begin to co-operate with the priests in cleansing the Temple.

17. Eight days are spent in cleansing away the refuse from the courts, and eight more in purifying the Temple itself.

all the vessels thereof, and the table of shewbread, with
19 all the vessels thereof. Moreover all the vessels, which
king Ahaz in his reign did cast away when he trespassed,
have we prepared and sanctified; and, behold, they are
before the altar of the LORD.

20 Then Hezekiah the king arose early, and gathered the
princes of the city, and went up to the house of the
21 LORD. And they brought seven bullocks, and seven
rams, and seven lambs, and seven he-goats, for a sin
offering for the kingdom and for the sanctuary and for
Judah. And he commanded the priests the sons of
22 Aaron to offer them on the altar of the LORD. So they
killed the bullocks, and the priests received the blood,
and sprinkled it on the altar: and they killed the rams,
and sprinkled the blood upon the altar: they killed also
23 the lambs, and sprinkled the blood upon the altar. And
they brought near the he-goats for the sin offering before
the king and the congregation; and they laid their hands
24 upon them: and the priests killed them, and they made
a sin offering with their blood upon the altar, to make
atonement for all Israel: for the king commanded *that*
the burnt offering and the sin offering *should be made* for
25 all Israel. And he set the Levites in the house of the
LORD with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps,
according to the commandment of David, and of Gad
the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet: for the com-
26 mandment was of the LORD by his prophets. And the

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xxix. 20–30. *The Temple re-dedicated.* The princes of Jerusalem at once proceed with the king to offer dedicatory sacrifices. These rites are performed in harmony with the directions given in Lev. i–vi.

25. After the sin offerings for the king and people, there followed the service of praise based upon the ancient royal ordinances for the Temple worship.

Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the
priests with the trumpets. And Hezekiah commanded 27
to offer the burnt offering upon the altar. And when
the burnt offering began, the song of the LORD began
also, and the trumpets, together with the instruments of
David king of Israel. And all the congregation wor- 28
shipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters
sounded; all this *continued* until the burnt offering was
finished. And when they had made an end of offering, 29
the king and all that were present with him bowed them-
selves and worshipped. Moreover Hezekiah the king 30
and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises
unto the LORD with the words of David, and of Asaph
the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they
bowed their heads and worshipped. Then Hezekiah 31
answered and said, Now ye have consecrated yourselves
unto the LORD, come near and bring sacrifices and thank
offerings into the house of the LORD. And the congrega-
tion brought in sacrifices and thank offerings; and as
many as were of a willing heart *brought* burnt offerings.
And the number of the burnt offerings, which the 32
congregation brought, was threescore and ten bullocks,
an hundred rams, and two hundred lambs: all these
were for a burnt offering to the LORD. And the 33
consecrated things were six hundred oxen and three
thousand sheep. But the priests were too few, so that 34
they could not flay all the burnt offerings: wherefore
their brethren the Levites did help them, till the work
was ended, and until the priests had sanctified them-

31–36. *Public Offerings.* The royal dedication ceremony is followed by an appeal from Hezekiah for a national and voluntary consecration. The response is such that the priests cannot undertake the necessary sacrificial duties, and have to accept the aid of the more zealous Levites.

selves: for the Levites were more upright in heart to
35 sanctify themselves than the priests. And also the burnt
offerings were in abundance, with the fat of the peace
offerings, and with the drink offerings for every burnt
offering. So the service of the house of the LORD was
36 set in order. And Hezekiah rejoiced, and all the people,
because of that which God had prepared for the people:
for the thing was done suddenly.

30 And Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote
letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should
come to the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, to keep
2 the passover unto the LORD, the God of Israel. For the
king had taken counsel, and his princes, and all the
congregation in Jerusalem, to keep the passover in the
3 second month. For they could not keep it at that time,

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xxx. *The Great Passover.*

The purification of the Temple had been accomplished by the Levitic and priestly clans; but the re-dedication of the Temple had mainly concerned the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the provincials needed to be won for Jehovah. Consequently the great religious festivals had to be revived to gather the people from all over the land. Hence Hezekiah instituted his great Passover celebration. In the description of this there is a close and perhaps inevitable resemblance to the other great Passover described by the chronicler, viz. that of Josiah in ch. xxxv.

xxx. 1–12. *Preparation for the Passover.*

1. to all Israel and Judah: as Samaria had fallen in 722 B. C. the northern kingdom was only represented by the remnants of the tribes. A correct view of the chronology of the period (cf. Skinner on 'Kings,' *Century Bible*) reveals the fact that Hosea's reign over Israel really terminated before Hezekiah's accession to the throne of Judah. The date given in 2 Kings xviii. 10 is inaccurate. This being so, the elaborate argument of Keil, in which he attempts to show that the great Passover must have occurred later in Hezekiah's reign than the first year, breaks down. We can, therefore, see how it was possible for Hezekiah to make a special effort to secure the co-operation of the northern tribes in this festival.

because the priests had not sanctified themselves in
sufficient number, neither had the people gathered them-
selves together to Jerusalem. And the thing was right 4
in the eyes of the king and of all the congregation. So 5
they established a decree to make proclamation through-
out all Israel, from Beer-sheba even to Dan, that they
should come to keep the passover unto the LORD, the
God of Israel, at Jerusalem: for they had not kept it in
great numbers in such sort as it is written. So the posts 6
went with the letters from the king and his princes
throughout all Israel and Judah, and according to the
commandment of the king, saying, Ye children of Israel,
turn again unto the LORD, the God of Abraham, Isaac,
and Israel, that he may return to the remnant that are
escaped of you out of the hand of the kings of Assyria.
And be not ye like your fathers, and like your brethren, 7
which trespassed against the LORD, the God of their
fathers, so that he gave them up to desolation, as ye see.
Now be ye not stiffnecked, as your fathers were; but 8
yield yourselves unto the LORD, and enter into his
sanctuary, which he hath sanctified for ever, and serve
the LORD your God, that his fierce anger may turn away
from you. For if ye turn again unto the LORD, your 9
brethren and your children shall find compassion before
them that led them captive, and shall come again into
this land: for the LORD your God is gracious and mer-
ciful, and will not turn away his face from you, if ye
return unto him. So the posts passed from city to city 10

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xxx. 6–10. The royal posts carried the invitation of Hezekiah throughout the land. In the letters the king pointed out the results of apostasy and pleaded for a return to the ancestral faith. The plea was strengthened by a reference to the character of Jehovah (verse 9).

6. the kings of Assyria: i. e. Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser.

through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even
unto Zebulun: but they laughed them to scorn, and
11 mocked them. Nevertheless divers of Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to
12 Jerusalem. Also in Judah was the hand of God to give
them one heart, to do the commandment of the king and
13 of the princes by the word of the LORD. And there
assembled at Jerusalem much people to keep the feast of
unleavened bread in the second month, a very great
14 congregation. And they arose and took away the altars
that were in Jerusalem, and all the altars for incense
took they away, and cast them into the brook Kidron.
15 Then they killed the passover on the fourteenth *day* of
the second month: and the priests and the Levites were
ashamed, and sanctified themselves, and brought burnt
16 offerings into the house of the LORD. And they stood
in their place after their order, according to the law of
Moses the man of God: the priests sprinkled the blood,
17 *which they received* of the hand of the Levites. For there
were many in the congregation that had not sanctified
themselves: therefore the Levites had the charge of

10, 11. There was no general response on the part of the northern remnants, except contemptuous refusal of Hezekiah's invitation. Stray pilgrims alone journeyed to Jerusalem from four of the northern tribes (verse 18).

XXX. 13-22. *Celebration of the Passover.*

14. took away the altars: i. e. they removed every trace of the idolatry with which Ahaz had filled Jerusalem. Among other objects to be destroyed, the author of Kings names, but the chronicler omits, the brazen serpent of Moses.

15. the Levites were ashamed: the Levites found themselves spurred on to their duties by the superior zeal of the people.

16, 17. It was the duty of the head of each household to slay the lamb and hand the blood to the priest; but ceremonial uncleanness prevented this, and the Levites performed the duty in place of the householders.

killing the passovers for every one that was not clean, to
sanctify them unto the LORD. For a multitude of the 18
people, even many of Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar
and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they
eat the passover otherwise than it is written. For
Hezekiah had prayed for them, saying, The good LORD
pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God, the 19
LORD, the God of his fathers, though *he be* not *cleansed*
according to the purification of the sanctuary. And the 20
LORD hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people.
And the children of Israel that were present at Jerusalem 21
kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with great
gladness: and the Levites and the priests praised the
LORD day by day, *singing* with loud instruments unto the
LORD. And Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all the 22
Levites that were well skilled *in the service* of the LORD.
So they did eat throughout the feast for the seven days,
offering sacrifices of peace offerings, and making confession to the LORD, the God of their fathers. And the 23
whole congregation took counsel to keep other seven
days: and they kept *other* seven days with gladness.
For Hezekiah king of Judah did give to the congregation 24

18, 19. As the theocratic king, Hezekiah pleads for pardon for the irregularity of the observances.

20. healed the people: probably there were already signs of the outbreak of plague among the assembled multitudes, or else the meaning is that Jehovah refrained from punishing.

22. Hezekiah spake comfortably: the king commended the zeal of the Levites.

23–27. *Conclusion of the Festival.* The national assembly determined to continue the festival throughout a second week. This is rendered possible by the lavish gifts made by king and princes for the sacrificial meals and by the readiness of the priests to undertake the labour involved. At the close of the fortnight's rejoicing the assembly is dismissed with the Levitic benediction, and the divine blessing rests upon the people.

for offerings a thousand bullocks and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep: and a great
25 number of priests sanctified themselves. And all the congregation of Judah, with the priests and the Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of Israel, and that
26 dwelt in Judah, rejoiced. So there was great joy in Jerusalem: for since the time of Solomon the son of David king of Israel there was not the like in Jerusalem.
27 Then the priests the Levites arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their prayer came up to his holy habitation, even unto heaven.

31 Now when all this was finished, all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah, [**Ch^2**] and brake in pieces the pillars, and hewed down the Asherim, and brake down the high places and [**Ch**] the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also and Manasseh, until they had destroyed them all. Then all the children of Israel returned, every man to his possession, into their
2 own cities. And Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and the Levites after their courses, every man according to his service, both the priests and the Levites, for burnt offerings and for peace offerings, to minister, and to give thanks, and to praise in the gates of the
3 camp of the LORD. *He appointed* also the king's portion

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xxxi. *Rehabilitation of Worship.*

1. The worshippers returned to display their zeal for Jehovah by a great iconoclastic crusade in which they purged the provinces of all trace of idolatry.

2-6. Hezekiah meantime reorganized the services of the sanctuary. With royal bounty he made provision for the regular sacrifices; and the people responded liberally to his command to support the priestly orders.

of his substance for the burnt offerings, *to wit*, for the
morning and evening burnt offerings, and the burnt
offerings for the sabbaths, and for the new moons, and
for the set feasts, as it is written in the law of the LORD.
Moreover he commanded the people that dwelt in Jeru- 4
salem to give the portion of the priests and the Levites,
that they might give themselves to the law of the LORD.
And as soon as the commandment came abroad, the 5
children of Israel gave in abundance the firstfruits of
corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the increase
of the field; and the tithe of all things brought they in
abundantly. And the children of Israel and Judah, that 6
dwelt in the cities of Judah, they also brought in the
tithe of oxen and sheep, and the tithe of dedicated things
which were consecrated unto the LORD their God, and
laid them by heaps. In the third month they began to 7
lay the foundation of the heaps, and finished them in the
seventh month. And when Hezekiah and the princes 8
came and saw the heaps, they blessed the LORD, and
his people Israel. Then Hezekiah questioned with the 9
priests and the Levites concerning the heaps. And 10
Azariah the chief priest, of the house of Zadok, answered
him and said, Since *the people* began to bring the obla-
tions into the house of the LORD, we have eaten and had
enough, and have left plenty: for the LORD hath blessed
his people; and that which is left is this great store.
Then Hezekiah commanded to prepare chambers in the 11

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9. questioned . . . concerning the heaps: the king conferred with the Levites concerning the tithes and offerings which the people had brought for their support.

10. Azariah: this may have been the same who resisted the irregular acts of Uzziah forty years before. He declares that the offerings are more than sufficient.

11. Hezekiah orders the building of new store-chambers.

12 house of the Lord; and they prepared them. And they
brought in the oblations and the tithes and the dedicated
things faithfully: and over them Conaniah the Levite
13 was ruler, and Shimei his brother was second. And Jehiel,
and Azaziah, and Nahath, and Asahel, and Jerimoth,
and Jozabad, and Eliel, and Ismachiah, and Mahath,
and Benaiah, were overseers under the hand of Conaniah
and Shimei his brother, by the appointment of Hezekiah
the king, and Azariah the ruler of the house of God.
14 And Kore the son of Imnah the Levite, the porter at the
east *gate*, was over the freewill offerings of God, to
distribute the oblations of the Lord, and the most holy
15 things. And under him were Eden, and Miniamin, and
Jeshua, and Shemaiah, Amariah, and Shecaniah, in the
cities of the priests, in their set office, to give to their
brethren by courses, as well to the great as to the small:
16 beside them that were reckoned by genealogy of males,
from three years old and upward, even every one that
entered into the house of the Lord, as the duty of every
day required, for their service in their charges according
17 to their courses; [R] and them that were reckoned by
genealogy of the priests by their fathers' houses, and the
Levites from twenty years old and upward, in their
18 charges by their courses; and them that were reckoned
by genealogy of all their little ones, their wives, and
their sons, and their daughters, through all the congregation: for in their set office they sanctified themselves in
19 holiness: also for the sons of Aaron the priests, which

12–14. With his usual fondness for names and statistics the chronicler mentions the overseers of the store-chambers and the officials occupied in the distribution of the offerings. From this participation in the gifts no qualified recipient was excluded.

17–19. These verses are parenthetical and probably due to a later hand.

were in the fields of the suburbs of their cities, in every several city, there were men that were expressed by name, to give portions to all the males among the priests, and to all that were reckoned by genealogy among the Levites.
[**Ch**] And thus did Hezekiah throughout all Judah; and 20
he wrought that which was good and right and faithful
before the LORD his God. And in every work that he 21
began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered.

[**Ch**^{2}] After these things, and this faithfulness, Senna- **32**
cherib king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and
encamped against the fenced cities, and thought to win
them for himself. [**Ch**] And when Hezekiah saw that 2
Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight
against Jerusalem, he took counsel with his princes and 3

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xxxii. *Sennacherib's Invasion and Hezekiah's Sickness.*

The narrative of this chapter bears a close relation to the parallel composite narrative of 2 Kings xviii. 18—xix. 21, although there are considerable variations. Independent documents must have been used for much of the material, yet the narrative of Isa. xxxvi–xxxix received little attention. We learn from Assyrian records that in 701 B. C. Sennacherib sought to reduce the Syrian states which had revolted on the death of Sargon in 705 B. C. Without great difficulty he subdued Phoenicia and Philistia and defeated a relieving force from Egypt. Thereupon he turned his attention to Judah, captured forty-six of its fortified towns and invested the capital, with the result that Hezekiah paid tribute and Sennacherib returned to Nineveh. The chronicler describes the campaign solely as a proof of the power of God to deliver a faithful king. In the main he abridges the account of 2 Kings, although he gives an independent account of Hezekiah's measures for the defence of Jerusalem (verses 2-8).

xxxii. 1–23. *Sennacherib's Campaign.*

1. Sennacherib: the son of Sargon, king of Assyria from 705–682 B. C. The Assyrian form of the name is Sin-aḫê-erba.

thought to win them: he had already reduced many of them and had probably advanced as far as Lachish.

his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which
4 were without the city; and they helped him. So there
was gathered much people together, and they stopped all
the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the
midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of
5 Assyria come, and find much water? And he took
courage, and built up all the wall that was broken down,
and raised *it* up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo *in* the city of David, and
6 made weapons and shields in abundance. And he set
captains of war over the people, and gathered them
together to him in the broad place at the gate of the city,
7 and spake comfortably to them, saying, Be strong and of
a good courage, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king
of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him:
8 for there is a greater with us than with him: with him is
an arm of flesh; but with us is the LORD our God to
help us, and to fight our battles. And the people rested
themselves upon the words of Hezekiah king of Judah.
9 [Ch²] After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send
his servants to Jerusalem, (now he was before Lachish,
and all his power with him,) unto Hezekiah king of Judah,
10 and unto all Judah that were at Jerusalem, saying, Thus

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3. to stop the waters: recent explorations have revealed an elaborate system of aqueducts and watercourses, just such as Hezekiah might well construct to supply the capital during siege and to foil the invaders.

5. the other wall without: i. e. the fortification of the lower city.

Millo: some portion of the citadel of Jerusalem.

6. spake comfortably to them: Hezekiah's address to the people breathes the spirit of absolute confidence in God, and it proved contagious.

9. send his servants: the account of the embassy is condensed considerably from 2 Kings xviii. 12 ff.

Lachish: cf. note on xxv. 27.

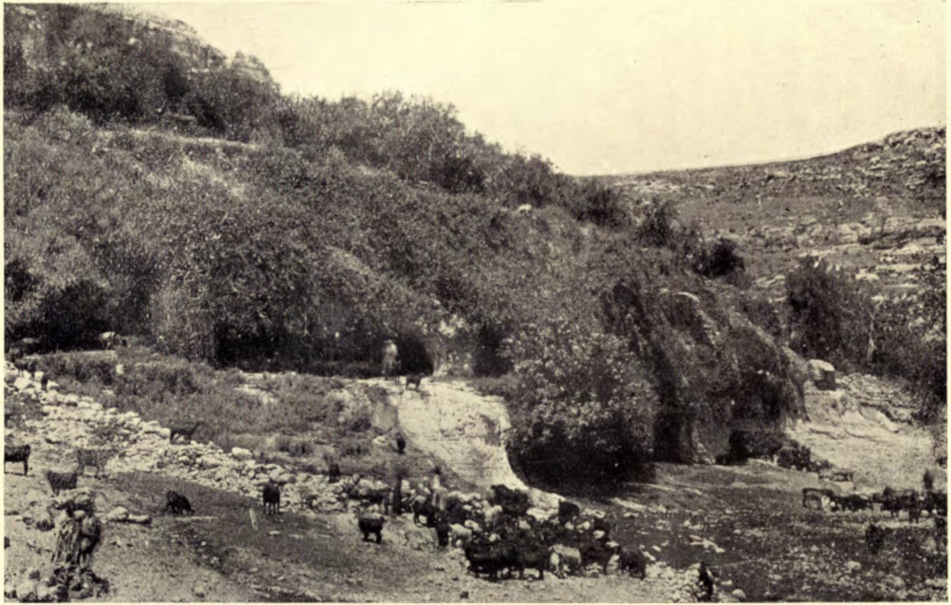

Photo: Pal. Expl. Fund

RAMOTH GILEAD

saith Sennacherib king of Assyria, Whereon do ye trust,
that ye abide the siege in Jerusalem? Doth not Hezekiah 11
persuade you, to give you over to die by famine and
by thirst, saying, The LORD our God shall deliver us out
of the hand of the king of Assyria? Hath not the same 12
Hezekiah taken away his high places and his altars, and
commanded Judah and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall
worship before one altar, and upon it shall ye burn
incense? Know ye not what I and my fathers have done 13
unto all the peoples of the lands? Were the gods of the
nations of the lands any ways able to deliver their land
out of mine hand? Who was there among all the gods 14
of those nations which my fathers utterly destroyed, that
could deliver his people out of mine hand, that your God
should be able to deliver you out of mine hand? Now 15
therefore let not Hezekiah deceive you, nor persuade you
on this manner, neither believe ye him: for no god of any
nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of
mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much
less shall your God deliver you out of mine hand? And 16
his servants spake yet more against the LORD God,
and against his servant Hezekiah. He wrote also letters, 17
to rail on the LORD, the God of Israel, and to speak
against him, saying, As the gods of the nations of the
lands, which have not delivered their people out of mine
hand, so shall not the God of Hezekiah deliver his people
out of mine hand. And they cried with a loud voice in 18
the Jews' language unto the people of Jerusalem that

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13. The ambassadors refer to Sennacherib's unbroken record of conquest.

17. wrote . . . letters: subsequent to the failure to cajole the people into submission.

18. cried . . . unto the people: the third effort of Sennacherib to secure the city was an appeal to treachery.

were on the wall, to affright them, and to trouble them;
19 that they might take the city. And they spake of the
God of Jerusalem, as of the gods of the peoples of the
20 earth, which are the work of men's hands. And Hezekiah
the king, and Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, prayed
21 because of this, and cried to heaven. And the LORD sent
an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valour, and
the leaders and captains, in the camp of the king of
Assyria. So he returned with shame of face to his own
land. And when he was come into the house of his
god, they that came forth of his own bowels slew him
22 there with the sword. [**Ch**] Thus the LORD saved
Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand
of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and from the hand of
23 all *other*, and guided them on every side. And many
brought gifts unto the LORD to Jerusalem, and precious
things to Hezekiah king of Judah: so that he was exalted
in the sight of all nations from thenceforth.

24 [**H**] In those days Hezekiah was sick even unto
death: and he prayed unto the LORD; [**Ch**] and he
25 spake unto him, and gave him a sign. But Hezekiah
rendered not again according to the benefit done unto
him; for his heart was lifted up: therefore there was

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20. Isaiah the prophet: to whom the king sent the letters of Sennacherib.

21. the LORD sent an angel: possibly the divine intervention took the form of a pestilence; cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 ff.

slew him: he was murdered by his sons.

xxxii. 24–33. *Hezekiah's Sickness and Death.* The narrative of the king's sickness and of the close of his reign is abridged from 2 Kings xx. Compare also Isa. xxxviii. 1–8, 21, 22.

24. In those days: the phrase does not necessarily indicate the time of Sennacherib's invasion, seeing that the original context of this extract cannot be determined (cf. Isa. xxxviii. 1). In this verse we have a mere hint of the incident of the king's illness and recovery.

wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem. Notwithstanding 26
Hezekiah humbled himself for the pride of
his heart, both he and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so
that the wrath of the LORD came not upon them in
the days of Hezekiah. And Hezekiah had exceeding 27
much riches and honour: and he provided him treasuries
for silver, and for gold, and for precious stones, and
for spices, and for shields, and for all manner of goodly
vessels; storehouses also for the increase of corn and 28
wine and oil: and stalls for all manner of beasts, and
flocks in folds. Moreover he provided him cities, and 29
possessions of flocks and herds in abundance: for God
had given him very much substance. [H^2] This same 30
Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters
of Gihon, and brought them straight down on the west
side of the city of David. [Ch] And Hezekiah prospered
in all his works. Howbeit in *the business of* the 31
ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him
to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land, God
left him, to try him, that he might know all that was in his
heart. [Ch^2] Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and 32
his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision
of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, in the book of the

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25. his heart was lifted up: Hezekiah forgot his vows, and in his pride displayed all his resources to the embassy from Babylon.

26. humbled himself: in response to the message of Isaiah which condemned his pride.

30. the waters of Gihon: now known as the Virgin Spring; the waters were led by way of a canal under the Temple mount into the Pool of Siloam on the west side of the hill. The object was to secure the water-supply during a siege.

31. the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon: the prince in question was Merodach-baladan. He had been finally overthrown by Sennacherib before 701 B.C., so that the incident of the embassy is not here placed in its chronological order.

32. in the vision of Isaiah: i.e. in his prophecies.

33 kings of Judah and Israel. And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death. And Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

33 [H] Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign; and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem.
2 And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD
3 cast out before the children of Israel. For he built again the high places which Hezekiah his father had broken down; and he reared up altars for the Baalim, and made Asheroth, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and
4 served them. And he built altars in the house of the LORD, whereof the LORD said, In Jerusalem shall my name
5 be for ever. And he built altars for all the host of heaven

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33. the ascent of the sepulchres: i. e. the higher ground above the ancient royal burying-place.

(14) xxxiii. 1–20. *Reign of Manasseh.*

The account of Manasseh's early years is a close parallel to 2 Kings xxi. 1–10, 18; the details contained in 2 Kings xxi. 11–16 have been omitted, but the narrative has been augmented by original matter in verses 11–19. The chronicler has acted in accordance with his peculiar didactic motive in the selection of his material of the punishment of Manasseh and his Assyrian captivity. To omit this narrative of divine punishment of the most reactionary and idolatrous of Judah's kings would have been to mar the value of the history in the compiler's eyes.

1. Manasseh: king of Judah from 642 to 638 B. C.

2. after the abominations of the heathen: i. e. the lingering love for the debased Canaanitish worship was officially encouraged, and all the abominations of heathendom, so often partially eradicated by reforming kings, were actively fostered by Manasseh.

3. Manasseh not only restored the illicit worship at the high-places and the cult of the Baals and Asherim, but he inaugurated the worship of the heavenly bodies. In this we see the influence of Assyria, where astral worship prevailed.

4. altars in the house of the LORD: this exceeds even

in the two courts of the house of the LORD. He also 6
made his children to pass through the fire in the valley of
the son of Hinnom: and he practised augury, and used
enchantments, and practised sorcery, and dealt with them
that had familiar spirits, and with wizards: he wrought
much evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to
anger. And he set the graven image of the idol, which 7
he had made, in the house of God, of which God said to
David and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in
Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of
Israel, will I put my name for ever: neither will I any 8
more remove the foot of Israel from off the land which I
have appointed for your fathers; if only they will observe
to do all that I have commanded them, even all the law
and the statutes and the ordinances by the hand of
Moses. And Manasseh made Judah and the inhabitants 9
of Jerusalem to err, so that they did evil more than did
the nations, whom the LORD destroyed before the
children of Israel. [Ch] And the LORD spake to 10
Manasseh, and to his people: but they gave no heed.
Wherefore the LORD brought upon them the captains of 11
the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh

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the sin of Ahaz, who had polluted the Temple and suspended its services.

6. to pass through the fire: the whole system of idolatrous rites and eastern magic, so absolutely prohibited in Deut. xviii. 10 ff., was legalized by the king.

7. the graven image of the idol: 2 Kings xxi. 7 reads 'the graven image of the Asherah'; evidently the Assyrian goddess is meant.

10. the LORD spake to Manasseh: this is a brief reference to the prophetic warnings recorded in 2 Kings xxi. 10–16.

they gave no heed: as a chastisement should, in the chronicler's view, invariably follow such apostasy, he diverges from 2 Kings at this point and gives the facts of the Assyrian invasion.

11. the king of Assyria: evidently Esarhaddon is referred to.

in chains, and bound him with fetters, and carried him
12 to Babylon. And when he was in distress, he besought
the LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before
13 the God of his fathers. And he prayed unto him; and
he was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and
brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom.
Then Manasseh knew that the LORD he was God.

14 Now after this he built an outer wall to the city of
David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even
to the entering in at the fish gate; and he compassed
about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height: and he
put valiant captains in all the fenced cities of Judah.
15 And he took away the strange gods, and the idol out
of the house of the LORD, and all the altars that he had
built in the mount of the house of the LORD, and in
16 Jerusalem, and cast them out of the city. And he built
up the altar of the LORD, and offered thereon sacrifices of
peace offerings and of thanksgiving, and commanded
17 Judah to serve the LORD, the God of Israel. Neverthe-

Assyria was, at this period, at the height of its power. Egypt had been reduced and all the Syrian states had been brought into subjection. That Manasseh was among the tributaries is proved by the fact that his name occurs in the rediscovered records of the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pul. Esarhaddon rebuilt Babylon and long resided there, so that he would naturally carry any revolted vassal thither.

in chains: A.V. reads 'among the thorns,' R.V. margin 'with hooks.' It is a figurative expression for captivity.

12, 13. Captivity produced the desired repentance and return to Jehovah. In consequence Manasseh was restored to his kingdom.

14. Manasseh signalized his return to Jerusalem by strengthening the fortifications of the city. He added to Hezekiah's wall, building eastwards to the Fish gate (Neh. iii. 3) and constructing a wall around Ophel (2 Chron. xxvii. 3). Moreover all the fortresses of Judah were garrisoned.

15–17. Manasseh now purged the Temple of the idolatrous symbols which he had set up, and sought to restore the worship

less the people did sacrifice still in the high places, but
only unto the LORD their God. Now the rest of the acts 18
of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words
of the seers that spake to him in the name of the LORD,
the God of Israel, behold, they are written among the acts
of the kings of Israel. His prayer also, and how *God* 19
was intreated of him, and all his sin and his trespass, and
the places wherein he built high places, and set up the
Asherim and the graven images, before he humbled
himself: behold, they are written in the history of Hozai.
[H] So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried 20
him in his own house: and Amon his son reigned in his
stead.

Amon was twenty and two years old when he began to 21
reign; and he reigned two years in Jerusalem. And he 22
did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as did
Manasseh his father: [Ch^2] and Amon sacrificed unto
all the graven images which Manasseh his father had
made, and served them. And he humbled not himself 23
before the LORD, as Manasseh his father had humbled
himself; but this same Amon trespassed more and more.

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of Jehovah. He found it impossible, however, to centralize the worship, and had to rest content with substituting the worship of Jehovah for that of the Baals at the high-places.

18. his prayer: there is a so-called 'Prayer of Manasses' in the Greek Apocrypha. But the chronicler refers his readers for fuller information to the 'history of Hozai,' an unknown prophet.

20. buried him in his own house: the ancient sepulchres of the kings were no longer used. Manasseh seems to have been interred in a private tomb in the palace-garden; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 18.

(15) xxxiii. 21–25. *Reign of Amon.*

The narrative is paralleled by 2 Kings xxi. 19–24. Amon followed the example of his father's earlier career, having failed to profit by the lesson of his captivity and repentance.

21. Amon: he reigned from 638 to 637 B.C.

24 And his servants conspired against him, and put him
25 to death in his own house. [H] But the people of
the land slew all them that had conspired against
king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his
son king in his stead.

34 Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign;
2 and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem. And
he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and
walked in the ways of David his father, and turned not
3 aside to the right hand or to the left. [Ch] For in the
eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began
to seek after the God of David his father: and in the
twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from
the high places, and the Asherim, and the graven images,
4 and the molten images. And they brake down the altars
of the Baalim in his presence; and the sun-images, that
were on high above them, he hewed down; and the
Asherim, and the graven images, and the molten images,

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24. his servants conspired: a palace-conspiracy terminated Amon's reactionary reign.

(16) xxxiv, xxxv. *Reign of Josiah.*

Cf. 2 Kings xxii, xxiii. 3-23, 24-30. The chronicler has made the usual expansions and abridgements of his originals; he gives us new matter in xxxiv. 12-14, 32, 33. Josiah was a reforming ruler from the outset, but the all-important event of the discovery of the book of the Law led to the complete abolition of all idolatry and the establishment of the Deuteronomic system.

xxxiv. 1, 2. *Introduction.*

1. Josiah: king of Judah from 637 to 607 B.C. To the chronicler he is an ideal monarch.

xxxiv. 3-7. *Idolatry uprooted.* The section appears in fuller form in 2 Kings xxiii. 4-20, where it is referred to the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign; but the description of his zeal for Jehovah was equally applicable at any point of his earlier career.

4. in his presence: Josiah personally superintended the overthrow of idolatry in his twentieth year.

he brake in pieces, and made dust of them, and strowed
it upon the graves *of them* that had sacrificed unto them.
And he burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, 5
and purged Judah and Jerusalem. And *so did he* in the 6
cities of Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon, even unto
Naphtali, in their ruins round about. And he brake 7
down the altars, and beat the Asherim and the graven
images into powder, and hewed down all the sun-images
throughout all the land of Israel, and returned to Jerusalem.

[**Ch^2**] Now in the eighteenth year of his reign, when 8
he had purged the land, and the house, he sent Shaphan
the son of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the
city, and Joah the son of Joahaz the recorder, to repair
the house of the LORD his God. And they came to 9
Hilkiah the high priest, and delivered the money that
was brought into the house of God, which the Levites,

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5. **burnt the bones:** the idolatrous priests were exhumed and their bones burned to defile the place of heathen sacrifice.

6. so did he **in the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim:** Josiah's zeal carried him throughout the depleted districts of northern Israel as well as through Simeon.

xxxiv. 8-18. *Discovery of the Law* (2 Kings xxii. 3-10). Josiah next turned his attention to the desolate Temple. During its repair the priest Hilkiah discovered a roll of the Law, which, it is now admitted, must have been practically identical with our Book of Deuteronomy. This book seems to have been compiled in its later form towards the close of the monarchy, probably during the reign of Manasseh; from that time it was mislaid until its discovery in 621 B.C. For a full discussion of the subject cf. Driver in *Deuteronomy*, and Skinner on 'Kings,' in *Century Bible*, p. 441.

8. The repair of the Temple was entrusted to three state officials, Shaphan (the secretary), Maaseiah (the city governor), and Joah (the chancellor).

9. **Hilkiah the high priest:** called 'the priest' in verse 14. To him the three officials delivered the dues collected throughout the land.

the keepers of the door, had gathered of the hand of
Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel,
and of all Judah and Benjamin, and of the inhabitants of
10 Jerusalem. And they delivered it into the hand of the
workmen that had the oversight of the house of the
LORD; and the workmen that wrought in the house of
11 the LORD gave it to amend and repair the house; even
to the carpenters and to the builders gave they it, to buy
hewn stone, and timber for couplings, and to make beams
for the houses which the kings of Judah had destroyed.
12 [**Ch**] And the men did the work faithfully: and the
overseers of them were Jahath and Obadiah, the Levites,
of the sons of Merari; and Zechariah and Meshullam, of
the sons of the Kohathites, to set it forward: and *other of*
the Levites, all that could skill of instruments of music.
13 Also they were over the bearers of burdens, and set
forward all that did the work in every manner of service:
and of the Levites there were scribes, and officers, and
14 porters. And when they brought out the money that
was brought into the house of the LORD, Hilkiah the
priest found the book of the law of the LORD given by
15 Moses. [H] And Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan
the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house

10, 11. The requisite work of repairs shows how completely the fabric of the Temple had decayed.

12. The chronicler's fondness for the Levites and the singers is again apparent in verses 12-14, which are due to his hand alone. Probably, as Keil suggests, these singers were also appointed overseers; hence verse 12^b should be read in continuity with 13^a.

14. the book of the law of the LORD given by Moses: the chronicler goes beyond the author of Kings in attributing it to Moses.

15, 16. The scribe carries the book of the Law to the king with his report of the repairs to the Temple.

of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the book to
Shaphan. And Shaphan carried the book to the king, 16
and moreover brought the king word again, saying, All
that was committed to thy servants, they do it. And 17
they have emptied out the money that was found in the
house of the LORD, and have delivered it into the hand
of the overseers, and into the hand of the workmen.
And Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah 18
the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read
therein before the king. And it came to pass, when the 19
king had heard the words of the law, that he rent his
clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah, and Ahikam 20
the son of Shaphan, and Abdon the son of Micah, and
Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant, saying,
Go ye, inquire of the LORD for me, and for them that are 21
left in Israel and in Judah, concerning the words of the
book that is found: for great is the wrath of the LORD
that is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not
kept the word of the LORD, to do according unto all that
is written in this book. So Hilkiah, and they whom the 22
king *had commanded*, went to Huldah the prophetess, the
wife of Shallum the son of Tokhath, the son of Hasrah,
keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in

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18. Shaphan read therein: 2 Kings says he read the entire roll to the king.

xxxiv. 19–28. *Effects of the Discovery upon Josiah.*

19. rent his clothes: the king is filled with grief and fear on learning the penalties attaching to the irregularities in worship which had been committed.

20, 21. Josiah immediately appoints a commission to seek prophetic guidance as to the possibility of escaping the divine anger which he feels to be impending over the erring nation.

22. Huldah: evidently a prophetess of repute. Contemporary with her was Jeremiah, but his ministry had scarcely become a power yet.

the second quarter;) and they spake to her to that effect.
23 And she said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God
24 of Israel: Tell ye the man that sent you unto me, Thus
saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place,
and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that
are written in the book which they have read before the
25 king of Judah: because they have forsaken me, and have
burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke
me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore
is my wrath poured out upon this place, and it shall not
26 be quenched. But unto the king of Judah, who sent you
to inquire of the LORD, thus shall ye say to him, Thus
saith the LORD, the God of Israel: As touching the
27 words which thou hast heard, because thine heart was
tender, and thou didst humble thyself before God, when
thou heardest his words against this place, and against
the inhabitants thereof, and hast humbled thyself before
me, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me;
28 I also have heard thee, saith the LORD. Behold, I will
gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to
thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the
evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the inhabitants
thereof. And they brought the king word
again.

29 Then the king sent and gathered together all the

23–28. Huldah replies that the consequences of apostasy cannot be absolutely averted; the law of Jehovah cannot be trifled with; yet respite should be given during the reign of the pious King Josiah.

xxxiv. 29–33. *The National Covenant* (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 1–3). The king's next step was the convening of a representative assembly, the public reading of the newly found law, and the inauguration of a covenant-compact binding the people to observe the law. By this means the authority of the Deuteronomic code was recognized as nationally and individually obligatory.

elders of Judah and Jerusalem. And the king went up 30
to the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah
and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests, and the
Levites, and all the people, both great and small: and he
read in their ears all the words of the book of the
covenant that was found in the house of the LORD. And 31
the king stood in his place, and made a covenant before
the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his
commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes,
with all his heart, and with all his soul, to perform the
words of the covenant that were written in this book.
[Ch] And he caused all that were found in Jerusalem and 32
Benjamin to stand *to it*. And the inhabitants of
Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God, the God
of their fathers. And Josiah took away all the abomina- 33
tions out of all the countries that pertained to the
children of Israel, and made all that were found in Israel
to serve, even to serve the LORD their God. All his days
they departed not from following the LORD, the God
of their fathers.

And Josiah kept a passover unto the LORD in **35**

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30. the Levites: the chronicler repairs the omission of his class by the author of 2 Kings.

the book of the covenant: the title is descriptive of the Book of Deuteronomy in its pre-exilic form.

31. in his place: 2 Kings says 'by the pillar.'

made a covenant before the LORD: the transaction and the vows of the parties concerned were performed as in the sight of Jehovah.

32. to stand to it: a sign of willingness to observe the law.

33. Josiah established the compulsory worship of Jehovah as widely as his power extended.

xxxv. 1–9. *The Passover.*

The renewal of the covenant was immediately followed by the solemn observance of a national Passover in accordance with the regulations of Deut. xvi. 1–8. The chronicler describes this

Jerusalem: and they killed the passover on the fourteenth
2 *day* of the first month. And he set the priests in their
charges, and encouraged them to the service of the house
3 of the LORD. And he said unto the Levites that taught
all Israel, which were holy unto the Lord, Put the holy ark
in the house which Solomon the son of David king
of Israel did build; there shall no more be a burden
upon your shoulders: now serve the LORD your God, and
4 his people Israel. And prepare yourselves after your
fathers' houses by your courses, according to the writing
of David king of Israel, and according to the writing
5 of Solomon his son. And stand in the holy place
according to the divisions of the fathers' houses of your
brethren the children of the people, and *let there be for*
6 *each* a portion of a fathers' house of the Levites. And
kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare for
your brethren, to do according to the word of the LORD
7 by the hand of Moses. And Josiah gave to the children
of the people, of the flock, lambs and kids, all of them
for the passover offerings, unto all that were present,
to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand

Passover much more in detail than does the author of 2 Kings, giving due prominence to the part played by the Levites.

1. The prescribed date was duly observed.

3. Put the holy ark in the house: the narrative implies that during the neglect and decay of the Temple the sacred Ark had been removed from the shrine. Whatever the Levites may have proposed to do (and some critics surmise a proposed public procession), Josiah prohibits their bearing the Ark; he orders them to replace it in its right position and to give themselves to their other duties.

4–6. The king reappoints the Levitic courses and orders them to perform the rites of purification and attend to the Passover.

7. Josiah's gifts of cattle reached to three times the number presented by Hezekiah, and they were further added to by the princes and chief priests.

bullocks: these were of the king's substance. And 8
his princes gave for a freewill offering unto the people, to
the priests, and to the Levites. Hilkiah and Zechariah
and Jehiel, the rulers of the house of God, gave unto the
priests for the passover offerings two thousand and six
hundred *small cattle*, and three hundred oxen. Conaniah 9
also, and Shemaiah and Nethanel, his brethren, and
Hashabiah and Jeiel and Jozabad, the chiefs of the
Levites, gave unto the Levites for the passover offerings
five thousand *small cattle*, and five hundred oxen. So 10
the service was prepared, and the priests stood in their
place, and the Levites by their courses, according to the
king's commandment. And they killed the passover, and 11
the priests sprinkled *the blood*, *which they received* of their
hand, and the Levites flayed them. And they removed 12
the burnt offerings, that they might give them according
to the divisions of the fathers' houses of the children
of the people, to offer unto the LORD, as it is written
in the book of Moses. And so did they with the oxen.
And they roasted the passover with fire according to the 13
ordinance: and the holy offerings sod they in pots, and
in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all
the children of the people. And afterward they prepared 14
for themselves, and for the priests; because the priests
the sons of Aaron *were busied* in offering the burnt
offerings and the fat until night: therefore the Levites prepared for themselves, and for the priests the sons of Aaron.
And the singers the sons of Asaph were in their place, 15
according to the commandment of David, and Asaph, and
Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters
were at every gate: they needed not to depart from their

---

12. Each course rendered its service in rotation.

service, for their brethren the Levites prepared for them.
16 So all the service of the LORD was prepared the same day,
to keep the passover, and to offer burnt offerings upon the
altar of the LORD, according to the commandment of king
17 Josiah. And the children of Israel that were present
kept the passover at that time, and the feast of unleavened
18 bread seven days. [**Ch^2**] And there was no passover like
to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the
prophet; neither did any of the kings of Israel keep such
a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites,
and all Judah and Israel that were present, and the
19 inhabitants of Jerusalem. In the eighteenth year of the
reign of Josiah was this passover kept.

20 After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple,

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15. the Levites prepared for them: no respite from service during the great feast was given either to priests or singers; but they were only enabled to stay at their posts by the aid of the Levites. Throughout the festival, the continued service of priests, Levites, porters, and orchestra was compulsory.

18. This Passover not only surpassed that of Hezekiah, but excelled any festival since the early days of the kingdom.

19. In the eighteenth year: as this was the year of the discovery of the law, the date is reckoned according to the old Hebrew calendar by which the year commenced in the autumn.

XXXV. 20-27. *Necho's invasion and death of Josiah.* At this time the power of Assyria was being shaken to its foundation by the invasions of the Chaldeans and Medes. Consequently, Necho II of Egypt seized the opportunity to re-establish his supremacy over Syria. Marching towards the Euphrates he had to cross Palestine. Josiah determined to oppose his passage. The reasons for this are unknown; but he may have desired to vindicate the ancient liberties of his own country. He met Necho at Megiddo and fell in battle there in 608 B. C. (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 25-30).

20. After all this: the phrase suggests a certain amount of mystery about the event which must have baffled the chronicler. According to all his theories of retribution there should have been nought but blessing for such a monarch and his purified land.

Neco king of Egypt went up to fight against Carchemish
by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him.
[**Ch**] But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What 21
have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? *I come* not
against thee this day, but against the house wherewith
I have war; and God hath commanded me to make
haste: forbear thee from *meddling with* God, who is
with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless Josiah 22
would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself,
that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto
the words of Neco, from the mouth of God, and came to
fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at 23
king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me
away; for I am sore wounded. [**Ch^2**] So his servants 24
took him out of the chariot, and put him in the second
chariot that he had, and brought him to Jerusalem; and
he died, and was buried in the sepulchres of his fathers.
And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.

Neco: i. e. Necho II, son of Psammetichus; he reigned over Egypt from 609 to 594 B.C.

Carchemish: the modern Jerābis, on the west bank of the Euphrates. It was a great fortress, the centre of an important trade and the early northern capital of the Hittite empire.

Josiah went out against him: to oppose his passage through Galilee.

21. God hath commanded me to make haste: Necho pleaded that he was executing the will of Jehovah and that Josiah would be doing wrong to force hostilities with him.

22. the words of Neco, from the mouth of God: the chronicler in reporting these words shows himself in line with the great prophets who had always recognized Jehovah's sovereignty over the world-rulers and the heathen.

Megiddo: the ancient city and stronghold of northern Israel, situated on the trade and military route between Egypt and the Euphrates. Probably it is identical with the modern Lejjūn, four miles north of Taanach, in the plain of Esdraelon.

24. The wounded king is driven back to Jerusalem only for burial amid the universal lamentation of his people.

25 [**Ch**] And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the
26 lamentations. [Ch²] Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his good deeds, according to that which is written in
27 the law of the LORD, and his acts, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.

36 [H] Then the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and made him king in his father's stead in
2 Jerusalem. Joahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in
3 Jerusalem. And the king of Egypt deposed him at Jerusalem, and amerced the land in an hundred talents
4 of silver and a talent of gold. And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and changed his name to Jehoiakim. And Neco took Joahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt.

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25. Jeremiah lamented: i.e. composed the funeral ode, the dirge, for the fallen monarch.

written in the lamentations: probably a lost collection of funeral elegies. It cannot be referred to Lam. iv. 20.

(17) xxxvi. *Concluding Years of the Monarchy.*

xxxvi. 1–4. *Reign of Jehoahaz.* Crowned immediately upon Josiah's death, Jehoahaz reigned only three months; he was then deposed by Necho and imprisoned, while the land was made a dependency of Egypt. Jehoahaz died in captivity in Egypt, and his melancholy end was celebrated by Ezekiel in his stately elegy of ch. xix (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 30–35).

1. Jehoahaz: reigned for three months in 607 B.C.

3. amerced the land: as a penalty for the resistance offered to the Egyptian armies.

4. Eliakim: the name was changed to Jehoiakim, merely by altering the initial syllables from one name of God (Ēl) to another (Yahweh).

Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he 5
began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem:
and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD
his God. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king 6
of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to
Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of 7
the house of the LORD to Babylon, and put them in his
temple at Babylon. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoakim, 8
and his abominations which he did, and that which was
found in him, behold, they are written in the book of the
kings of Israel and Judah: and Jehoiachin his son
reigned in his stead.

[Ch^2] Jehoiachin was eight years old when he began 9
to reign; and he reigned three months and ten days in

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xxxvi. 5–8. *Reign of Jehoiakim.* During this reign the balance of Oriental power underwent a complete readjustment. Nineveh fell in 607 B.C. and the Assyrian empire was divided. Nabopolassar established himself in the western half at Babylon and, as the first effort of his reign, dispatched his son Nebuchadnezzar to dislodge Necho from Syria. At the great battle of Carchemish, 605 B.C., Necho was crushed and the supremacy fell to Babylon under its king Nebuchadnezzar, who now succeeded his father. Towards the new paramount power Jehoiakim adopted an attitude of alternating submission and revolt, ending in overthrow and captivity (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 36—xxiv. 7).

5. Jehoiakim: king of Judah from 607 to 597 B.C.

6. Nebuchadnezzar: ruler of Babylon from 605 to 561 B.C.

to carry him to Babylon: the dates of the rebellion and its suppression are uncertain. Most probably the king did not attempt to throw off the yoke until near the close of his reign. Jehoiakim was never actually carried into captivity.

8. his abominations: i. e. religious apostasy.

xxxvi. 9, 10. *Reign of Jehoiachin.* Soon after Jehoiachin's accession the avenging armies of Babylon arrived and besieged the capital. When the city, after a brief resistance, fell, there followed the first Captivity. All the leading inhabitants were deported to Babylon. This event in 597 B.C. was the virtual close of the Judean monarchy.

9. eight years old: read 'eighteen' with 2 Kings, LXX, Syriac.

Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the
10 LORD. And at the return of the year king Nebuchadnezzar sent, and brought him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of the LORD, and made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem.

11 Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he began
12 to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD his God; [**Ch**] he humbled not himself before Jeremiah the
13 prophet *speaking* from the mouth of the LORD. And he also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God: but he stiffened his neck, and hardened his heart from turning unto the LORD, the God of
14 Israel. Moreover all the chiefs of the priests, and the people, trespassed very greatly after all the abominations of the heathen; and they polluted the house of the LORD

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10. at the return of the year: i. e. the spring campaigning season.

Zedekiah his brother: from 2 Kings xxiv. 17 we learn that he was really Jehoiachin's uncle, a younger son of Josiah.

xxxvi. 11–21. *Reign of Zedekiah.* The concluding reign in Judean history was one of vacillation. The king leaned now to the local party and now toward submission to Babylon. For awhile he plotted with the neighbouring states and then openly revolted from Babylon. Thereupon the city was besieged by the Chaldean army, and after eighteen months a breach was made in the walls. The king's attempt to escape proved abortive; he was captured and sent in chains to Babylon, while Jerusalem was devastated. The overthrow of Jerusalem is usually dated 587 B. C. (cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 18–xxv. 21).

11. Zedekiah reigned from 597 to 587 B. C.

12. before Jeremiah: the great prophet's ministry continued in Jerusalem throughout this reign, while Ezekiel meantime laboured among the exiles on the Chebar.

13. had made him swear by God: Zedekiah violated his solemn oath of allegiance.

14. polluted the house of the LORD: Ezekiel, in one of his visions, describes the superstitions and heathen rites practised by all classes of the community.

which he had hallowed in Jerusalem. And the Lord, 15
the God of their fathers, sent to them by his messengers,
rising up early and sending; because he had compassion
on his people, and on his dwelling place: but they 16
mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words,
and scoffed at his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord
arose against his people, till there was no remedy.
Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chal- 17
deans, who slew their young men with the sword in the
house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon
young man or maiden, old man or ancient: he gave
them all into his hand. And all the vessels of the 18
house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the
house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king, and of
his princes; all these he brought to Babylon. And they 19
burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of
Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire,
and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And them 20
that had escaped from the sword carried he away to
Babylon; and they were servants to him and his sons
until the reign of the kingdom of Persia: to fulfil the 21
word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the
land had enjoyed her sabbaths: *for* as long as she lay
desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten
years.

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16. till there was no remedy: the point had been reached at which forbearance and mercy could no longer be exercised on the apostate people.

17. We have here no historic details of the siege, which is merely presented to the reader in a vivid and rhetorical figure indicating utter destruction.

xxxvi. 18–20. All the portable vessels were carried to Babylon and the historic buildings of the capital were dismantled.

20. until the reign of the kingdom of Persia: the Captivity outlasted the Babylonian dynasty.

21. threescore and ten years: in Lev. xxv. 1–7 we find the

22 [H] Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and *put it* also in writing,
23 saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the LORD, the God of heaven, given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all his people, the LORD his God be with him, and let him go up.

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law of the sabbaths of the land, for the neglect of which the Captivity was to compensate.

xxxvi. 22, 23. *The Decree of Cyrus.* These concluding verses are identical with the opening words of the Book of Ezra. They form a kind of postscript to the Judean history, and were probably allowed to stand here to show that the national history did not end in calamity. But the dividing line where the narrative of Chronicles terminates has been drawn in the very middle of a verse (Ezra i. 3). This is not, indeed, absolute proof that the Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are both the work of the same author, for verses 22, 23 may have been added from Ezra-Nehemiah by the chronicler or a later redactor; yet they afford a strong presumption towards the identity.

22. in the first year of Cyrus: the founder of the old Persian empire who wrested the Chaldean supremacy from Nabonidus by revolution, treachery, and force of arms. In 539 B.C. he entered Babylon as a conqueror. He reigned from 538 to 529 B.C. In the year 538 B.C. he issued his edict permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem.

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